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Sign

United States Department of the Interior

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20240



March 27, 1984

WS

Mr. Kim Dae Jung
Korean Institute for Human
Rights
P. O. Box 11618
Alexandria, Virginia 22312

Dear Mr. Jung:

Thank you for your letters of March 8, advising William P. Clark and me of matters involving the possibility of discussions between North and South Korea and the United States. While both Mr. Clark and I find your letter and the materials forwarded with it to be of considerable interest, I must advise you that Mr. Clark's and my responsibilities within the Administration have shifted from the National Security Council to the Department of the Interior. You should direct your communications to Mr. Clark's successor as Advisor for National Security Affairs, Mr. Robert C. McFarlane.

Sincerely,

RM Richard C. Morris

cc: Robert C. McFarlane
w/original Jung letters

NSC # 8402938

2938.

Loretta -

Please call me.

Flo - X-5054

I also feel, however, that this is a time of critical importance and that time is of critical importance to the public concerning Soviet behavior and what steps our country must take to maintain national security in response to Soviet violations. Moreover, in the process of assessing the threat posed by Soviet violations and the required actions to counter that threat, Congressional understanding of the full scope of Soviet violations is fundamentally necessary.

Specifically, I have noted media reports that you have recently received a National Security Council assessment of Soviet development (in direct violation of the Biological Warfare Convention) of an entirely new form of offensive biological warfare in which genetic engineering has been employed to develop super-virulent forms of viruses and other lethal agents. If these media accounts are correct, I respectfully request that the report you received be appropriately transmitted to Congress since its contents would have direct impact on Congressional action concerning a variety of national defense programs now under review.

RECEIVED 10 APR 84 10

TO CLARK, WILLIAM P FROM JUNG, KIM DAE

DOCDATE 08 MAR 84

KEYWORDS KOREA MP

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KOREAN INSTITUTE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

March 8, 1984

Mr. William P. Clark
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Secretary Clark:

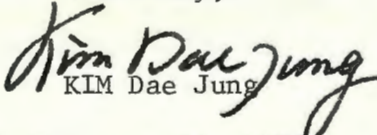
North Korea has proposed a three-way dialogue which would involve the United States and North and South Korea. This represents a change in attitude from its traditional position of intransigence. Previous to this proposal, it had only sought dialogue between North Korea and the United States. South Korea is now insisting on bilateral talks between North and South Korea alone. As I mentioned in one of the enclosed speeches, I see a good possibility of dialogue developing between both sides which might involve two, three, four or six nations.

Also at this time, there is a political crisis in the South stemming from the present military government's lack of popularity among our people and the lack of democratization to which our people have long aspired.

In a word, I see great possibility of change in Korea this year. There is looming danger because of the present dictatorial rule in the South and because of United States government support for that dictatorship.

I have made some speeches which address these issues and I am sending them to you for your reference as you evaluate the situation in Korea. I really hope you will have time to read this material. I would appreciate any comments you may have to make on it.

Sincerely,


KIM Dae Jung

enclosures: "The Present Situation in Korea"; February 21, 1984
"The Korean Peninsula - Peace and Reunification"; February 22, 1984



KOREAN INSTITUTE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

"THE KOREAN PENINSULA - PEACE AND REUNIFICATION"

by KIM, Dae Jung

Riverside Church
New York City
February 22, 1984

It is a privilege for me to speak before you at this church - a church which is so closely identified with one of the themes in my talk - that of peace. This church must take pride in the role it has had and in its minister, Rev. Coffin, who has been a leader in the peace movement for a long, long time. He is widely recognized as having been an outstanding figure in the Vietnam peace movement. I believe we may safely call him a prophet of our time as he continues to press for a resolution of the conflict in Central America.

I am touched by and deeply grateful for the role Rev. Coffin and this church took in my personal plight in 1980. I know that on very short notice Rev. Coffin opened this church to a gathering of some 600 people who expressed concern and anger when news of my arrest in May of that year reached here at the time of the Kwangju incident.

It is my hope that Rev. Coffin and this church will continue to play a significant role in the resolution of problems facing my country, Korea.

I. The Conditions of Peace

Technically speaking, the Korean peninsula has continued on in a state of war ever since the truce of July, 1953 because there has been no progress toward a peace treaty. Intense hostility has remained. The number of soldiers and the amount of weaponry has actually increased. The possibility of another conflict has been evident for over thirty years. The United States has maintained tens of thousands of troops in South Korea throughout this period in order to prevent another conflict. However, there has been peace on the peninsula - though it has been tenuous.

I see two major reasons that this peace has been maintained in spite of the poor conditions. First, there has been a balance of power factor not only between the South and the North but also with their respective supporters, the United States and Japan on one side and China and the Soviet Union on the other. As in Europe, the balance of power on the Korean peninsula has helped to keep the peace. The situation in Korea is thus not like that in the Middle East where there is no effective balance of power. Second, neither side has felt that it could gain any advantage by provoking war and thus upset this balance of power. Each side has felt it would only sustain serious damage should war break out. The damage would destroy the works of great labor which went into building up out of the ashes of war. War has been avoided because there has existed a balance of power and there has been no temptation to gain advantage on either side. These conditions will last long into the future. Thus, I don't see much possibility of another conflict. In addition, China has recently expressed a strong desire to promote peaceful conditions on the peninsula in cooperation with the United States and Japan. The Soviet Union is also unwilling to see any conflict on the Korean peninsula because it can see no advantage in such a conflict.

Last month, North Korea proposed a three-way dialogue revealing a drastic change in attitude. It had strongly opposed any dialogue with South Korea before then and had persistently insisted on having negotiations only with the United States to bring about a peace treaty. There is a great possibility that dialogue involving both South and North Korea will take place this year in spite of present delays. President Reagan's visit to China this April may bring about significant progress toward the start of dialogue. Though I am not sure that a permanent peace treaty can be achieved, I believe that dialogue can ease the tensions and hostility on the peninsula. I know that South Korea on the one hand and China and the Soviet Union on the other have hopes of establishing trade ties. It is known that North Korea also has a desire to develop economic relations with western countries. There is talk that North Korea is preparing a free port for this purpose on its west coast. Such economic relations could greatly help to maintain peace on the Korean peninsula.

However, there is a serious factor which if uncorrected can certainly damage the balance of power on the peninsula and the national security of South Korea. Since South Korea is under dictatorial rule, there is no guarantee of freedom of speech, academic freedom, freedom to organize and participate in trade unions, and elections of true value. There is a rubber stamp opposition party, National Assembly, and judicial branch. The more the economy grows, the greater is the gap between the haves and the have-nots, between urban and rural areas, between big enterprises and small enterprises, and between regions. Ten tycoon businessmen alone control 50% of the GNP. Therefore, the people's dissatisfaction has seriously increased. Consequently the present military regime can not enjoy the people's support and the United States is being criticized as the main support of this evil government. North Korea is eager to take advantage of the situation, but I don't see much chance that North Korea will stage an invasion across the DMZ. As Congressman Stephen Solarz has said North Korea will become ever bolder in seeking to promote turmoil by agitating dissatisfied people. Without improvement toward democracy there is no doubt that turmoil will become common and continue. Thus, North Korea may have a chance to create another Vietnam-like situation.

The clearest danger to peace is within South Korea. For peace, the most important thing is not good negotiations with the North but establishing a sound government which enjoys the voluntary support of the people. Only democratic government can gain the people's full support and ask for the people's dedication in maintaining stability and security. This is so because democratic government can guarantee the freedom, justice, and human dignity to which the Korean people have so long aspired. Support from the people will prevent any subversive force from gaining hold in the South and will prevent any possibility of the North's communizing the South. Furthermore, from a position of strength, the South can lead North Korea to dialogue and peaceful resolution of problems. The future for peace on the Korean peninsula will be decided on the question of whether the people in the South can restore democratic government and on whether the United States supports such efforts and terminates its present policy of support for military dictatorship.

Another important factor is on an international level. Support for peace must come from the four big powers, the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan and China, which have geographical and traditional interests in the region. So, a three-way dialogue alone will not be sufficient. It must develop toward a six-way dialogue.

In a word, restoration of democracy and four-power cooperation are essential

for peace on the Korean peninsula.

II. Prospects for Reunification

Unlike the two Germanys, both Koreas have taken unification as their main goal. Unification has been persistently supported internationally. The four powers, the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan and China, which have strong interests in and influence on the peninsula now also support unification officially. In spite of the lack of opposition to unification, we have failed to achieve it in forty years time and there is no strong hope that we may achieve this goal in the near future.

