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KOREAN INFLUENCE INQUIRY

INTERIM STATUS REPORT
AS OF MAY 22, 1978

OF THE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON ETHICS
UNITED STATES SENATE

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[1] *See* Korean Influence Inquiry, Executive Session Hearings Before the Select Committee on Ethics, U.S. Senate, Volume I.

INTRODUCTION

This interim report on the status of the inquiry by the Senate Select Committee on Ethics into alleged efforts by Korean nationals to influence improperly the United States Senate contains no findings of fact and draws no conclusions; rather, it explains the Committee's investigational methods and summarizes the more significant testimony given at the Committee's executive session hearings. The purpose of the interim report is to summarize the activities to date of the Committee's Korean Inquiry and promptly to place before the public the bulk of the information thus far gathered concerning the attempts by Korean nationals, particularly Tongsun Park, to attempt to influence the Senate.

The interim report does not purport to present all of the information that has been gathered in the ongoing inquiry. After the conclusion of its initial review, the Committee expects to publish a report which will contain findings, conclusions and recommendations. (For an explanation of the term "initial review", see Rule 4 of the Rules of Procedure of the Select Committee on Ethics.) The Committee may also decide to hold a public hearing at an appropriate time.

This report first contains a description of the methodology used in conducting the inquiry to date. There then follows a summary of the more significant evidence disclosed at the Committee's executive session hearings at which Tongsun Park and twelve other witnesses, including five Senators and former Senators, testified under oath. The summary of evidence obtained in the executive sessions is arranged alphabetically by the name of the Senator, and therefore, no conclusion should be drawn from the order of the names.

The report concludes with a summary of Mr. Park's testimony concerning three documents found in his house and elsewhere which consist primarily of lists of names of Senators and Representatives. On some of these lists, figures representing dollar amounts of contemplated political contributions appear next to these names.

It should be noted that Tongsun Park was also questioned on a number of subjects not summarized in this interim report, including his contacts with a number of Senators in addition to those discussed individually below. He was also questioned about his rice business, including how he obtained the rice agency, the steps he took to regain it, and his income resulting therefrom. Mr. Park's alleged role as an agent of the Government of the Republic of Korea was probed throughout the interrogation, particularly in questions about his rice business and his relationship with various Korean Government officials.

METHODOLOGY OF THE INVESTIGATION

In April 1977, the Chairman and Vice Chairman, on behalf of the Committee, commenced a preliminary inquiry into allegations that representatives of the Republic of Korea had sought to influence improperly the United States Senate. Among other efforts, the Chairman and Vice Chairman sent letters to a substantial number of agencies in the Executive Branch, to relevant committees of the House of Representatives, and to certain others not in government, requesting them to supply this Committee with any information they had implicating any present Member, officer, or employee of the Senate in improper activities involving agents of the Republic of Korea. In most instances, the Chairman and Vice Chairman received written responses. In several cases, meetings followed, and the Chairman and Vice Chairman examined records in the possession of the House Select Committee on Standards of Official Conduct and various intelligence agencies. In August, the Committee sought and obtained access to a particular grand jury document which has now been made public (Ex. 20).

After examining this material, the Committee authorized the Chairman and Vice Chairman to commence a search for a lawyer who could act as Special Counsel to conduct a thorough investigation. On September 19, 1977, the Committee retained Special Counsel and charged him with the duty of conducting an expanded inquiry to determine whether representatives of the Republic of Korea have improperly influenced any Member of the Senate or its employees. Special Counsel was also charged with making any recommendations for Committee or Senate action warranted by the results of his inquiry.

It is a common tendency during the early stages of an inquiry, where few facts are available and rumors abound, to dissipate resources by attempting to move in several directions at the same time. Only careful, precise definition of objectives and priorities can avoid an ever widening circle of activity with a resulting lack of focus. Special Counsel determined at the outset to attempt to avoid broadening the inquiry beyond that necessary to accomplish the purposes for which he was retained. It was especially important to work as swiftly as thoroughness allowed because of the cloud hanging over the Senate formed as a result of continually reiterated allegations and rumors in the press that widespread corruption in the Congress had occurred as a result of the activities of Tongsun Park and other Koreans.

Special Counsel opposed a suggestion that the Committee include in its work an inquiry to determine to what extent, if any, high-ranking officials of the Executive Branch had knowledge in the early 1970s of the activities of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency and Tongsun Park to influence the Senate by improper means and, if so, whether those officials had failed to warn the Congress. The basis for Special Counsel's position was that the Senate Code of Ethics prohibited Senators from being improperly influenced or bribed

whether or not they were warned of any plans to do so. He argued that there are not two standards of ethical conduct for Senators: one for those who have been warned and one for those who have not. Ultimately, the Committee decided to leave this proposed aspect of the inquiry to the Senate Intelligence Committee, which had already been working on it for a number of months.

Special Counsel also determined not to duplicate, unless essential, investigative work already performed either by the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct or by agencies of the Executive Branch. Accordingly, early in its work, the staff sought to examine relevant files of the following executive agencies:

Department of Agriculture
Central Intelligence Agency
Department of Defense
Department of Justice (Public Integrity Section, Criminal Division)
Department of State
Securities and Exchange Commission

The Departments of Agriculture and State and the Securities and Exchange Commission promptly made the requested files available to the staff. Although the Central Intelligence Agency delayed entering into a Memorandum of Understanding between it and this Committee, after two months it did cooperate with this Committee in making records available to the staff. It is, of course, impossible to know if all relevant records were provided, although we believe that most have been.

Access to the records of the Public Integrity Section of the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice presented a more difficult problem. Some of the records had been presented to grand juries and thus the Committee's access to these required court approval. For the bulk of the records, Department officials, rather than making available all documents relevant to the Committee's efforts, required the Committee staff to identify and make a specific request for each particular document desired. This caused considerable delay, since the Committee staff could not describe documents it did not know existed; however, the records that were made available were of substantial assistance to the staff of the Committee. The Public Integrity Section has now assured the Committee that it will receive all other unclassified relevant records (except grand jury transcripts) by May 31, 1978.

The House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct was slow in cooperating with the Committee in the early stages of its investigation, despite expressions by its Chairman and its Special Counsel of a desire to cooperate. Nevertheless, in the last few months, we believe the staff of the House Committee has made available to the staff of this Committee substantially all of the documents specifically requested, and we are grateful for their cooperation.

Although its Korean investigation has a different focus, the Subcommittee on International Organizations (Fraser Subcommittee) of the House Committee on International Relations was very cooperative on those occasions when its assistance was requested.

The agency of the United States which had been most uncooperative with the Committee is the Department of Defense. It possesses documents containing information relevant to the work of this Committee.

Despite repeated requests, commencing in September 1977, for access to these documents, the DOD repeatedly declined to make them available to staff, although access had been obtained by some members to certain of these documents. By January 1978, an Executive Order took effect which required a waiver by the Attorney General before disclosure could occur. No waiver was granted. The General Counsel of the Department of Defense did make available for inspection by Special Counsel alone records totalling perhaps ten or fifteen pages. However, all names had been excised from the documents and no notes were permitted to be taken from her office. Recent developments indicate that the Attorney General and the Department of Defense will grant the Chairman and Vice Chairman access to the documents in question.