There are two reasons for failure to achieve unification. First, even though the four powers support unification, they have not been truly interested in the realization of unification due to the nature of the cold war. They have not wanted to see any change in the balance of power on the peninsula and unification might upset it. The strategic importance of the peninsula is perceived as critical. The four powers have preferred to maintain the status quo with the peninsula divided in two. There is no real possibility of establishing a unified and neutral government such as that in Austria. Second, the persistent ambition of North Korea to communize South Korea and South Korea's continuing fear of North Korea have prevented moves toward peaceful unification. There has been no mutual trust, no progress toward reduction of hostilities between the two sides, no progress toward the restoration of a national consensus. There is a significant difference in the two systems' political, economic, and social development over the last forty years, and so we can see little possibility of early peaceful reunification as one country under the present circumstances.

To achieve peaceful unification we must succeed in addressing two areas of concern - a local one and an international one.

First, in South Korea, we must establish a strong and truly stable government with the people's cooperation and full support via the implementation of democracy. Such a government may have meaningful dialogue with North Korea in working toward the realization of peaceful coexistence and move toward a loose federal system as a first step. The existence of the communist government in the North could be recognized on one hand while South Korea would have to be guaranteed its right to exist as a democratic government on the other. The greater the increase of mutual trust and negotiation, the farther along we may proceed toward establishing one country under a loose federal systems.

According to a recent report, Chinese Prime Minister Zhao Zi Yang when meeting with Australian Prime Minister Hawke said that he did not believe it was possible for the two Koreas at present to achieve unification as one country. This might indicate a significant change in policy by not only China but also North Korea. At present the only way to proceed is to adopt a style of a loose federal system such as that of Great Britain or the Soviet Union. But, our final and absolute goal must be to realize one country.

Second, on an international level, though we think of unification as something to be solved by the 60 million Koreans in the South and North, we can not deny that there is a strong influence coming from the four powers affecting the goal of unification. Each of the big powers has serious misgivings about a unified Korea. Each fears that a unified Korea might damage its security or other

interests. The four powers may maneuver to thwart our efforts for the realization of unification thus augmenting the anti-unification factors within the South and the North. Whether we like it or not, we can not, therefore, ignore international attitudes though we should maintain a strong national determination to work toward one Korea.

Fundamentally speaking, peace and unification should be gained with the aid of the Korean people's strength. When there is a government in the South which is strong, North Korea will be cooperative in working toward the realization of peace and unification. When there is such a strong government in the South, the four powers will not be able to disregard the Korean people's desire for peace and reunification. Such strength must come from democratic government which can enjoy the people's full support. But, unfortunately, there is now no such democratic government in the South. This is mainly because of United States support for the present military dictatorship. It is well-known that while enjoying little support from the Korean people, General Chun can maintain his power only with United States support. United States support has led to Japanese support. Such international support for dictatorship has seriously discouraged democratic elements in the military and among our people. Though the United States has justified its support of military dictatorship using maintenance of peace as an excuse, this stand has backfired and peace is now actually threatened because dictatorship has greatly destroyed our people's loyalty. There is also a growing anti-American feeling among our people because of United States failure to support the cause of democracy in the South. If the present situation continues, we can not avoid meeting a fate similar to that seen in Vietnam: The present feeble peace may not be maintained and South Korea may be communized by the North.

I am not asking the United States to restore democracy in our stead; we only ask that the United States not support military dictatorship but lend moral support to our democratic cause. With such moral support, we can achieve democratic government and work toward peace and eventually towards reunification.

As I said at the beginning of this talk, this church under the guidance of Rev. Coffin is a world-renowned force for peace. You base your belief and work for peace in God's love. I sincerely ask you to impress your government and the American people to support the Korean people's efforts. We can succeed with your help.

I thank you.

"The Present Situation in Korea"
by KIM, Dae Jung

Interchurch Center Luncheon - NCC
New York City
February 21, 1984

You are all knowledgeable in Asian affairs and particularly well-versed in Korean issues. As a Korean who has long been imprisoned and thus separated from Korean society and now one who has been away from Korea for more than one year, I should be the one receiving information from you on the present Korean situation. In Korean, we say this is like preaching Buddhism to Buddha. Recognizing my shortcomings in this regard, I will tell you briefly what I know of the present situation in South Korea to set the stage for the question and answer period which is to follow.

I want to address five areas. They are: 1) the issue of talks between North and South Korea as proposed by North Korea; 2) the necessity of systematic reform for human rights; 3) the possibility of another Yushin System; 4) the possibility of conflict between students and the government; and 5) the present role of the Korean churches.

I. The Issue of Talks Between North and South Korea

Last month North Korea made an unexpected proposal for three-way dialogue involving both Koreas and the United States. A similar proposal for a three-way dialogue was put forward by the late Park Chung Hee and President Carter in 1979 when President Carter visited Seoul. In spite of this, the attitudes of South Korea and the United States toward the present North Korean proposal are not very positive. The United States prefers to have a four-way dialogue which would include China. South Korea insists on a bilateral dialogue between the South and the North while leaving open the possibility of a four-way or six-way dialogue which would include the Soviet Union and Japan. South Korea is firmly resisting participation in a three-way dialogue even at the risk of contradicting its stand of 1979 when a proposal for such talks was issued from South Korea. South Korea worries about being excluded if North Korea should concentrate its efforts on dealing with the United States alone. North Korea might justify such an attitude on the grounds that it was North Korea and the United States which signed a truce agreement to end the Korean War in 1953.

On the other hand, North Korea is strongly opposed to a four-way dialogue. Two reasons can be cited. One is to avoid the dissatisfaction of the Soviet Union by participating in talks which would only involve China and not the Soviets. The other reason is to prevent South Korea's long-held desire of establishing contacts with China. The North Koreans are not likely to support a six-way dialogue at present either. The North Korean proposal for a three-way dialogue is supported by the Soviet Union.

The coming visit of President Reagan to China may result in decisive progress on this issue.

I see a strong possibility of opening some type of dialogue this year. However, I think that if there is a firm guarantee of equal status for South Korea at a three-way conference, that the three-way dialogue would be most likely.

My position is not in opposition to any type of dialogue as a first step to easing tensions on the Korean peninsula, but I firmly believe that only a six-way dialogue can produce any progress toward peace on the Korean peninsula because all four powers, the United States, Japan, China, and the Soviet Union, have vital interests and strong influence in Korea. Without their combined cooperation, we can never expect real peace on the Korean peninsula. This has been my persistent position since the 1971 Korean presidential election when I proposed four-power cooperation on the Korean peninsula.

II. The Necessity of Systematic Reform for Human Rights

The State Department has pointed out improvement in the Korean human rights situation in 1983 as compared with previous years. This came in its annual report on human rights. It mentioned the release of political prisoners - mainly students - and the granting of permission for students to return to their respective campuses. Of course, I also welcomed these moves, but this does not constitute a fundamental improvement in the human rights situation because many times in Korea we have seen the repeated release and imprisonment and the repeated expulsion and re-entry of students to college campuses. Without systematic reform toward a guarantee of human rights, we can never say that there is improvement in human rights. What we see is rather the cosmetic tactics of dictatorial rule in cheating public opinion both domestically and internationally. We need legal guarantees for the democratic rights of assembly, academic freedom, freedom for labor to organize, and freedom for farmers to form cooperatives. Of all freedoms, the freedom of speech and the freedom to have fair elections are the most essential core elements in guaranteeing human rights. When there is freedom of speech, any violation of human rights can be publicly criticized. When there is a fair system of elections, any government which can not guarantee human rights or which violates human rights will be voted out of office. The South Korean regime of Chun Doo Hwan strongly opposes any systematic reform - especially anything moving toward freedom of speech and free elections. The regime strongly opposes abolition of the notorious basic law governing the mass media, and government dominated election laws. Further, it refuses to lift the ban imposed on 300 political figures. This ban prohibits these figures from making any public speeches or participating in any election activities.

III. The Possibility of Another Yushin System

As you may remember, Park Chung Hee abused the South/North dialogue coming out of the July 4, 1972 joint communique. He proclaimed the Yushin System - justifying it as necessary to promote reunification, but from the time of the proclamation of the Yushin System until his death in 1979 - a period of seven years - the Yushin System only served to shore up his dictatorial regime.

In spite of General Chun's repeated pledges to step down from office in March of 1988 after serving one term, there is a strong possibility that he seeks to continue his rule after 1988. There is a possibility of political maneuvering this year. Something which indicates that this is so is a move by the rubber stamp opposition parties for direct election of the president. The rubber stamp mass media has given full coverage to this idea. In South Korea without government approval, no opposition party or press organization can put forward such an idea. Chun was elected indirectly. A direct election after a constitutional amendment could be justified by Chun as a necessity in facing North Korea in talks. That is, Chun could say he needed to prove his popular support in order to face the North. Such a direct election under present conditions without freedom of speech and fair elections could easily be orchestrated by the government.

I predicted that Park Chung Hee would abuse the unification issue as a means to have himself elected for life. I made this prediction in 1970 and 1972. In 1972, the Yushin System was put in place and confirmed my prediction. I now see a similar possibility under the Chun regime.

IV. The Possibility of Conflict Between Students and the Government

Student power has grown tremendously through years of bitter experience and ordeal. Students are firmly determined to fight against dictatorship. Most of our people are different than they were in 1980. They now support the students' cause.

Expelled students are being forced to sign pledges of repentance before they may return to the campuses. However, the majority of these students refuse to do this saying that they have nothing to repent for and that what they have stood for is an open advocacy of democracy which is not wrong. At the same time, there are signs that the government seeks to stir up trouble among students so that it may have an excuse to strongly repress them this coming spring. The government has been letting statements out from unidentified sources which accuse students of being leftist or pro-communist. The government has always used the charge of communism to crack down on its rivals. You know that in Korea this is a very serious charge which may easily turn some people against the students. I believe we must exercise caution at this critical time to avoid playing into the government's hands. We should be on our guard against such plots by the government and not be abused by such things.

V. The Present Role of the Korean Churches

Korean churches have played a central role in the restoration of democracy and human rights movement since Park Chung Hee proclaimed the Yushin System in October, 1972. The role of churches has been significant and decisive in maintaining our movement. Recently, there have been signs of a lessening of the churches' role and there has been criticism - especially among students - of the role played by the churches because of the churches' pro-American attitude and the reluctance of the churches to continue their courageous role as they, as individuals, did before with prayer meetings and in risking imprisonment because of their stands. I don't think these criticisms are necessarily correct, but there is some indication of weakness in the church movement for democracy and human rights. On the other hand, some young men are showing signs of impatience. Patience is very necessary in enduring such periods of trial and in dealing with the short-tempered military regime.

Even though there are some arguments between church and non-church groups, we still have the same strong goal of realizing democracy. All recognize this as most important. Democracy is necessary in order to realize national security without the presence of American troops and to have a dialogue with North Korea with full confidence that a peaceful solution may be realized. To promote mutual understanding, joint activities involving church and non-church groups are essential in order to achieve our goal and not give any room for abuse by the shrewd maneuvering of the government.

I came here in December of 1982. During this last year I have devoted myself totally to persuading the United States government and friends not to support the military dictatorship in Korea. I believe it is harmful to the United States to support the dictatorship. For stability and security in Korea and for friendly relations between the people of Korea and the United States such support is also harmful. In spite of the Chun Doo Hwan government's lack of support from the people as reported in the American press, the Chun regime is maintained mainly because of United States support. As the United States supports the regime so does Japan. Because the United States and Japan support the Chun regime, democratic elements in the military and among our people have been greatly discouraged. Now, the United States has become a target of criticism and even hatred among our people. I really worry about this phenomenon for both Korea and the United States. My main purpose in being here in the United States is to persuade the United States to change its policy. I seek American public support. We must avoid another debacle such as seen in Vietnam. As I first mentioned, you are well informed about the Korean situation and I believe you will share my worries about the present situation. Let's focus our attention and energies to impress your government to change its policies.



KOREAN INSTITUTE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

March 8, 1984

Special Assistant Richard C. Morris
National Security Council
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Morris:

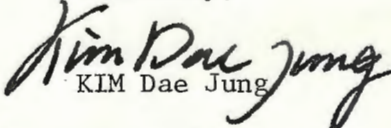
North Korea has proposed a three-way dialogue which would involve the United States and North and South Korea. This represents a change in attitude from its traditional position of intransigence. Previous to this proposal, it had only sought dialogue between North Korea and the United States. South Korea is now insisting on bilateral talks between North and South Korea alone. As I mentioned in one of the enclosed speeches, I see a good possibility of dialogue developing between both sides which might involve two, three, four or six nations.

Also at this time, there is a political crisis in the South stemming from the present military government's lack of popularity among our people and the lack of democratization to which our people have long aspired.

In a word, I see great possibility of change in Korea this year. There is looming danger because of the present dictatorial rule in the South and because of United States government support for that dictatorship.

I have made some speeches which address these issues and I am sending them to you for your reference as you evaluate the situation in Korea. I really hope you will have time to read this material. I would appreciate any comments you may have to make on it.

Sincerely,


KIM Dae Jung

enclosures: "The Present Situation in Korea"; February 21, 1984
"The Korean Peninsula - Peace and Reunification"; February 22, 1984



KOREAN INSTITUTE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

"THE KOREAN PENINSULA - PEACE AND REUNIFICATION"

by KIM, Dae Jung

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It is my hope that Rev. Coffin and this church will continue to play a significant role in the resolution of problems facing my country, Korea.

I. The Conditions of Peace

Technically speaking, the Korean peninsula has continued on in a state of war ever since the truce of July, 1953 because there has been no progress toward a peace treaty. Intense hostility has remained. The number of soldiers and the amount of weaponry has actually increased. The possibility of another conflict has been evident for over thirty years. The United States has maintained tens of thousands of troops in South Korea throughout this period in order to prevent another conflict. However, there has been peace on the peninsula - though it has been tenuous.

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Another important factor is on an international level. Support for peace must come from the four big powers, the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan and China, which have geographical and traditional interests in the region. So, a three-way dialogue alone will not be sufficient. It must develop toward a six-way dialogue.

In a word, restoration of democracy and four-power cooperation are essential

for peace on the Korean peninsula.

II. Prospects for Reunification

Unlike the two Germanys, both Koreas have taken unification as their main goal. Unification has been persistently supported internationally. The four powers, the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan and China, which have strong interests in and influence on the peninsula now also support unification officially. In spite of the lack of opposition to unification, we have failed to achieve it in forty years time and there is no strong hope that we may achieve this goal in the near future.

There are two reasons for failure to achieve unification. First, even though the four powers support unification, they have not been truly interested in the realization of unification due to the nature of the cold war. They have not wanted to see any change in the balance of power on the peninsula and unification might upset it. The strategic importance of the peninsula is perceived as critical. The four powers have preferred to maintain the status quo with the peninsula divided in two. There is no real possibility of establishing a unified and neutral government such as that in Austria. Second, the persistent ambition of North Korea to communize South Korea and South Korea's continuing fear of North Korea have prevented moves toward peaceful unification. There has been no mutual trust, no progress toward reduction of hostilities between the two sides, no progress toward the restoration of a national consensus. There is a significant difference in the two systems' political, economic, and social development over the last forty years, and so we can see little possibility of early peaceful reunification as one country under the present circumstances.

To achieve peaceful unification we must succeed in addressing two areas of concern - a local one and an international one.

First, in South Korea, we must establish a strong and truly stable government with the people's cooperation and full support via the implementation of democracy. Such a government may have meaningful dialogue with North Korea in working toward the realization of peaceful coexistence and move toward a loose federal system as a first step. The existence of the communist government in the North could be recognized on one hand while South Korea would have to be guaranteed its right to exist as a democratic government on the other. The greater the increase of mutual trust and negotiation, the farther along we may proceed toward establishing one country under a loose federal systems.

According to a recent report, Chinese Prime Minister Zhao Zi Yang when meeting with Australian Prime Minister Hawke said that he did not believe it was possible for the two Koreas at present to achieve unification as one country. This might indicate a significant change in policy by not only China but also North Korea. At present the only way to proceed is to adopt a style of a loose federal system such as that of Great Britain or the Soviet Union. But, our final and absolute goal must be to realize one country.

Second, on an international level, though we think of unification as something to be solved by the 60 million Koreans in the South and North, we can not deny that there is a strong influence coming from the four powers affecting the goal of unification. Each of the big powers has serious misgivings about a unified Korea. Each fears that a unified Korea might damage its security or other

interests. The four powers may maneuver to thwart our efforts for the realization of unification thus augmenting the anti-unification factors within the South and the North. Whether we like it or not, we can not, therefore, ignore international attitudes though we should maintain a strong national determination to work toward one Korea.