In October 1977, while Special Counsel was completing the hiring of the staff, the Committee sent a questionnaire to each of the one hundred sitting Senators and to the fifty-six living former Senators who served in the Senate at any time since 1967. All one hundred sitting Senators answered the questionnaire, although one Senator, who had retained legal counsel, was quite late in responding. All but two of the former Senators (Edward Gurney and Albert Gore) also answered. The 154 responses to this questionnaire were helpful in planning the remainder of the inquiry. Based on these responses, and on all other available information, the staff divided the Senators into three categories as follows: first, Senators (including former Senators) who reported no contact with Koreans; second, Senators who had reported some contacts with Koreans; and third, Senators whose contacts with Koreans warranted more thorough inquiries.

In early December 1977, Special Counsel began to contact most of the Senators in the third category to request information and documents from them. Special Counsel described the material requested in a letter to each such Senator and asked him to grant the staff access to his files, or to supply information compiled from his records by his own staff.

The Committee examined the equivalent of thousands of file drawers of material pertaining to some Senators, while other Senators and their staffs reported that they had examined numerous other files to complete the Committee's request. The single most useful category of documents obtained by the staff from Senators was their appointment books, guest books, calendars, and similar schedules listing the names, dates, and times at which they had meetings and other contacts with Tongsun Park or officials of the Republic of Korea.

Some Senators, upon receipt of our request for documentary information, expressed strong objections, primarily on the ground that the search required by their staffs would be enormously burdensome and the results would be unproductive. That the searches required were extensive is undeniable but we believe that, on the whole, they were productive.

In addition to Senators and former Senators, the staff has interviewed about sixty persons, some of them under oath. Most of the persons interviewed fall into one of two categories: either they are or had been employed in a Senator's office, or they had been employed by or otherwise associated with Tongsun Park or officials of the Republic of Korea.

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During most of the month of January 1978, the Deputy Special Counsel was in Seoul, Korea, attending the interrogation of Tongsun Park by representatives of the Department of Justice. This interrogation resulted in a transcript of approximately 2,000 pages which was made available to the staff in February.

On March 14, 15, 16, 17 and 23, the staff and members of the Committee examined Tongsun Park in executive session hearings. The principal purpose of this interrogation was to obtain further detailed information concerning Mr. Park's relations with specific Senators as well as to present to the members of the Committee a coherent, systematic view of Mr. Park's activities in the Senate during the period 1969–1976. The Committee was also able to obtain copies of Tongsun Park's diary and ledger for 1972 and his partial 1969, 1970 and 1973 diaries. His 1972 diary and ledger proved especially valuable in refreshing Mr. Park's recollection and in otherwise confirming meetings with and political contributions to Senators. Mr. Park's testimony included details of his political contributions to Senators, entertainment of Senators, social and business contacts with Senators, the requests he made for assistance from Senators, the sources of his funds, and his relationship with the Government of the Republic of Korea.

Following analysis of Tongsun Park's testimony and of the records received from Senators and former Senators, the staff recommended that Senators Bayh, Matsunaga and Tower and former Senators Miller and Montoya be requested to appear before the Committee in executive session to explore in more detail and under oath their relationships with Tongsun Park and officials of the Republic of Korea. Some members and former members of their staffs also appeared. In addition, the Committee heard the testimony of individuals formerly associated with Senators Humphrey and McClellan, both of whom had died during the course of the inquiry, since there was evidence that Tongsun Park had made contributions to their 1972 political campaigns. The examination of these witnesses, including the five Senators mentioned above and persons associated with them, occurred on March 22 and April 10, 11 and 27.

Cross-examination of these Senators and former Senators and of the other witnesses was thorough and intensive. Each Senator and former Senator appeared voluntarily before the Committee, and (except Senator Montoya whose illness necessarily caused a delay) accepted the date suggested by the staff for his appearance. Moreover, at no time did any Senator decline to answer any question or demand any treatment as a witness different from that which is normally afforded to witnesses in Federal courts.

A number of leads must yet be followed before the inquiry can be considered complete. For example, there is the on going investigation into charges that the former Korean Ambassador to the United States, Kim Dong Jo, and possibly other Korean officials or agents, made payments to some Members of Congress (though not necessarily to Senators) or their families. Efforts to obtain access to these officials has thus far proved fruitless. The Korean Government has not agreed to permit the Committee to interview these officials on a face-to-face basis, quite apart from granting permission to examine them under oath. Thus, the inquiry to date, while substantial, is not yet complete.

SUMMARY OF TESTIMONY

[All citations to "Tr." refer to Korean Influence Inquiry, Executive Session Hearings before the Select Committee on Ethics, U.S. Senate, Vol. I.]

Senator Birch Bayh

Senator Birch Bayh testified that he and Tongsun Park "were, and I suppose one could say, still are social friends" (Tr. 498), and Tongsun Park counts the Senator as one of his "close friends" (Tr. 136). Senator Bayh and Mr. Park agree that they first met during the late 1960s (Tr. 499–500, 122). They saw each other, says Park, about "once or twice a month" when "I was in Washington" (Tr. 123), or, according to Senator Bayh, about "half a dozen times a year" (Tr. 500). They agree that they visited each other's homes (Tr. 124, 130, 498, 503), saw each other at The George Town Club (Tr. 125–27, 503), lunched in the United States Senate Dining Room (Tr. 124, 127, 501), and had discussions in the Senator's office (Tr. 123–24, 501; *see generally* Ex. 131). Senator Bayh testified that he has never discussed any of Mr. Park's businesses with Park (Tr. 521), and, indeed, that as late as October 1977, he did not even know that Mr. Park was in the rice business (*compare* Tr. 521–22 *with* Ex. 133). They both deny the accuracy of a statement in a letter from Representative Richard T. Hanna to Republic of Korea President Park Chung Hee, stating that Senator Bayh advised Tongsun Park on how to minimize Senate criticism of the Park regime (Tr. 47–48, 128–29, 506–07; Ex. 10C).

On June 20, 1973, Tongsun Park hosted a black tie dinner for between 80 and 86 guests at The George Town Club in honor of Senator Bayh (Tr. 125–26, 503–04). The cost of the dinner was $3,800, including food, drink, flowers and orchestra, and was paid for by Mr. Park (Tr. 125–27, 503; Ex. 35, 35A, 35B, 35C & 35D). Additionally, Senator Bayh and Mr. Park both acknowledge that Mr. Park has given various gifts of small value to the Senator and his wife, including a lacquer tray, a topaz ring and a plant (Tr. 123, 124–25, 500, 503; Ex. 31 & 34), and that Senator Bayh once gave $25 to Representative Richard Hanna toward a silver cigarette box that was given to Mr. Park as a birthday present (Tr. 127, 508; Ex. 36).

Mr. Park also testified that in the "summer or early fall" of 1974 (Tr. 132), one of Senator Bayh's aides requested him to make a campaign contribution to the Senator, and that Mr. Park did so (Tr. 130–32). Mr. Park stated:

> In this case, I believe it was Jason Berman, the Senator's administrative assistant, who told me about the requirement for his senatorial campaign for reelection and if I could make a contribution myself, and also ask some other friends to make a contribution right along with me. That is when I talked to Ed Merrigan and also called [Claude] Wild, who was another dear friend of mine. And I don't know whether

> they made a contribution or not. But I certainly remember making a contribution in the form of cash to Jay Berman. That was my best recollection [Tr. 131–32].

Mr. Park testified that he believes he and Mr. Berman met in Mr. Berman's office where Mr. Berman requested Mr. Park to contribute between $1,000 and $2,000 to the Bayh campaign and to seek to have his friends do the same (*id; see also* Tr. 73). In a second meeting a few days later, "I seem to recall, I cannot say for sure, but I think it was Jay Berman to whom I gave the contribution" (Tr. 132) in the amount of $1,500 to $1,800 in cash (Tr. 130, 132). Mr. Park does not recall discussing this contribution with Senator Bayh (Tr. 133).