Fundamentally speaking, peace and unification should be gained with the aid of the Korean people's strength. When there is a government in the South which is strong, North Korea will be cooperative in working toward the realization of peace and unification. When there is such a strong government in the South, the four powers will not be able to disregard the Korean people's desire for peace and reunification. Such strength must come from democratic government which can enjoy the people's full support. But, unfortunately, there is now no such democratic government in the South. This is mainly because of United States support for the present military dictatorship. It is well-known that while enjoying little support from the Korean people, General Chun can maintain his power only with United States support. United States support has led to Japanese support. Such international support for dictatorship has seriously discouraged democratic elements in the military and among our people. Though the United States has justified its support of military dictatorship using maintenance of peace as an excuse, this stand has backfired and peace is now actually threatened because dictatorship has greatly destroyed our people's loyalty. There is also a growing anti-American feeling among our people because of United States failure to support the cause of democracy in the South. If the present situation continues, we can not avoid meeting a fate similar to that seen in Vietnam: The present feeble peace may not be maintained and South Korea may be communized by the North.

I am not asking the United States to restore democracy in our stead; we only ask that the United States not support military dictatorship but lend moral support to our democratic cause. With such moral support, we can achieve democratic government and work toward peace and eventually towards reunification.

As I said at the beginning of this talk, this church under the guidance of Rev. Coffin is a world-renowned force for peace. You base your belief and work for peace in God's love. I sincerely ask you to impress your government and the American people to support the Korean people's efforts. We can succeed with your help.

I thank you.

"The Present Situation in Korea"
by KIM, Dae Jung

Interchurch Center Luncheon - NCC
New York City
February 21, 1984

You are all knowledgeable in Asian affairs and particularly well-versed in Korean issues. As a Korean who has long been imprisoned and thus separated from Korean society and now one who has been away from Korea for more than one year, I should be the one receiving information from you on the present Korean situation. In Korean, we say this is like preaching Buddhism to Buddha. Recognizing my shortcomings in this regard, I will tell you briefly what I know of the present situation in South Korea to set the stage for the question and answer period which is to follow.

I want to address five areas. They are: 1) the issue of talks between North and South Korea as proposed by North Korea; 2) the necessity of systematic reform for human rights; 3) the possibility of another Yushin System; 4) the possibility of conflict between students and the government; and 5) the present role of the Korean churches.

I. The Issue of Talks Between North and South Korea

Last month North Korea made an unexpected proposal for three-way dialogue involving both Koreas and the United States. A similar proposal for a three-way dialogue was put forward by the late Park Chung Hee and President Carter in 1979 when President Carter visited Seoul. In spite of this, the attitudes of South Korea and the United States toward the present North Korean proposal are not very positive. The United States prefers to have a four-way dialogue which would include China. South Korea insists on a bilateral dialogue between the South and the North while leaving open the possibility of a four-way or six-way dialogue which would include the Soviet Union and Japan. South Korea is firmly resisting participation in a three-way dialogue even at the risk of contradicting its stand of 1979 when a proposal for such talks was issued from South Korea. South Korea worries about being excluded if North Korea should concentrate its efforts on dealing with the United States alone. North Korea might justify such an attitude on the grounds that it was North Korea and the United States which signed a truce agreement to end the Korean War in 1953.

On the other hand, North Korea is strongly opposed to a four-way dialogue. Two reasons can be cited. One is to avoid the dissatisfaction of the Soviet Union by participating in talks which would only involve China and not the Soviets. The other reason is to prevent South Korea's long-held desire of establishing contacts with China. The North Koreans are not likely to support a six-way dialogue at present either. The North Korean proposal for a three-way dialogue is supported by the Soviet Union.

The coming visit of President Reagan to China may result in decisive progress on this issue.

I see a strong possibility of opening some type of dialogue this year. However, I think that if there is a firm guarantee of equal status for South Korea at a three-way conference, that the three-way dialogue would be most likely.

My position is not in opposition to any type of dialogue as a first step to easing tensions on the Korean peninsula, but I firmly believe that only a six-way dialogue can produce any progress toward peace on the Korean peninsula because all four powers, the United States, Japan, China, and the Soviet Union, have vital interests and strong influence in Korea. Without their combined cooperation, we can never expect real peace on the Korean peninsula. This has been my persistent position since the 1971 Korean presidential election when I proposed four-power cooperation on the Korean peninsula.

II. The Necessity of Systematic Reform for Human Rights

The State Department has pointed out improvement in the Korean human rights situation in 1983 as compared with previous years. This came in its annual report on human rights. It mentioned the release of political prisoners - mainly students - and the granting of permission for students to return to their respective campuses. Of course, I also welcomed these moves, but this does not constitute a fundamental improvement in the human rights situation because many times in Korea we have seen the repeated release and imprisonment and the repeated expulsion and re-entry of students to college campuses. Without systematic reform toward a guarantee of human rights, we can never say that there is improvement in human rights. What we see is rather the cosmetic tactics of dictatorial rule in cheating public opinion both domestically and internationally. We need legal guarantees for the democratic rights of assembly, academic freedom, freedom for labor to organize, and freedom for farmers to form cooperatives. Of all freedoms, the freedom of speech and the freedom to have fair elections are the most essential core elements in guaranteeing human rights. When there is freedom of speech, any violation of human rights can be publicly criticized. When there is a fair system of elections, any government which can not guarantee human rights or which violates human rights will be voted out of office. The South Korean regime of Chun Doo Hwan strongly opposes any systematic reform - especially anything moving toward freedom of speech and free elections. The regime strongly opposes abolition of the notorious basic law governing the mass media, and government dominated election laws. Further, it refuses to lift the ban imposed on 300 political figures. This ban prohibits these figures from making any public speeches or participating in any election activities.

III. The Possibility of Another Yushin System

As you may remember, Park Chung Hee abused the South/North dialogue coming out of the July 4, 1972 joint communique. He proclaimed the Yushin System - justifying it as necessary to promote reunification, but from the time of the proclamation of the Yushin System until his death in 1979 - a period of seven years - the Yushin System only served to shore up his dictatorial regime.

In spite of General Chun's repeated pledges to step down from office in March of 1988 after serving one term, there is a strong possibility that he seeks to continue his rule after 1988. There is a possibility of political maneuvering this year. Something which indicates that this is so is a move by the rubber stamp opposition parties for direct election of the president. The rubber stamp mass media has given full coverage to this idea. In South Korea without government approval, no opposition party or press organization can put forward such an idea. Chun was elected indirectly. A direct election after a constitutional amendment could be justified by Chun as a necessity in facing North Korea in talks. That is, Chun could say he needed to prove his popular support in order to face the North. Such a direct election under present conditions without freedom of speech and fair elections could easily be orchestrated by the government.

I predicted that Park Chung Hee would abuse the unification issue as a means to have himself elected for life. I made this prediction in 1970 and 1972. In 1972, the Yushin System was put in place and confirmed my prediction. I now see a similar possibility under the Chun regime.

IV. The Possibility of Conflict Between Students and the Government

Student power has grown tremendously through years of bitter experience and ordeal. Students are firmly determined to fight against dictatorship. Most of our people are different than they were in 1980. They now support the students' cause.

Expelled students are being forced to sign pledges of repentance before they may return to the campuses. However, the majority of these students refuse to do this saying that they have nothing to repent for and that what they have stood for is an open advocacy of democracy which is not wrong. At the same time, there are signs that the government seeks to stir up trouble among students so that it may have an excuse to strongly repress them this coming spring. The government has been letting statements out from unidentified sources which accuse students of being leftist or pro-communist. The government has always used the charge of communism to crack down on its rivals. You know that in Korea this is a very serious charge which may easily turn some people against the students. I believe we must exercise caution at this critical time to avoid playing into the government's hands. We should be on our guard against such plots by the government and not be abused by such things.

V. The Present Role of the Korean Churches

Korean churches have played a central role in the restoration of democracy and human rights movement since Park Chung Hee proclaimed the Yushin System in October, 1972. The role of churches has been significant and decisive in maintaining our movement. Recently, there have been signs of a lessening of the churches' role and there has been criticism - especially among students - of the role played by the churches because of the churches' pro-American attitude and the reluctance of the churches to continue their courageous role as they, as individuals, did before with prayer meetings and in risking imprisonment because of their stands. I don't think these criticisms are necessarily correct, but there is some indication of weakness in the church movement for democracy and human rights. On the other hand, some young men are showing signs of impatience. Patience is very necessary in enduring such periods of trial and in dealing with the short-tempered military regime.

Even though there are some arguments between church and non-church groups, we still have the same strong goal of realizing democracy. All recognize this as most important. Democracy is necessary in order to realize national security without the presence of American troops and to have a dialogue with North Korea with full confidence that a peaceful solution may be realized. To promote mutual understanding, joint activities involving church and non-church groups are essential in order to achieve our goal and not give any room for abuse by the shrewd maneuvering of the government.

I came here in December of 1982. During this last year I have devoted myself totally to persuading the United States government and friends not to support the military dictatorship in Korea. I believe it is harmful to the United States to support the dictatorship. For stability and security in Korea and for friendly relations between the people of Korea and the United States such support is also harmful. In spite of the Chun Doo Hwan government's lack of support from the people as reported in the American press, the Chun regime is maintained mainly because of United States support. As the United States supports the regime so does Japan. Because the United States and Japan support the Chun regime, democratic elements in the military and among our people have been greatly discouraged. Now, the United States has become a target of criticism and even hatred among our people. I really worry about this phenomenon for both Korea and the United States. My main purpose in being here in the United States is to persuade the United States to change its policy. I seek American public support. We must avoid another debacle such as seen in Vietnam. As I first mentioned, you are well informed about the Korean situation and I believe you will share my worries about the present situation. Let's focus our attention and energies to impress your government to change its policies.

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HW

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 12, 1984

LDJ

RCM HAS SEEN

Good notes.

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM: GASTON SIGUR *GS*

SUBJECT: Letter to McFarlane from Korean Institute for Human Rights

I understand from State that Paul Wolfowitz has recently sent a letter to Kim Dae Jung regarding U.S. policy toward Korea and the human rights question. Under these circumstances, State has agreed to respond to Kim on Bud's behalf, making reference to the Wolfowitz letter as containing the official position of the USG. This is good enough, in my view, and the appropriate way to respond to the deluge of letters coming to us all from Kim.

Attachments:

Tab A Background papers

NSC # 84-12112

National Security Council
The White House

1112

MF

ED

System #

I

Package #

2112

8 APR 12 P 2:40

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Dep. Exec. Sec'y	1	✓	
Bob Kimmitt	2	K	
John Poindexter			
Tom Shull			
Wilma Hall	3	✓	
Bud McFarlane	4	M	A
Bob Kimmitt	5	K	
NSC Secretariat	6		N
Situation Room			

I = Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____

Bud: I think Gaston's approach makes good sense. Any problem? (Date/Time)

UNCLASSIFIED
(Classification)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8408061

Date April 2, 1984

For: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane
National Security Council
The White House

Reference:

To: Robert McFarlane From: Kim Dae Jung

Date: March 16, 1984 Subject: Human Rights Korea


WH Referral Dated: 8408061 NSC ID# 8402112
(if any)

 The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State.

Action Taken:

- x A draft reply is attached.
- A draft reply will be forwarded.
- A translation is attached.
- An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
- We believe no response is necessary for the reason
cited below.
- The Department of State has no objection to the
proposed travel.
- Other.

Remarks:


Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED
(Classification)

SUGGESTED REPLY

Dear Mr. Kim:

Thank you for your letter of March 8. I found your speeches to be timely and interesting.

I share your view that the peaceful reunification of Korea must come about through the efforts of the two Korean parties. The US Government, as you know, holds that decisions on Korea's future are primarily for the two Korean sides to make, and that direct dialogue between North and South is essential. We support the Republic of Korea's proposal for such a dialogue. We are exploring with the ROKG the recent North Korean proposal, although we share ROKG skepticism of North Korean motives in light of the Rangoon attack.

As to political development in the Republic of Korea, this is of course a process which the Korean people alone have the right to control. The US has can give support and encouragement for democratic change, and provide a security shield behind which such change can occur. President Reagan, in Seoul last year, made clear that we would continue to do both.

Thank you again for your letter.

Mr. Kim Dae Jung,

P.O. Box 11618,

Alexandria, Virginia.

REFERRAL

8408061

DATE: 16 MAR 84

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEPT OF STATE

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION

TO. MCFARLANE

SOURCE: JUNG, KIM DAE

DATE 08 MAR 84

KEYWORDS: KOREA

HUMAN RIGHTS

MP

SUBJ. LTR TO MCFARLANE FM KOREAN INSTITUTE HUMAN RIGHTS FWDING INFO RE

REQUIRED ACTION. RECM & DRAFT REPLY

DUE DATE: 23 MAR 84

COMMENTS

Letta Grayton
FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

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W/ATTCH FILE _____ (C)

*received in S/S
3/16/84 1240
JH*

2112

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

3/15

Woretha
Secretariat:

Please send the attached to State for their recommendation. If they feel it should be answered, please ask them to draft a response.

Thank you.

G.S.
Gaston Sigur

2112

3/13/84

For staffing to Gaston Sigur

Copy back to Wilma Hall/RCM

done
RS 3/14

RECEIVED 14 MAR 84 15

TO MCFARLANE

FROM JUNG, KIM DAE

DOCDATE 08 MAR 84

HILL, C

02 APR 84

SIGUR

12 APR 84

KEYWORDS: KOREA

HUMAN RIGHTS

MP

SUBJECT LTR TO MCFARLANE FM KOREAN INSTITUTE HUMAN RIGHTS FWDING INFO RE
US - KOREAN RELATIONS

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE DUE: 07 APR 84 STATUS C FILES WH

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C	4/16	Noted by M. Farlane		SV

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TO MCFARLANE

FROM JUNG, KIM DAE

DOCDATE 08 MAR 84

KEYWORDS KOREA

HUMAN RIGHTS

MP

SUBJECT LTR TO MCFARLANE FM KOREAN INSTITUTE HUMAN RIGHTS FWDING INFO RE
US - KOREAN RELATIONS

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE DUE: 20 MAR 84 STATUS S FILES

FOR ACTION

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SIGUR

RAYMOND

Hall
Skull

COMMENTS

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State	3/16	Review Draft	3/23	Ju
		Reply		
Sigur	4/2	Rec'd s/s draft		
Kennett	4/3	Memor for McFarlane	4/7	
	4/13	For info		

DISPATCH W/ATTCH FILE *att- (2)*



KOREAN INSTITUTE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

March 8, 1984

Mr. Robert C. McFarlane
National Security Council
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. McFarlane:

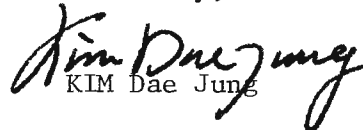
North Korea has proposed a three-way dialogue which would involve the United States and North and South Korea. This represents a change in attitude from its traditional position of intransigence. Previous to this proposal, it had only sought dialogue between North Korea and the United States. South Korea is now insisting on bilateral talks between North and South Korea alone. As I mentioned in one of the enclosed speeches, I see a good possibility of dialogue developing between both sides which might involve two, three, four or six nations.

Also at this time, there is a political crisis in the South stemming from the present military government's lack of popularity among our people and the lack of democratization to which our people have long aspired.

In a word, I see great possibility of change in Korea this year. There is looming danger because of the present dictatorial rule in the South and because of United States government support for that dictatorship.

I have made some speeches which address these issues and I am sending them to you for your reference as you evaluate the situation in Korea. I really hope you will have time to read this material. I would appreciate any comments you may have to make on it.

Sincerely,


KIM Dae Jung

enclosures: "The Present Situation in Korea"; February 21, 1984
"The Korean Peninsula - Peace and Reunification"; February 22, 1984

"The Present Situation in Korea"
by KIM, Dae Jung

Interchurch Center Luncheon - NCC
New York City
February 21, 1984

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I want to address five areas. They are: 1) the issue of talks between North and South Korea as proposed by North Korea; 2) the necessity of systematic reform for human rights; 3) the possibility of another Yushin System; 4) the possibility of conflict between students and the government; and 5) the present role of the Korean churches.

I. The Issue of Talks Between North and South Korea

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On the other hand, North Korea is strongly opposed to a four-way dialogue. Two reasons can be cited. One is to avoid the dissatisfaction of the Soviet Union by participating in talks which would only involve China and not the Soviets. The other reason is to prevent South Korea's long-held desire of establishing contacts with China. The North Koreans are not likely to support a six-way dialogue at present either. The North Korean proposal for a three-way dialogue is supported by the Soviet Union.

The coming visit of President Reagan to China may result in decisive progress on this issue.

I see a strong possibility of opening some type of dialogue this year. However, I think that if there is a firm guarantee of equal status for South Korea at a three-way conference, that the three-way dialogue would be most likely.

My position is not in opposition to any type of dialogue as a first step to easing tensions on the Korean peninsula, but I firmly believe that only a six-way dialogue can produce any progress toward peace on the Korean peninsula because all four powers, the United States, Japan, China, and the Soviet Union, have vital interests and strong influence in Korea. Without their combined cooperation, we can never expect real peace on the Korean peninsula. This has been my persistent position since the 1971 Korean presidential election when I proposed four-power cooperation on the Korean peninsula.