Mr. Jason Berman, who in 1974 was Senator Bayh's Executive Assistant and one of his major fundraisers (Tr. 453–54, 516) unequivocally denies (1) that he ever requested Mr. Park to seek contributions from his friends for the Bayh campaign; (2) that he ever requested Mr. Park to make a contribution himself; and (3) that he ever received a contribution from Mr. Park (Tr. 463–64). Just as conclusively, Senator Bayh testified:

> I can say unequivocally that he made no political contributions. He gave me no money, no gifts of any significant consequence, and the same can be said to the best of my knowledge to my staff and unequivocally, of course, to my family [Tr. 498].

Senator Bayh does recall, however, one occasion where Mr. Tongsun Park, in the presence of Senator Bayh, Mr. Jason Berman and Mr. Edward Merrigan, offered to make a campaign contribution to Senator Bayh's campaign (Tr. 513–15, 522–23). Senator Bayh had not revealed this offer in his response to the Committee's questionnaire (Ex. 133; *cf.* Tr. 520–22). The descriptions of this meeting by each of the participants differ markedly.

Senator Bayh says that he has a "very strong recollection" of this meeting (Tr. 501), which he initially said occurred in "late 1973 or early 1974" (Tr. 506; *see* Tr. 512), but which he later said he assumed occurred on October 8, 1974 (*compare* Tr. 514 *and* Tr. 516 *with* Tr. 517). In either event, the meeting was in his Capitol office (Tr. 506, 513). He "assume[s]" that he had gone to lunch with Mr. Park or had been called off the Senate floor for the meeting (Tr. 513). Mr. Park had frequently mentioned to both the Senator and the Senator's wife, Marvella Bayh, that he would like to be "helpful" to the campaign (Tr. 507–08, 512, 513, 515, 522, 523). The Senator, however, agreed that this was "[t]he only time" he and Mr. Park had "ever talked turkey about a campaign contribution" (Tr. 523). The Senator testified that he declined Mr. Park's offer of a contribution (Tr. 513, 515, 522, 523):

> I had reflected on it; had come to the conclusion that that was not the kind of thing I wanted any part of. I was sort of on the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand, I did not feel that it was the thing to do so far as my campaign was concerned to take money from someone who was not an American citizen.

> On the other hand, I wanted to be as graceful as I could in saying no to a friend that I thought wanted to be helpful, with no ulterior motives [Tr. 513].

Edward Merrigan also offered to make contributions to the Senator on two separate occasions during 1974; both times they were accepted (Tr. 512). But Senator Bayh testified:

> I don't think the Merrigan contribution was ever discussed in any way, shape, or form at that meeting. In fact, in my mind, I don't know what he was doing there [Tr. 514; *see* Tr. 522].

Tongsun Park's memory of this episode was anything but strong. He does recall asking Mr. Merrigan at a social event to make a contribution to Senator Bayh (Tr. 128, 132, 135). He also recalls meeting Edward Merrigan "in the Senate somewhere, . . . as also Mr. Berman. Whether separately or together, I do not recall" (Tr. 134–35):

> I do recall having some sort of meeting. But as to the specifics, such as coming up there and calling the Senator off the floor and a meeting taking place in the small room adjacent to the Senate, I don't recall such specific incidents [Tr. 134].

Mr. Merrigan's memory of the meeting seemed much clearer. He acknowledged that Mr. Park had asked him to contribute to Senator Bayh (Tr. 486, 488–89). Mr. Merrigan testified that at 5:00 p.m. on about October 8, 1974 (Tr. 490, 494), he went to Senator Bayh's main office to keep an appointment which he or Mr. Park had made (Tr. 491, 494). The Senator was on the floor of the Senate, so Mr. Merrigan went with Mr. Berman to the Senator's Capitol office where, to Mr. Merrigan's surprise, Mr. Park was present (Tr. 491, 492, 494). Mr. Merrigan says that he never knew why Mr. Park was present, and that there was no discussion of a possible contribution by Mr. Park (Tr. 491, 492–93). It was at this meeting, testified Mr. Merrigan, that "I made a $1,000 contribution to Senator Bayh, sitting at his desk, because I recall it was in his office at the Capitol" (Tr. 490; *see* 491–92; Ex. 126A).

Finally, Mr. Berman recalled this meeting in detail, although his description differed from those of each of the other participants. Mr. Berman recalls that Senator Bayh mentioned one morning that Tongsun Park "wanted to bring some people to help Senator Bayh in the campaign, and that he would be calling" (Tr. 458). "Park did in fact call" setting up an appointment through Mr. Berman (*id.*). Mr. Park came to the office with Mr. Merrigan and the three of them then met with the Senator, who had been on the Senate floor, in his Capitol office (Tr. 458, 459). There followed, for the next "20 minutes to a half hour" (Tr. 460), "a very strained meeting" (*id.*). Mr. Berman testified that Mr. Merrigan neither made a contribution nor pledged a contribution at that meeting (Tr. 460; *see* Tr. 462), and that he does not recall any discussion of a possible contribution by Tongsun Park (Tr. 460). Shortly thereafter, according to Mr. Berman, the campaign received a personal check from Mr. Merrigan (Tr. 460, 462). Mr. Berman initially stated that it was for $1,000 (Tr. 459, 462). However, after being informed that the campaign had reported

a $1,000 contribution from Mr. Merrigan as having been received in October 1974, Mr. Berman decided that it must have been only a $200 contribution that was received shortly after the meeting, since Mr. Berman believed that the meeting occurred "sometime in the first half of the year," and Mr. Merrigan also made a $200 contribution in June 1974 (*compare* Tr. 459 *with* Tr. 461–62). (Mr. Merrigan testified that the $200 contribution had been made at a Bayh fundraiser on June 26, 1974, the date of the check [Tr. 493; Ex. 126; *see* Tr. 486, 491]).

Mr. Merrigan testified that the $1,000 contribution he made was solely from his personal funds; he was not acting as a conduit for Mr. Park (Tr. 486, 488, 489). Senator Bayh and Mr. Berman both testified that they had no reason to suspect otherwise (Tr. 460–61, 514), and Mr. Park testified that he did not think he had contributed to Senator Bayh through Mr. Merrigan, but that since he had no specific "recollection, I cannot make a comment one way or the other" (Tr. 135).

Senator Bayh also testified that he has visited the Korean Embassy (Tr. 502; Ex. 131), and that in September 1972, he hosted a reception at the Capitol in honor of Korean Ambassador Kim Dong Jo and Foreign Minister Kim Yong Shik (Tr. 502–03; Ex. 26 & 131). Senator Bayh testified that he did not recall what the "remembrance" was, for which he had sent a thank-you letter to Ambassador Kim in late 1972 or early 1973 (Tr. 504; Ex. 131 & 132), but said that his secretary had informed him "that the Koreans send you something every Christmas" (Tr. 504).

Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr.

Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr.'s campaign committee received a $500 check from Tongsun Park in 1970, and the Senator acknowledged the contribution by letter dated November 16, 1970 (Tr. 184, 186–87; Ex. 53 & 54). Mr. Park testified that he had never contributed anything else to Senator Byrd, any of his campaigns or any member of his family or staff (Tr. 187).

Mr. Park testified that he was not a close friend of the Senator (Tr. 4–5) and that he first met Senator Byrd in the latter part of the 1960s (Tr. 181). Mr. Park testified that the Senator attended "one or two" social functions at Mr. Park's invitation (Tr. 185). He did not recall visiting the Senator in his office, although Mr. Park said he "happened" to meet Senator Byrd "once or twice" near the floor of the Senate. "[H]e walked out and I think [he] said hello and exchanged friendly remarks. That was the extent of it" (Tr. 182, 184).