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Even though there are some arguments between church and non-church groups, we still have the same strong goal of realizing democracy. All recognize this as most important. Democracy is necessary in order to realize national security without the presence of American troops and to have a dialogue with North Korea with full confidence that a peaceful solution may be realized. To promote mutual understanding, joint activities involving church and non-church groups are essential in order to achieve our goal and not give any room for abuse by the shrewd maneuvering of the government.

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KOREAN INSTITUTE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

"THE KOREAN PENINSULA - PEACE AND REUNIFICATION"

by KIM, Dae Jung

Riverside Church
New York City
February 22, 1984

It is a privilege for me to speak before you at this church - a church which is so closely identified with one of the themes in my talk - that of peace. This church must take pride in the role it has had and in its minister, Rev. Coffin, who has been a leader in the peace movement for a long, long time. He is widely recognized as having been an outstanding figure in the Vietnam peace movement. I believe we may safely call him a prophet of our time as he continues to press for a resolution of the conflict in Central America.

I am touched by and deeply grateful for the role Rev. Coffin and this church took in my personal plight in 1980. I know that on very short notice Rev. Coffin opened this church to a gathering of some 600 people who expressed concern and anger when news of my arrest in May of that year reached here at the time of the Kwangju incident.

It is my hope that Rev. Coffin and this church will continue to play a significant role in the resolution of problems facing my country, Korea.

I. The Conditions of Peace

Technically speaking, the Korean peninsula has continued on in a state of war ever since the truce of July, 1953 because there has been no progress toward a peace treaty. Intense hostility has remained. The number of soldiers and the amount of weaponry has actually increased. The possibility of another conflict has been evident for over thirty years. The United States has maintained tens of thousands of troops in South Korea throughout this period in order to prevent another conflict. However, there has been peace on the peninsula - though it has been tenuous.

I see two major reasons that this peace has been maintained in spite of the poor conditions. First, there has been a balance of power factor not only between the South and the North but also with their respective supporters, the United States and Japan on one side and China and the Soviet Union on the other. As in Europe, the balance of power on the Korean peninsula has helped to keep the peace. The situation in Korea is thus not like that in the Middle East where there is no effective balance of power. Second, neither side has felt that it could gain any advantage by provoking war and thus upset this balance of power. Each side has felt it would only sustain serious damage should war break out. The damage would destroy the works of great labor which went into building up out of the ashes of war. War has been avoided because there has existed a balance of power and there has been no temptation to gain advantage on either side. These conditions will last long into the future. Thus, I don't see much possibility of another conflict. In addition, China has recently expressed a strong desire to promote peaceful conditions on the peninsula in cooperation with the United States and Japan. The Soviet Union is also unwilling to see any conflict on the Korean peninsula because it can see no advantage in such a conflict.

Last month, North Korea proposed a three-way dialogue revealing a drastic change in attitude. It had strongly opposed any dialogue with South Korea before then and had persistently insisted on having negotiations only with the United States to bring about a peace treaty. There is a great possibility that dialogue involving both South and North Korea will take place this year in spite of present delays. President Reagan's visit to China this April may bring about significant progress toward the start of dialogue. Though I am not sure that a permanent peace treaty can be achieved, I believe that dialogue can ease the tensions and hostility on the peninsula. I know that South Korea on the one hand and China and the Soviet Union on the other have hopes of establishing trade ties. It is known that North Korea also has a desire to develop economic relations with western countries. There is talk that North Korea is preparing a free port for this purpose on its west coast. Such economic relations could greatly help to maintain peace on the Korean peninsula.

However, there is a serious factor which if uncorrected can certainly damage the balance of power on the peninsula and the national security of South Korea. Since South Korea is under dictatorial rule, there is no guarantee of freedom of speech, academic freedom, freedom to organize and participate in trade unions, and elections of true value. There is a rubber stamp opposition party, National Assembly, and judicial branch. The more the economy grows, the greater is the gap between the haves and the have-nots, between urban and rural areas, between big enterprises and small enterprises, and between regions. Ten tycoon businessmen alone control 50% of the GNP. Therefore, the people's dissatisfaction has seriously increased. Consequently the present military regime can not enjoy the people's support and the United States is being criticized as the main support of this evil government. North Korea is eager to take advantage of the situation, but I don't see much chance that North Korea will stage an invasion across the DMZ. As Congressman Stephen Solarz has said North Korea will become ever bolder in seeking to promote turmoil by agitating dissatisfied people. Without improvement toward democracy there is no doubt that turmoil will become common and continue. Thus, North Korea may have a chance to create another Vietnam-like situation.

The clearest danger to peace is within South Korea. For peace, the most important thing is not good negotiations with the North but establishing a sound government which enjoys the voluntary support of the people. Only democratic government can gain the people's full support and ask for the people's dedication in maintaining stability and security. This is so because democratic government can guarantee the freedom, justice, and human dignity to which the Korean people have so long aspired. Support from the people will prevent any subversive force from gaining hold in the South and will prevent any possibility of the North's communizing the South. Furthermore, from a position of strength, the South can lead North Korea to dialogue and peaceful resolution of problems. The future for peace on the Korean peninsula will be decided on the question of whether the people in the South can restore democratic government and on whether the United States supports such efforts and terminates its present policy of support for military dictatorship.

Another important factor is on an international level. Support for peace must come from the four big powers, the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan and China, which have geographical and traditional interests in the region. So, a three-way dialogue alone will not be sufficient. It must develop toward a six-way dialogue.

In a word, restoration of democracy and four-power cooperation are essential

for peace on the Korean peninsula.

II. Prospects for Reunification

Unlike the two Germanys, both Koreas have taken unification as their main goal. Unification has been persistently supported internationally. The four powers, the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan and China, which have strong interests in and influence on the peninsula now also support unification officially. In spite of the lack of opposition to unification, we have failed to achieve it in forty years time and there is no strong hope that we may achieve this goal in the near future.

There are two reasons for failure to achieve unification. First, even though the four powers support unification, they have not been truly interested in the realization of unification due to the nature of the cold war. They have not wanted to see any change in the balance of power on the peninsula and unification might upset it. The strategic importance of the peninsula is perceived as critical. The four powers have preferred to maintain the status quo with the peninsula divided in two. There is no real possibility of establishing a unified and neutral government such as that in Austria. Second, the persistent ambition of North Korea to communize South Korea and South Korea's continuing fear of North Korea have prevented moves toward peaceful unification. There has been no mutual trust, no progress toward reduction of hostilities between the two sides, no progress toward the restoration of a national consensus. There is a significant difference in the two systems' political, economic, and social development over the last forty years, and so we can see little possibility of early peaceful reunification as one country under the present circumstances.

To achieve peaceful unification we must succeed in addressing two areas of concern - a local one and an international one.

First, in South Korea, we must establish a strong and truly stable government with the people's cooperation and full support via the implementation of democracy. Such a government may have meaningful dialogue with North Korea in working toward the realization of peaceful coexistence and move toward a loose federal system as a first step. The existence of the communist government in the North could be recognized on one hand while South Korea would have to be guaranteed its right to exist as a democratic government on the other. The greater the increase of mutual trust and negotiation, the farther along we may proceed toward establishing one country under a loose federal systems.

According to a recent report, Chinese Prime Minister Zhao Zi Yang when meeting with Australian Prime Minister Hawke said that he did not believe it was possible for the two Koreas at present to achieve unification as one country. This might indicate a significant change in policy by not only China but also North Korea. At present the only way to proceed is to adopt a style of a loose federal system such as that of Great Britain or the Soviet Union. But, our final and absolute goal must be to realize one country.

Second, on an international level, though we think of unification as something to be solved by the 60 million Koreans in the South and North, we can not deny that there is a strong influence coming from the four powers affecting the goal of unification. Each of the big powers has serious misgivings about a unified Korea. Each fears that a unified Korea might damage its security or other

interests. The four powers may maneuver to thwart our efforts for the realization of unification thus augmenting the anti-unification factors within the South and the North. Whether we like it or not, we can not, therefore, ignore international attitudes though we should maintain a strong national determination to work toward one Korea.

Fundamentally speaking, peace and unification should be gained with the aid of the Korean people's strength. When there is a government in the South which is strong, North Korea will be cooperative in working toward the realization of peace and unification. When there is such a strong government in the South, the four powers will not be able to disregard the Korean people's desire for peace and reunification. Such strength must come from democratic government which can enjoy the people's full support. But, unfortunately, there is now no such democratic government in the South. This is mainly because of United States support for the present military dictatorship. It is well-known that while enjoying little support from the Korean people, General Chun can maintain his power only with United States support. United States support has led to Japanese support. Such international support for dictatorship has seriously discouraged democratic elements in the military and among our people. Though the United States has justified its support of military dictatorship using maintenance of peace as an excuse, this stand has backfired and peace is now actually threatened because dictatorship has greatly destroyed our people's loyalty. There is also a growing anti-American feeling among our people because of United States failure to support the cause of democracy in the South. If the present situation continues, we can not avoid meeting a fate similar to that seen in Vietnam: The present feeble peace may not be maintained and South Korea may be communized by the North.

I am not asking the United States to restore democracy in our stead; we only ask that the United States not support military dictatorship but lend moral support to our democratic cause. With such moral support, we can achieve democratic government and work toward peace and eventually towards reunification.

As I said at the beginning of this talk, this church under the guidance of Rev. Coffin is a world-renowned force for peace. You base your belief and work for peace in God's love. I sincerely ask you to impress your government and the American people to support the Korean people's efforts. We can succeed with your help.

I thank you.



U.S. National Archives & Records Administration

**Current Status Details
for CTRH RECID: 257088
MAIN SUBCODE: CO082-02**

Current Status	None
User Name	dbarrie
Status Date	2010-05-11
Case Number	
Notes	Transferred to CO082

Review Status History

No.	Status	Date	User	Case Number	Notes
1	None	2010-05-11	dbarrie		Transferred to CO082

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

C O 082-02

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: OCTOBER 11, 1984

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: DR. YOUNG SEEK CHOU

SUBJECT: REQUESTS ASSISTANCE IN REUNITING KOREAN
FAMILIES AFTER DIVISION OF KOREA

ACTION DISPOSITION

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME) ACT CODE DATE YY/MM/DD TYPE RESP C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD

ROBERT C. MCFARLANE ORG 84/10/11 C 84/10/12 TR

✓ 99DOS

REFERRAL NOTE:

CI R 89/10/16 A 84/10/24 TR

REFERRAL NOTE:

REFERRAL NOTE:

REFERRAL NOTE:

REFERRAL NOTE:

COMMENTS:

State

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES:

MI MAIL USER CODES: (A) (B) (C)

*ACTION CODES: *DISPOSITION CODES: *OUTGOING *
* * * * CORRESPONDENCE: *
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION *A-ANSWERED *TYPE RESP=INITIALS *
*C-COMMENT/RECOM *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL * OF SIGNER *
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE *C-COMPLETED * CODE = A *
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET *S-SUSPENDED *COMPLETED = DATE OF *
I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC * * OUTGOING *
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY * * *
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE * * *
*X-INTERIM REPLY * * *

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT. 2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.



UNCLASSIFIED
(Classification)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8428686 XR 8425493

Date October 25, 1984

For: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane
National Security Council
The White House

Reference:

To: PRESIDENT AND SHULTZ From: Young Seek Choue, Ten Million
Separated Families
Date: Sept 15, 1984 Subject: Help in reuniting families

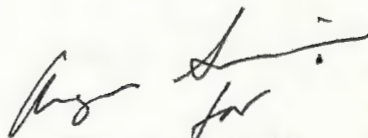
WH Referral Dated: 8428586 NSC ID# _____
(if any)

_____ The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State.

Action Taken:

- _____ A draft reply is attached.
- _____ A draft reply will be forwarded.
- _____ A translation is attached.
- _____ An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
- _____ We believe no response is necessary for the reason
cited below.
- _____ The Department of State has no objection to the
proposed travel.
- _____ Other.

Remarks:


Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED
(Classification)

24 OCT 1984

Dear Chairman Choue:

I have been asked to reply to your moving letters to President Reagan and Secretary Shultz of September 15, in which you discuss the tragedy of divided families in Korea.

President Reagan, during his visit to the Republic of Korea in 1982, eloquently described Americans' feelings:

Americans have watched with a mixture of sadness and joy your campaign to reunite families separated by war. We have followed the stories of sisters torn apart at the moment of their parents' deaths; of small children swept away in the tides of war; of people who have grown old not knowing whether their families live or have perished.

In the same speech, President Reagan declared that full reunification of families and peoples is a most basic human right. He encouraged North Korea to pursue family reunification with the South and promised that the United States would continue to support efforts to reduce tensions and the risks of war on the Korean Peninsula.

Neither our feelings about this tragedy nor our policy concerning it has changed since President Reagan's speech. We continue to support the many constructive proposals put forward by the Government of the Republic of Korea, including its recent call for a renewal of Red Cross talks on family reunification. Through the United Nations Command, we have proposed several tension-reduction measures, including mutual notification and observation of military exercises, which, if accepted by North Korea, would contribute to a general improvement in the situation and enhance the prospects for family reunification.

Dr. Young Seek Choue
Chairman,

The Korean Assembly for Reunion of
Ten Million Separated Families,
Suite 301, Asia Building,
407-13 Shindang-Dong, Choong-ku,
Seoul, Korea.

- 2 -

I would like to assure you that we will not rest until the tragedy of separated families in Korea has been overcome.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Desaix Anderson', written in a cursive style.

Desaix Anderson
Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary of State
for East Asian and Pacific Affairs

8428686

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

OCTOBER 16, 1984

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:

DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 257088

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED SEPTEMBER 15, 1984

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

FROM: DR. YOUNG SEEK CHOU
CHAIRMAN
THE KOREAN ASSEMBLY FOR REUNION OF
TEN MILLION SEPARATED FAMILIES
SUITE 301, ASIA BUILDING
407-13 SHINDANG-DONG, CHOONG-KU
SEOUL KOREA

SUBJECT: REQUESTS ASSISTANCE IN REUNITING KOREAN
FAMILIES AFTER DIVISION OF KOREA

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

Spence - Would you look at reply on May 4 88 10 ?

**THE KOREAN ASSEMBLY FOR REUNION
OF TEN MILLION SEPARATED FAMILIES
(KARTS)**

*Suite 301, Asia Bldg.
407-13, Shindang-dong, Choong-ku
SEOUL, KOREA*

Office of the Chairman



사단법인

8425493

일천만이산가족재회추진위원회

서울특별시 중구 신당동 407-13
아세아빌딩 301호
전화 : 294-5050 · 6811, 295-1411

Sept. 15, 1984

H.E. George P. Shultz
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Washington, D. C., U. S. A.

*downgraded
→ WDS*

Your Excellency Shultz:

On behalf of the Korean Assembly for the Reunion of Ten Million Separated Families (KARTS), I deem it an honor to appeal to you for your help, sympathy, understanding and encouragement. Our suffering of separation, the longest case in the post-World II period, seem to see no end in sight.

As you know well, the tragedy of Korean separated families began in 1945 by the division of the land into two halves between the Soviet Union and the United States. The bisection of the peninsula into the two zones of occupation was carried out as a "temporary military expediency," but as time passed by, a flock of refugees from the north fled to the south, separating tens of thousands families. And then, the Korean War broke out in 1950. Waves after waves of refugees came to settle in the south again. The total number of separated family members from the north came close to five million at the termination of the hostility in 1953, and today with the inclusion of their offsprings in the north, even if we assume its number is only one, the number exceeds far beyond ten million.

Nearly four decades since the bisection of the country, the Korean Assembly for the Reunion of Ten Million Separated Families was inaugurated in December 1982, and subsequently, in the following year, the KBS-TV, joining hand in hand with us, staged a campaign to reunite those dispersed family members in the south, and as a result, over ten thousand long-lost family members were dramatically reunited.

Never before in Korean history did people witness such a state of ecstasy -- the excited, exhilarated, smiling, overjoyed, and rapturous faces in tears. Much to our dismay, however, those who succeeded in finding their lost ones constitutes only a fraction of separated families. Those who cannot be reunited with their close kins in the north are still grief-stricken, deeply sorrowed and in despair.

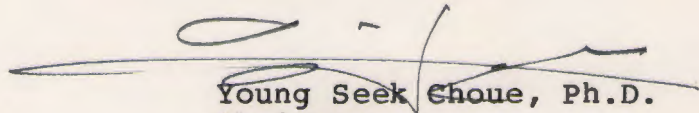
Compared with the similar cases of Germany and Palestine, there has not been any line of communication between the north and the south in Korea during the past 39 years. Not even a postcard can be mailed from the south to the north. Your understanding of our sufferings and words

Hyung Hee University

of encouragement shall enliven the spirit of our separated families. For your perusal, I am sending, under separate cover, some materials pertaining to our activities. I implore you to pay a special attention to this tragedy of a people that has remains unresolved since World War II and help us alleviate our heartrending pains of separation with whatever the means under your command.