Mr. Park did not recall asking Senator Byrd to write on his behalf to President Park and said he had never discussed with the Senator any legislation affecting Mr. Park's business interests or the interests of the Republic of Korea (Tr. 184–85). Mr. Park apparently did deliver to Senator Byrd's office a piece of silk from then Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) Director Kim Kye Won some time prior to January 9, 1970 (Tr. 182–83; Ex. 52).

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

Tongsun Park thought that he had first met Senator Hubert H. Humphrey "way before" Senator Humphrey became Vice President, which was in January 1965, and that this meeting had occurred through

the Senator's sister, Frances Howard, and her family (Tr. 30). After that time, Senator Humphrey became one of six or seven Senators Mr. Park knew better than the great majority of Mr. Park's "friends" in the Senate (Tr. 5). He testified that he knew the Senator "socially, more like a member of the family" (*id.*). Mr. Park said he had also visited the Senator's home in Waverly, Minnesota, in connection with the wedding of Mrs. Howard's son in June 1972 (Tr. 37, 43). Mrs. Howard's daughter, Anne Howard, confirmed that Mr. Park had attended the wedding as her guest, but denied that Mr. Park visited Senator Humphrey's home on that occasion (Tr. 328–29, 333). Mr. Park testified, "I think people generally knew that I was very close to Vice President or Senator Humphrey. . . . Many times we discussed matters not related to politics at all" (Tr. 31).

Anne Howard, the Senator's niece, testified that she had worked as a volunteer on the 1972 Humphrey Presidential campaign (Tr. 329). Ms. Howard said that at approximately the end of March 1972, she had told John Morrison, a Deputy Campaign Manager, in his office at Humphrey campaign headquarters in Washington, that she "wanted to help out and campaign in California for the primary" (Tr. 329–30). She said Mr. Morrison told her "there was not at that time sufficient funds to cover my expenses to go out there" (Tr. 330). Ms. Howard said that approximately two weeks later she told Mr. Park, whom she had been dating, about her conversation with Mr. Morrison, and Mr. Park "said that he would try to help out or that he would look into the matter" (Tr. 331–32; *see* Tr. 328). Mr. Park confirmed that Ms. Howard had told him about this conversation (Tr. 38, 42). He said he "more or less drew [his] own conclusion that if somebody could make the contribution then it would enable her to fulfill her little dream" (Tr. 39). Mr. Park said he thought Ms. Howard "suggested Jack Morrison is the one that [he] should see" (Tr. 42; *see* Tr. 38–39; *see also* Tr. 331–32).

Mr. Park testified that he made at least one contribution for Senator Humphrey's campaign in the sum of $5,000 in cash to Mr. Morrison (Tr. 38–39). He said his "ledger and diary, especially the diary," indicated that he made two payments of $5,000 each (Tr. 38; Ex. 10 & 10A). Mr. Park's diary for April 29, 1972 contains the entry "Morrison & committs [*sic*] to HHH ⑩" (Ex. 10). The diary for May 1, 1972 contains the entry "Morrison (for HHH) 5" (*id.*). Mr. Park's 1972 ledger has an entry for "5/1" that reads "H.H. 5000" (Ex. 10A).

Mr. Park testified that he did not "know who initiated the amount, but after talking to Jack Morrison and as a result of conversation with Anne, somehow $5,000 came up. That would be the amount needed to finance Anne's trip" (Tr. 41–42). He also stated, "since I show the figure 10 in my diary, it is conceivable also we could have talked about the figure of $10,000" (Tr. 42). Ms. Howard testified that Mr. Morrison had never indicated to her the amount of money that would be required to cover her expenses in California and that she had not mentioned any such amount to Mr. Park (Tr. 332).

Mr. Park further testified,

> So as the diary shows, I must have gone and seen [Mr. Morrison] . . . April 29 of 1972. It was indeed confirmed on the part of Mr. Morrison that if I made certain contributions, Anne could go on this trip, and I think the figure of

> $5,000 or $10,000 was mentioned. So I responded in the positive way, by making a commitment.
>
> If I had to rely on the diary, I made a commitment to contribute $10,000. But the only evidence that . . . I can find, is that I made a $5,000 contribution 2 days later, May 1, in the afternoon, directly to Mr. Morrison [Tr. 39; Ex. 10A].

From a photograph (Ex. 91 & 91A), Mr. Park identified Mr. Morrison as the person to whom he gave the contribution (Tr. 355).

Ms. Howard testified that approximately three or four weeks after her discussion with Mr. Morrison, she received a call from him indicating that sufficient funds had come in to cover her expenses in California (Tr. 330).

Mr. Morrison in his testimony confirmed that the campaign was short of funds in April, May and June 1972 and had to restrict the amount of traveling done by campaign staff members (Tr. 336–37). He also confirmed that "essentially [he] was in charge of approving travel" (Tr. 337; *see also* Ex. 90). He did not "specifically remember" Anne Howard discussing campaign plans she had that involved her traveling to California, but was "sure" they had such discussions and knew that she had eventually gone to California to work on the campaign (Tr. 337). However, Mr. Morrison testified that he did not "believe [he had] ever met" Tongsun Park and did not know of any contribution by Mr. Park to the 1972 Humphrey campaign (Tr. 337–38). He added, "I am not saying that it didn't take place, but I do not believe that it did" (Tr. 338).

Although Mr. Park thought he "made known to Anne that [he] was interested in talking about her trip" to California prior to making the contribution, he testified that he did not think he had ever told Ms. Howard that he had actually made the contribution (Tr. 41–42). Ms. Howard confirmed that Mr. Park had not told her he had made a contribution (Tr. 332). She testified that she was "not aware of any contribution that was made to the Senator's campaign by Mr. Park at all" (Tr. 334). Mr. Park said that Senator Humphrey never indicated to him that he was aware of the contribution or referred to it in any way (Tr. 43).

Other than the 1972 contribution he testified he made to the Humphrey campaign, Mr. Park could not recall making any other payments or "gifts of any substance . . . to the Senator or his wife," or to the Humphrey campaigns of 1968, 1970 or 1976 (Tr. 43–44). Mr. Park did testify that he had paid for at least part of a trip by Anne Howard that included a visit to Korea (Tr. 36).

Mr. Park testified that he had visited Senator Humphrey in his office twice. On one of these visits, probably in 1972, Mr. Park discussed with Senator Humphrey the deposit clause "amendment to the military aid program" (Tr. 31). Mr. Park said he and Senator Humphrey had also discussed "the foreign aid program in general and military and modernization program in particular as far as Korea was concerned" the last time Mr. Park visited Senator Humphrey's office, apparently in 1974 (Tr. 44; *see also* Tr. 47–48; Ex. 10C).

In a letter dated August 27, 1974, then Representative Richard Hanna wrote to President Park Chung Hee that

> [t]hese hearings [held by subcommittees of the House Foreign Affairs Committee] in their originally planned form would have had a far reaching effect in the sense that the

> critics of the Korean Government, we discovered, were intending to use the report on these hearings to fortify those critics in the Senate in order to intensify their campaign against your Government. In order to prevent this course of events, Mr. Tongsun Park talked with Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, who has been a staunch friend of you personally, and he also appealed to Senator Birch Bayh . . . [Ex. 10C at 593–94].

(*But see* p. 7, *supra.*)

Mr. Park indicated that it was "very possible" that he might have talked to Senator Humphrey, as indicated in the Hanna letter, "not so much as a Member of the Senate chamber, but as a friend to whom I could turn that would have some sympathetic attitude toward Korea" (Tr. 48; Ex. 10C). Mr. Park testified that if Members of Congress

> were conservative, that meant automatically they would be more sympathetic to Korea. If they were extreme[ly] liberal, that meant automatically there is a tendency of they [*sic*] becoming anti, although that is not the case always. There is a rare exception to that rule [Tr. 33].

Mr. Park said that Senator Humphrey, a liberal, was "one of the exceptions to that automatic rule" (*id.*).

Mr. Park also testified about a number of other discussions with Senator Humphrey over the years (*see* Tr 31, 32) but said he had never asked Senator Humphrey to speak on his behalf to President Park or any Korean government official, nor had he asked Senator Humphrey to write to President Park on his behalf (Tr. 32). Mr. Park also said he had never made any requests of Senator Humphrey with respect to Mr. Park's rice business (Tr. 44).

Senator John McClellan

In October 1977, Senator John McClellan requested Special Counsel to meet with him in connection with the questionnaire Counsel had sent him. The meeting, which was also attended by the Deputy Special Counsel and two members of the Senator's staff, was held on October 31, 1977 in the Senator's office (Tr. 323, 325; Ex. 84). The Senator, who was in very poor health, acknowledged to Special Counsel that he had received a cash contribution of $1,000 from Tongsun Park a few days prior to November 7, 1972, the date of the general election (Tr. 323–25; *see* Tr. 351–52; Ex. 84; *see also* Ex. 81A). The Senator did not recall what he did with the funds, and his staff's search of publicly filed campaign reports revealed no evidence that the contribution was reported as required by law (Tr. 325). The Senator died less than a month after the meeting (Tr. 323).

Tongsun Park testified that Senator McClellan's nephew, Preston Pitts, Jr., introduced him to the Senator sometime in the mid-sixties (Tr. 113, 114). Mr. Park had met Mr. Pitts in the early sixties during a discussion leading to the establishment of The George Town Club (Tr. 114). Mr. Park testified that Senator McClellan became "very friendly to me" (*id.*) and that he addressed the Senator as "Uncle John" (Tr. 117). Mr. Park said he saw Senator McClellan socially when in Washington, "maybe once or twice a month" (Tr. 115).

Although Mr. Park testified that he saw the Senator and Mrs. McClellan at Park's home "[m]aybe five, six times" (Tr. 115), the Senator stated in his answer to the Special Counsel's questionnaire that "Mrs. McClellan and I were dinner guests at Park's home on one occasion only" (Ex. 85 at 753). Mr. Park testified that he never discussed any business matters with the Senator (Tr. 117), and at the meeting with Special Counsel the Senator confirmed this and added that he had never discussed legislation with Mr. Park (Ex. 84 at 749).

Mr. Park confirmed the $1,000 contribution to the Senator and described the circumstances as follows:

> [A]s I recall, to the best of my knowledge, . . . somehow the campaign contribution matter came up when I was talking to Preston Pitts. I believe in the summer of 1972. And I told him that I would be delighted to make a contribution, whereby I gave him, . . . close to $2,000 or even more, but later on, exactly I can't remember . . . when, . . . the money was sent back and with the explanation that the Senator wanted to keep only $1,000 [Tr. 117–18].

Mr. Park said he delivered the contribution in cash to Mr. Pitts "either at my house or his apartment" (Tr. 118; *see also* Tr. 318, 319). Mr. Pitts testified that he then had the contribution delivered to Senator McClellan's Washington office in a sealed envelope (Tr. 319). Senator McClellan's Executive Secretary testified that she then took the envelope to Senator McClellan in Little Rock, Arkansas (Tr. 341). The contribution was acknowledged by letter dated November 7, 1972 (Ex. 30), which his Executive Secretary testified was drafted by her and signed by the Senator (Tr. 345–46).

Although Tongsun Park testified that a portion of his $2,000 cash contribution was returned (Tr. 118, 120), he thinks through Preston Pitts (Tr. 120), Mr. Pitts testified that no part of the contribution was returned through him to Mr. Park (Tr. 321). Moreover, the Senator's Executive Secretary testified that when she wrote the thank you note to Mr. Park, she was told that the contribution was for $1,000 (Tr. 347).

Senator Spark M. Matsunaga

All of Senator Spark M. Matsunaga's dealings with Tongsun Park occurred while he was a Representative from Hawaii (Ex. 109 at 782). The Senator testified he believes he first met Mr. Park in the latter half of the 1960s, probably at a party in 1967 (*see id.*), and that former Representative Hanna, who was a close friend of Mr. Matsunaga (Tr. 424), introduced him to Mr. Park (Tr. 410). Mr. Matsunaga attended a birthday party organized by Representative Hanna for Tongsun Park. Each person attending paid $25.00 as his share toward the cost of the party (Tr. 415). Mr. Park testified that he and Mr. Matsunaga "became good social friends starting about 1971" (Tr. 201, 199). Senator Matsunaga testified that he "would consider [Mr. Park] a friend; not a real close friend but a friend" (Tr. 414).

Discussions between Mr. Park and Mr. Matsunaga ranged over the following topics: Mr. Park's rice agency (Tr. 422); "matters related to Koreans living in Hawaii" (Tr. 200–01); new business opportunities for Mr. Park (*id.*); and the tuna fishing business (*id.*).

On November 2, 1970, Mr. Park sent his check for $500 (Ex. 56) as a political contribution to Representative Matsunaga's campaign committee (Tr. 203, 415). The contribution apparently was not solicited (Tr. 203–04). Mr. Matsunaga acknowledged the contribution by letter (Ex. 57; Tr. 415–16, 204).

In June of the following year (*see* Ex. 109 at 782), Mr. Park came to Mr. Matsunaga's office and asked him to write a letter (Ex. 4) to President Park of Korea (Tr. 420). Senator Matsunaga thought that Mr. Park left a draft of the letter with David Nahm, Mr. Matsunaga's Staff Executive, who redrafted it for Mr. Matsunaga's signature (Tr. 420–21; *but cf.* Tr. 10). Senator Matsunaga testified that Mr. Park said he was "having some problems about keeping his agreement" to act as agent in rice sales from the United States to Korea and that the letter was written to "help him keep his contract" (Tr. 422). The letter, dated July 2, 1971, from then Representative Matsunaga to President Park of Korea, contains the following paragraph:

> In closing, I would like to mention that our mutual friend, Mr. Tongsun Park, has been a frequent visitor to my office. He has made me aware of the aspirations you hold for your country and kept me informed of your activities as you bring to South Korea well-deserved recognition and admiration in the family of nations. I have found his visits very informative and helpful [Ex. 4].

Senator Matsunaga testified concerning this paragraph as follows:

> Mr. KRAMER. . . . But I am asking you to search your recollection and consider again when a person who, up to that time, you thought was an ordinary private citizen of the Republic of Korea, then tells you in this letter, and you tell the President of Korea that Park has kept you informed of the activities of the President, didn't the suspicion even enter your mind at that time [that he was a foreign agent]?
>
> Senator MATSUNAGA. No, not really, because it was just a way of indicating that Mr. Park was doing his very best to promote better relations between the Government of Korea and the Government of the United States because I know of others who have, of other nations such as Japan and China, who are members of the so-called friends societies, like Japan-America Society, or whatever other societies, and they, from time to time, let me know about activities in Japan, which would promote friendship between the two countries. . . .
>
> Mr. KRAMER. . . . Have you ever had a visit to your office about which you have written a letter to the head of any other State than Korea, along the lines of the third paragraph of exhibit 4?
>
> Senator MATSUNAGA. No; because I was never asked to [Tr. 421–22].