We, ten million separated families in Korea, have been awaiting the success of the series of our government's effort to make the families reunited with nervous heart. To our regret, however, there have been no development in the effort in the past 40 years. Thus, we made a resolution to solve our problem for ourselves by organizing an assembly to handle this cause. The result is, as you understand, the KARTS. I would like to appeal to your center conveying all the last and eager wishes of ten million separated families, some of its members are already in the last stage of life. Please do not regard our appeal as a political one but as an appeal with tears. I am looking forward to hearing from you a positive and constructive response so that we can have rosy hope not disappointment. I firmly believe that solving this problem will contribute to the peaceful settlement of two Koreas which eventually contribute to the security of North-East Asia and world peace. Your humanitarian efforts shall never be forgotten. Thank you.

Cordially yours,



Young Seek Choue, Ph.D.
Chairman
The KARTS

YSC:spp

PROBLEMS ON REUNITING SEPARATED FAMILIES IN KOREA

The Korean Assembly for Reunion
of Ten Million Separated Families



The Assembly is inaugurated at the Sejong Cultural Center, Seoul, on February 9, 1983.



The board-hanging ceremony of the Assembly.



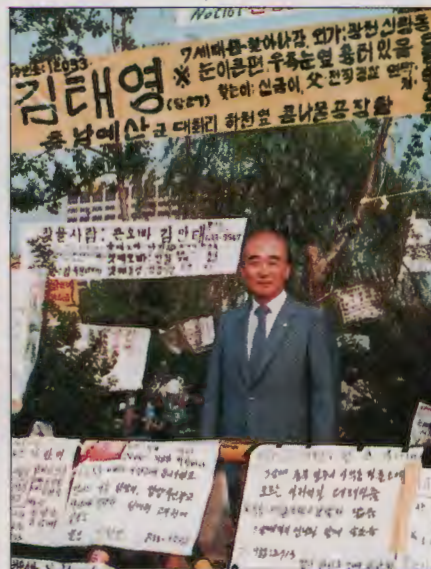
Separated family members who swarmed at the
Inaugural Meeting.

Reunion Plaza for Separated Family Members

Does anyone happen to know this person? As the reunion campaign aired on the Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) T.V. has been fruitful, the vast Yoido Plaza were overcrowded with throngs of split family members and left no spare room for other persons. Papers, on which innumerable wanted kins' details including names, ages, hometowns and personal descriptions were written, covered the stairs, street lamps, twigs and relay broadcasting cars around the plaza, make us feel heartbeating. The joy of reuniting, as well as sorrow of splitness, is doubtless a scar of war into which we have been forces into for more than 30-odd years.



The place where the T.V. program is aired live.



Chairman Young Seek Chou at the plaza.

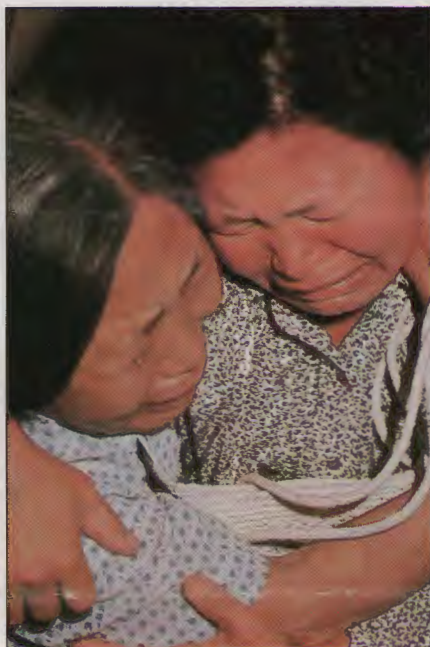


Where are my family members? Agonizing faces for waiting.



How Touching It is! At the Moment Family Members Reunite.

Heaven is frightened; earth shakes... Family members, who have lived without any correspondence despite of having lived in the same country in the aftermath of the tragic Korean War and the division of our fatherland, have met each other. The entire world pay the whole attention to their meeting. All those who have met their family members over a generation can do is to burst into tears... Oh, what are we to do! When can the family members in the south or in the north separated by the barrier of territorial division expect to meet again?



Reunion Promotion Meeting for Separated Family Members

The meeting was held in the Changchung Gymnasium on July 17, 1983 under the auspices of the Korean Assembly for Reunion of Ten Million Separated Families.

More than 13,000 split family members attended the meeting to soothe the bitterness of being displaced from their hometowns and to fan the flame of desire for peaceful reunification.

This event made us reaffirm that the solution to the challenges concerning split families in Korea is the key to realize the Security in Northeast Asia and at the same time the entire global peace.



Crowded split family members longing for reunion.



Keeping in mind that the reunion of the families should be realized as early as possible and that we should all try hard to prevent the tragedy of being separated from our families again on this peninsula, we propose the followings:

Proposal 1:

- a. Ascertainment of Whether the Members of Separated Families are Still Alive; Exchange of Correspondence;
- b. Mutual and Free Exchange of Visits.

However if it is difficult to put this into practice right now,

Proposal 2:

Ascertainment of whether parents over sixty years of age and of brothers and sisters are still alive. It would be quite acceptable to agree to use open postcards instead of sealed letters, if the North Korean authorities so desire. We ask the North Korean authorities again in the name of ten million separated families to comply with these proposals.

From Chairman Young Seek Choue's opening address on the occasion of the meeting.

257088

8428686

**THE KOREAN ASSEMBLY FOR REUNION
OF TEN MILLION SEPARATED FAMILIES
(KARTS)**

Suite 301, Asia Bldg.
407-13, Shindang-dong, Choong-ku
SEOUL, KOREA
Office of the Chairman



사단법인

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아세아빌딩 301호
전화: 294-5050 · 6811, 295-1411

Sept. 15, 1984

H.E. Ronald Reagon
President
Office of the President
Washington, D. C., U. S. A.

Your Excellency Reagon:

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As you know well, the tragedy of Korean separated families began in 1945 by the division of the land into two halves between the Soviet Union and the United States. The bisection of the peninsula into the two zones of occupation was carried out as a "temporary military expediency," but as time passed by, a flock of refugees from the north fled to the south, separating tens of thousands families. And then, the Korean War broke out in 1950. Waves after waves of refugees came to settle in the south again. The total number of separated family members from the north came close to five million at the termination of the hostility in 1953, and today with the inclusion of their offsprings in the north, even if we assume its number is only one, the number exceeds far beyond ten million.

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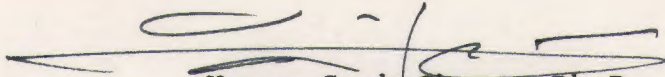
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Hyung Hee University

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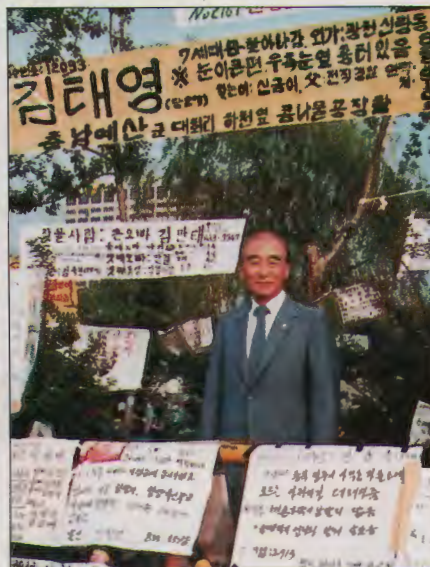
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Reunion Promotion Meeting for Separated Family Members

The meeting was held in the Changchung Gymnasium on July 17, 1983 under the auspices of the Korean Assembly for Reunion of Ten Million Separated Families.

More than 13,000 split family members attended the meeting to soothe the bitterness of being displaced from their hometowns and to fan the flame of desire for peaceful reunification.

This event made us reaffirm that the solution to the challenges concerning split families in Korea is the key to realize the Security in Northeast Asia and at the same time the entire global peace.



Crowded split family members longing for reunion.



Keeping in mind that the reunion of the families should be realized as early as possible and that we should all try hard to prevent the tragedy of being separated from our families again on this peninsula, we propose the followings:

Proposal 1:

- a. Ascertainment of Whether the Members of Separated Families are Still Alive; Exchange of Correspondence;
- b. Mutual and Free Exchange of Visits.

However if it is difficult to put this into practice right now,

Proposal 2:

Ascertainment of whether parents over sixty years of age and of brothers and sisters are still alive. It would be quite acceptable to agree to use open postcards instead of sealed letters, if the North Korean authorities so desire. We ask the North Korean authorities again in the name of ten million separated families to comply with these proposals.

From Chairman Young Seek Choue's opening address on the occasion of the meeting.