On or about November 2, 1972 (*see* Ex. 113 at 788), Tongsun Park contributed $1,000 in cash to Mr. Matsunaga's campaign (Tr. 417–18). The cash, in a plain white envelope, was handed by Mr. Park to David Nahm, probably at The George Town Club (Tr. 204–05), and Mr. Matsunaga reported it as a contribution (Ex. 113 at 788).

As already noted, Senator Matsunaga testified that prior to 1975, he had "no knowledge, no suspicion that Mr. Park was an agent of a foreign government" (Tr. 421). Subsequently, however, on March 19, 1975, Philip Habib, then Assistant Secretary of State, advised Mr. Matsunaga: "[I]f I were you, I would stay away from that guy," referring to Tongsun Park (Tr. 426–27; Ex. 136). The record discloses no contacts between Mr. Matsunaga and Tongsun Park after March 10, 1975 (*see* Ex. 109 at 782).

Senator Jack Miller

Senator Jack Miller said in response to the questionnaire, which he later testified was accurate, that he met Tongsun Park a few months after returning from a January 1966 trip that included a stop in the Republic of Korea (Tr. 431, 432; Ex. 120 at 806; *cf.* Tr. 98–99). Mr. Park testified that he knew Senator Miller better than most Senators (Tr. 5). He said that he saw Senator Miller in the Senator's office about a half-dozen times between 1969 and 1972 (Tr. 99), and at social functions from six to eight times a year (*id.*).

Senator Miller testified that, while Mr. Park was not "a close friend," they were "friendly" (Tr. 433). Senator Miller also said in his questionnaire response that Mr. Park would stop by his offices "about five or six times a year, saying a brief 'hello' to the Senator or Stan Brown[e]," the Senator's Administrative Assistant (Ex. 120 at 806). In addition, the Senator testified that he saw Tongsun Park no more than four times a year at social occasions (Tr. 433). Senator Miller testified that he had no substantive discussions with Tongsun Park on any of these social occasions (*id.*).

A document from the files of Pacific Development, Inc., Mr. Park's company, lists four specific visits by Mr. Park to Senator Miller's office (Ex. 24), and Senator Miller's daily schedules list several other appointments (Ex. 122C, 122E & 122G). Tongsun Park testified that at one of these visits in December 1969, he gave Senator Miller a pair of inexpensive cuff links and discussed foreign aid with the Senator in general terms (Tr. 101; *see* Ex. 24). At a June 20, 1972, meeting listed both on Mr. Park's diary and on Senator Miller's daily schedule (Ex. 6B & 122F), Mr. Park testified he and Senator Miller discussed an amendment to the provision in the Senate version of the 1972 Foreign Assistance Act which would have required recipient countries to deposit 25 percent of the value of the aid in cash prior to receiving the aid (Tr. 106–07). Senator Miller testified that he had no recollection of this meeting (Tr. 443–44).

Of the specific meetings described by Tongsun Park and those listed in various documents (Tr. 100–07; Ex. 6B, 20, 24, 122, 122C, 122E–122G), Senator Miller could recall only the June 24, 1971, meeting (Tr. 441; *see generally* Tr. 435–45), where Park suggested that Senator Miller write a letter, which he did (Ex. 5), to Republic of Korea President Park Chung Hee congratulating him on his re-election (Tr. 441–42). Mr. Park confirmed this (Tr. 10), and said that one of the purposes of this letter was to assist him in regaining his rice agency (Tr. 10–11). Senator Miller testified that Mr. Park never discussed his rice business with him (Tr. 442).

Tongsun Park's ledger includes the following notation: "11–70, Miller (Sen), 1000" (Ex. 123). Mr. Park believes that this probably reflected a $1,000 contribution to an Iowa Congressional candidate named Cole McMartin, which had been requested by Senator Miller or one of the Senator's aides (Tr. 108–09). Exhibit 26 is a check for $1,000, payable to the McMartin for Congress Committee and signed by Tongsun Park. Senator Miller testified that he did not specifically recall this contribution and that he personally neither received the contribution from Mr. Park nor passed it on to Mr. McMartin. He did recall that those acting on behalf of Mr. McMartin had asked him to assist the McMartin campaign and he said that he might have contacted Mr. Park about this (Tr. 446).

Tongsun Park's 1972 diary contains an entry for November 3, 1972, reading "Jack Millers '3' " (Tr. 109). Mr. Park testified that shortly before the 1972 general election, the Senator, or one of the Senator's aides, requested that Park make a contribution to the campaign (Tr. 109–10, 112). Mr. Park further testified that the contribution was made in cash to one of the Senator's aides, possibly Stan Browne (Tr. 109–11).

Stan Browne testified that Tongsun Park did make a $3,000 cash contribution to the Senator's 1972 campaign, but that the contribution was received prior to April 7, 1972 (Tr. 385–86, 387), the effective date of the reporting requirements of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (FECA). Mr. Browne recalled that the contribution was in $100 bills (Tr. 386), and that James Locke, Senator Miller's Office Manager, brought the contribution to Iowa along with other contributions received immediately before the effective date of the new reporting requirements (Tr. 386–87). Mr. Browne testified that he did not request the contribution (Tr. 395), that he has no recollection of receiving it from Tongsun Park (Tr. 386), that he decided the contribution should not be kept because he believed it was illegal (Tr. 386, 391), and that he returned it to an employee of Mr. Park's within about two weeks after it had been originally received (Tr. 390). Mr. Browne testified that he was "quite sure" that he discussed the contribution with the campaign manager and "possibly" he discussed it with the campaign treasurer, but that he did not talk to the Senator about it (Tr. 388, 391–92). Mr. Browne testified that upon his return to Washington from Iowa, he called Mr. Park's office and asked that the contribution be picked up (Tr. 386, 390). He testified that an Oriental man—not Mr. Park—from Mr. Park's office came to the Senate office and was given an envelope containing the $3,000 in cash (Tr. 390–91). Tongsun Park testified that he has no recollection that the contribution to Senator Miller was returned (Tr. 112).

James Locke testified that he knew nothing about a Park contribution (Tr. 404) and that, in fact, he has never met Mr. Park (Tr. 401). He testified that he had made about three trips to Iowa in 1972, and that he recalls that the trip on which he took cash and checks to Iowa occurred just before the campaign law reporting requirement became effective (Tr. 403–04). However, Mr. Locke believes that this trip occurred in October 1972 (Tr. 404). (The FECA became effective in April 1972.) Mr. Locke further testified that at the time of the trip on which he carried cash to Iowa, which he was sure was just an over-

night trip (Tr. 406), Stan Browne was in Washington, D.C., not Iowa (*id.*), as Mr. Browne had testified (Tr. 386).

Senator Miller testified that he first learned about the $3,000 contribution in 1977, following the indictment of Tongsun Park, which listed him as a recipient of a Park contribution (Tr. 447–48). Senator Miller said that the only contribution which was refused in 1972, that he can recall, was a contribution offered by a milk producers group (*id.*).

Senator Miller testified that he had a "friendly" relationship with former Korean Ambassador Kim Dong Jo, that they played golf occasionally, and that they exchanged Christmas gifts (Tr. 439–40). Senator Miller's schedule for December 11, 1969, shows an appointment for Kim Dong Jo (Ex. 122). Tongsun Park testified that at about that time, he discussed foreign aid with Senator Miller (Tr. 101; *see* Ex. 24). Senator Miller testified that Ambassador Kim made no offer of cash to him (Tr. 440).

Senator Joseph M. Montoya

Tongsun Park testified that he met Senator Joseph M. Montoya in the "late [nineteen] sixties," and came to look to the Senator as an uncle or a father figure (Tr. 211). Mr. Park said that he and Senator Montoya were "personal friends" who "talked about many things, only that good friends will talk about, family matters" (*id.*; *see also* Tr. 5). Mr. Park estimated that when he was in Washington he saw or spoke with Senator Montoya about once a month (Tr. 213, 217).

Senator Montoya testified that he became acquainted with Tongsun Park sometime after 1964, and "only met with him on an average of once or twice a year during the course of about three or four years . . ." (Tr. 525–26). Senator Montoya stated that he did not recall "that I ever talked with him about family matters, except that he did discuss with me the nature of his business" (Tr. 526). Both Senator Montoya and Mr. Park testified that Mr. Park gave a party in his home for Joseph Montoya, Jr. and his fiancee, just before they were married, which was attended by Senator and Mrs. Robert Byrd (Tr. 550–51, 215–16).

Tongsun Park testified that he made a contribution by check of $3,000 to the "D.C. Citizens for Montoya" committee in 1970 (Ex. 59; *see* Tr. 211). This contribution was acknowledged by a letter to Mr. Park dated November 13, 1970, on Senator Montoya's personal Senate stationery (Ex. 60). Senator Montoya testified that "[t]his was a routine letter that was sent to every contributor," and said that he had not personally signed it (Tr. 527). Senator Montoya stated that he had not been informed of this contribution, and had first learned of it in news reports after Tongsun Park had been indicted (*id.*). Mr. Park testified that someone in the Senator's office asked him to make this contribution, but that he could not recall who it was (Tr. 211–12). Senator Montoya testified that he did not recall requesting a contribution from Mr. Park, and that he did not know of anyone on his staff who had done so (Tr. 527–28).

Senator Montoya sent a letter to President Park Chung Hee on June 25, 1971 (Ex. 3). In this letter, Tongsun Park was described as

"a true Patriot of Korea . . . a friend and a confidential source of reliable information on your country and its needs" (Ex. 3 at 569). Mr. Park testified that Senator Montoya sent this letter at his request, but that he did not recall preparing a draft of it for the Senator (Tr. 9, 219–20; *see also* Ex. 3A & 62). Senator Montoya testified that he has no recollection of this letter (Tr. 535–37); Senator Montoya said that he assumes that Mr. Park worked with a staff member on it (*id.*). One of the notes found attached to the letter in the Senator's files was clearly directed to the Senator (Ex. 3A; Tr. 535–37, 539). Mr. Park testified that he definitely discussed with Senator Montoya the fact that people were spreading derogatory and malicious rumors about Mr. Park in Korea, and that the discussion of this problem prompted the Senator to send the 1971 letter (Tr. 226). Senator Montoya testified that Mr. Park "never" talked with him about this subject (Tr. 536), and that he did not recall why he sent this letter (Tr. 538–39).

At Tongsun Park's request, Senator Montoya gave Jay Shin Ryu an unpaid position as an intern in his Senate office for several months beginning in February 1971 (Tr. 217, 546–47; *see also* Ex. 103). Senator Montoya was aware that Mr. Ryu was paid during this period by Mr. Park (Tr. 548; *see also* Tr. 217). Mr. Park testified that he advised Mr. Ryu to take this position in order to "get acquainted with . . . the workings of Congress," in preparation for going to work for Mr. Park's company, which Mr. Ryu did (Tr. 218). Senator Montoya testified that he had very little contact with Mr. Ryu in his office (Tr. 547–48). The Senator did not recall that he had ever seen Mr. Ryu socially, although he was shown a picture of himself posing with Mr. and Mrs. Ryu at The George Town Club (Ex. 104; Tr. 548–49).

Mr. Park testified that Senator Montoya took a leading role in the campaign to reduce or eliminate the requirement in the 1972 Foreign Assistance Act that recipient countries deposit 25 percent of the value of their aid in cash prior to receiving that aid (Tr. 222, 224–25; *see also* Ex. 63 at 694; *cf.* Ex. 102 at 771–72). Mr. Park's 1972 diary shows that he discussed this issue with Senator Montoya on June 16 and again on June 20 (Ex. 6A & 6B; Tr. 222–23). Senator Montoya testified that, although he did recall having some conversations with Tongsun Park about military aid, he did not recall any discussion about this deposit requirement (Tr. 541–43). Senator Montoya did not recall discussing this requirement with any other Senators, or "expend[ing] any great effort" in regard to it (Tr. 542–43). Senator Montoya stated that in the Senate, he always voted against the foreign aid bills which included military aid (Tr. 540).

On February 23, 1973, Tongsun Park delivered a check for $2,000 to the cemetery fund of Our Lady of Sorrows Church in New Mexico in memory of Senator Montoya's brother, who had been killed in an automobile accident (Ex. 15; Tr. 213, 529; *see also* Tr. 26–28). Senator Montoya testified that Mr. Park delivered the check to his Senate office, and that he delivered it to New Mexico himself (Tr. 529).

On the same date as the check, February 23, 1973, Senator Montoya sent a letter to President Park Chung Hee at the request of Tongsun Park (Ex. 7; Tr. 219, 530; *see also* Tr. 26–28). Senator Montoya testified that Mr. Park brought a complete draft of the letter to his office; he might have read the letter hurriedly, but his secretary prepared it

and signed it for him (Tr. 529–31, 532–33). Mr. Park testified that he worked with one of the Senator's staff to prepare the letter (Tr. 26, 219; *see also* Tr. 28; Ex. 14).

In this letter, Senator Montoya thanked President Park for his "thoughtful and generous gesture in memory of my late brother . . . extended through my good friend, Tongsun Park . . ." (Ex. 7 at 581). Mr. Park testified that this referred to his check to the cemetery fund, which he had said at the time was from President Park; Mr. Park said that he had intended to be reimbursed for his gift by President Park and may, in fact, have received such reimbursement (Tr. 26–27, 214–15). Senator Montoya testified that he did not recall reading this portion of the letter and was not made aware that the donation to the cemetery fund was from President Park; "for all intents and purposes, I considered the contribution . . . to be coming from Mr. Tongsun Park" (Tr. 531; *see* Tr. 529–31).

In this same letter to President Park, Senator Montoya mentioned Tongsun Park several times, and said that he had asked Tongsun Park to reassure President Park of the Senator's continuing commitment to aid for Korea (Ex. 7). Mr. Park testified that he was "sure" that Senator Montoya was under the impression that he was in a position to carry personal messages to President Park (Tr. 28–29). Senator Montoya testified that Mr. Park had described himself as a "very close friend of President Park"; but the Senator said that he did not recall asking Tongsun Park to deliver any message to President Park (Tr. 534). Senator Montoya said that he presumed that Mr. Park was loyal to Korea and so wanted to advance its interests, "but not in any official capacity" (Tr. 529).

Aside from the $3,000 campaign contribution in 1970 and the $2,000 donation to the cemetery fund in 1973, Mr. Park testified that he made no other contributions or gifts to Senator Montoya, his staff, or his campaign committees. Except for a wedding present to the Senator's son, Joseph Montoya, Jr., Mr. Park said he made no other gifts or contributions to Senator Montoya's family (Tr. 215). Senator Montoya confirmed this information, except that he did not recall any wedding gift (Tr. 532).

Senator Stuart Symington

Senator Stuart Symington's campaign committee received a $500 contribution by check from Tongsun Park in 1970 (Ex. 65). Senator Symington acknowledged this contribution by letter dated November 16, 1970 (Ex. 66). Mr. Park testified that the contribution had been requested by True Davis, a mutual friend of his and Senator Symington's, and was delivered to Mr. Davis (Tr. 227–29). Mr. Park testified that he could not recall giving any other contributions to Senator Symington or any of his campaigns, and that he did not give any gifts to the Senator or any member of his family or staff (Tr. 229).

Mr. Park testified that he met Senator Symington in 1970, and saw the Senator "exclusively" at social occasions, "[a]bout once or twice a year" (Tr. 227, 229). Mr. Park said that he knew Senator Symington "casually," but knew some of the Senator's friends "well," includ-

ing True Davis and the Senator's son, James Symington (Tr. 227). Mr. Park stated that he did not remember Senator Symington ever attending any of his parties and did not recall attending any parties at which Senator Symington was the host (Tr. 229).

Mr. Park testified that he did not recall having any substantive discussions with Senator Symington, and that he had not visited the Senator's office (*id.*). Mr. Park said that he did not see Senator Symington during the Senator's visit to Korea in 1971 (*id.*).

Senator John Tower

Senator John Tower testified that it is his recollection that he first met Tongsun Park in the mid-1960s at a social function at the home of Mrs. Anna Chennault (Tr. 296, *but see* 151). Although Mr. Park testified that he knew Senator Tower well and that their relationship was more than on a "social basis" (Tr. 5), Senator Tower testified that he regarded Mr. Park as a "social acquaintance" (Tr. 306), not as a "personal" friend (Tr. 316).

Mr. Park came to Senator Tower's office on at least seven occasions between 1967 and 1970, and the Senator visited Mr. Park in the latter's residence on at least three occasions between 1965 and 1967 (Ex. 79 & 79A). In 1967, Mr. Park was one of Senator Tower's sponsors for membership in The George Town Club (Tr. 304; Ex. 46B). It apppears that Mr. Park never asked Senator Tower to write a letter on Mr. Park's behalf to anyone in connection with Mr. Park's business interests, nor did he ask the Senator for help in obtaining or regaining his rice agency (Tr. 155, 173; *see* Tr. 305). Senator Tower testified that he regarded Mr. Park "probably as a business agent for the Government of Korea" (Tr. 305).

Senator Tower's period of frequent contacts with Mr. Park apparently terminated in 1970 (*see* Ex. 79 & 79A). Senator Tower's explanation is as follows:

> I think some of my staff expressed concern when the newspapers began to publish stories about his high profile, big spending, social functions and that sort of thing, sort of conveying the playboy image.
>
> And characteristically, I do not move in the jet set or in the cafe society. I remember a discussion with Tom Corcoran over the telephone about what a public ass Park was making of himself, but I can't remember anything beyond that [Tr. 308].

Senator Tower, however, added that "at that time [1970], I did not suspect that he [Tongsun Park] had any association with Korean intelligence" (Tr. 309).

Senator Tower testified that he neither solicited nor received a political contribution from Mr. Park (*id.*). Mr. Park testified that he believed "someone acting on his [Senator Tower's] behalf, requested" a contribution to his 1972 campaign (Tr. 173–74). Mr. Park's testimony confirmed that he made no contribution to the Senator (Tr. 174, 178). Senator Tower said he could not "recall" ever accepting "anything of value" from Mr. Park other than hospitality (Tr, 311), and Mr. Park confirmed this (Tr. 174, 178). Senator Tower also testi-

fied that neither he nor, to the best of his knowledge, any member of his family or Senatorial staff received anything from Tongsun Park in excess of $25.00 in value (Tr. 311).

However, in 1969, Mr. Park apparently delivered to the Senator on behalf of President Park Chung Hee of Korea a necklace, earrings and cuff links (Ex. 48; *see* Tr. 161–62). Senator Tower thought "they were the kind of costume jewelry that are mass produced in Korea" (Tr. 310) and are less than $25.00 in value (Tr. 311).

In addition to his contacts with Tongsun Park before 1970, Senator Tower also had a number of contacts with high Korean officials in the Embassy, in his Senate office and in Seoul (Ex. 79 & 79A) on his official trip there in 1967 (*see* Ex. 80 at 730). For example, Senator Tower visited the Korean Embassy at least three times during a twelve-month period in 1969–70, and Ambassador Kim Dong Jo visited Senator Tower's office at least twice during approximately the same period (Ex. 79 & 79A). Senator Tower testified that Ambassador Kim Dong Jo never offered him any political contribution or gift (Tr. 315).

Senator Tower offered as an exhibit (Ex. 80A) a document entitled "Senator Tower's Record on Foreign Aid as it Relates to Korea—1965–76" (Tr. 312). He testified that the exhibit refutes any idea that there was a pattern between visits by Koreans with Senator Tower and his voting record (Tr. 312–13). He explained that it was quite usual for him to talk with ambassadors of foreign nations. He testified:

> I have talked to Ambassadors of all of these countries about matters that affect them. They, of course, communicate to us their particular interest in it [*sic*] and, of course, the usual thing is to try to identify their national interests with ours, which I perceive as their job [Tr. 314].

Contribution Lists

Exhibit 18 is a copy of a document found in Tongsun Park's house which contains a list of names of Senators and Representatives, with figures next to the names representing hundred-dollar amounts (Tr. 70–73). Mr. Park testified that he had this list with him in December 1973, when his luggage was searched and a document discovered as he passed through customs in Anchorage, Alaska, while returning to the United States from Korea (Tr. 70–71). Mr. Park said that he made up this list prior to May 1972 (Tr. 71, 75), when he was "contemplating what kind of contributions that I might be interested in making for that year [1972]" (Tr. 72); it was not a list of contributions already made. He said that each Senator's name was placed on the list as the result of someone requesting a contribution for that Senator (*id.*). In response to questioning about each of the Senators whose name appears on this list, Mr. Park testified that contributions were made only to the Senators identified at pages 7–21, *supra* (Tr. 73–75).

The customs inspector who saw the list of Members of Congress in Alaska reconstructed part of that list immediately after the incident (Tr. 77). But his reconstructed list contained some names not on exhibit 18. Mr. Park testified that he did not contribute in 1972 to any

of the additional Senators on the customs inspector's reconstructed list (Tr. 77–78). Mr. Park did say that he had intended to contribute to Senator Allen Ellender, whose name was on the reconstructed list, but that Senator Ellender died in 1972, before Mr. Park was able to make the contribution (Tr. 77).

Mr. Park testified that another list of Senators and Representatives found in his home (Ex. 21) was also a prospective list for 1972 that he had written, but that someone else had written in the figures under the contributions columns on the list (Tr. 71, 81–82). Mr. Park stated that he did not contribute to any Senators on this list other than those already noted (Tr. 82–84).

Mr. Park testified extensively about the document entitled "Results of TS Activities," dated September 30, 1972 (Ex. 20). The document appears to describe in some detail activities purportedly undertaken by Mr. Park to influence United States officials and public figures. Mr. Park, however, testified he first saw the document when Jay Shin Ryu gave it to him in "the latter part of 1974 or early part of 1975" (Tr. 89–90). Mr. Park stated that he "did not prepare this document myself" (Tr. 93; *see* 90). Mr. Park testified that he made contributions to only four of the Senators whose names appear on the list at the end of this document (Tr. 38–39, 117–18, 109–12, 211). The contributions to those Senators are discussed at pages 11, 14, 17 and 18, *supra*.

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