



Department of State

SECRET

OUTGOING
TELEGRAM

PAGE 02

STATE 175146

COMMITMENT IN WAYS THAT WILL UNDERMINE KOREA'S LONG-TERM STABILITY. IN TALKING TO CHUN YOU SHOULD REAFFIRM OUR SECURITY COMMITMENT FORCEFULLY BUT INDICATE I LACK CONFIDENCE THAT WHAT HE AND HIS GROUP ARE DOING TO ESTABLISH A GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE AND THUS BE CONSISTENT WITH OUR MUTUAL SECURITY INTERESTS.

3. I SUGGEST YOU TELL CHUN THAT YOU HAD A THOROUGH POLICY DISCUSSION WITH ME DURING WHICH YOU GAVE ME AN ACCOUNT OF YOUR LAST CONVERSATION WITH HIM. YOU SHOULD THEN SAY I HAVE INSTRUCTED YOU TO CONVEY THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. THE COMMITMENT OF THE U.S. TO THE SECURITY OF THE ROK IS FIRM. WE HAVE GONE OUT OF OUR WAY TO WARN THE NORTH KOREANS AGAINST MILITARY ADVENTURE. WE HAVE ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS DEPLOYED U.S. MILITARY ELEMENTS TO GIVE SUBSTANCE TO OUR WARNING, AND WE HAVE TRIED TO MAKE CLEAR TO THE SOUTH KOREAN PEOPLE THAT WE ARE CONTINUING TO PLAY THIS PROTECTIVE ROLE AGAINST EXTERNAL DANGER.

B. NEVERTHELESS, THE SECRETARY BELIEVES THE AUTHORITIES IN KOREA HAVE ABUSED THIS AMERICAN COMMITMENT IN THEIR EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH CONTROL.

C. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT LONG-TERM KOREAN STABILITY AND THE SECURITY OF THE REGION REQUIRE THAT ANY KOREAN GOVERNMENT ACHIEVE LEGITIMACY AND THE POSITIVE SUPPORT OF ITS OWN PEOPLE. WE LACK CONFIDENCE THAT WHAT THE AUTHORITIES ARE CURRENTLY DOING TO ESTABLISH A GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE. WE FEAR THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S APPROACH WILL NOT BE CONSISTENT WITH OUR MUTUAL SECURITY INTERESTS.

D. HOW THE US-ROK RELATIONSHIP DEVELOPS IN THE FUTURE WILL

SECRET

011507000

NON-SECRET-NO



Department of State

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

SECRET

PAGE 03

STATE 175146

DEPEND ON THE ACTIONS OF THE KOREAN AUTHORITIES. IF UNDERLYING STABILITY IS NOT ACHIEVED THROUGH THE POSITIVE SUPPORT OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE, THE NECESSARY PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT IN THE UNITED STATES FOR OUR SECURITY RELATIONSHIP CAN BE SERIOUSLY WEAKENED.

E. IN PREVIOUS CONVERSATIONS WE HAVE MADE CLEAR WHAT ISSUES ARE THE SUBJECT OF OUR SPECIAL CONCERNS. ACTIONS, NOT WORDS, WILL DETERMINE THE DEGREE OF AMERICAN CONFIDENCE AND REACTIONS IN THE WEEKS TO COME. IF SHUN ASKS, YOU SHOULD REMIND HIM THAT THE ISSUES ABOUT WHICH YOU HAVE CONVEYED OUR CONCERN ARE:

- EFFORTS TOWARD RESUMPTION OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND ACCOMMODATION;
- THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CONSTITUTION WHICH WILL PERMIT BROADLY BASED GOVERNMENT THROUGH FREE, POPULAR ELECTIONS;
- THE ADOPTION OF A NEW CONSTITUTION UNDER CONDITIONS WHICH ALLOW PUBLIC DISCUSSION AND FREE CHOICE;
- CONCERN FOR THE HANDLING OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN ACCORDANCE WITH HUMANE AND INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTED STANDARDS OF DUE PROCESS OF LAW, INCLUDING FAMILY AND LEGAL ACCESS AND VERIFICATION OF THEIR WELFARE, AND WITH FULL CONSIDERATION OF THE IMPACT OF POLITICAL AMNESTY ON INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION; AND
- EFFORTS TO REDUCE RATHER THAN EXPLOIT RESENTMENT AND FRUSTRATION WHICH EXIST IN SOME KOREAN CIRCLES TOWARD THE U.S.

F. WE EXPECT THE CURRENT AUTHORITIES TO HELP US PREVENT FURTHER MISREPRESENTATION OF OUR POSITION. WE WANT TO COOPERATE, WHERE THIS IS POSSIBLE, WITH KOREAN AUTHORITIES

SECRET

031507000

1974
NON-SECRET



Department of State

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

SECRET

PAGE 04

STATE 175146

TO HELP PROTECT AND FOSTER A SECURE, PROSPEROUS, AND FREE REPUBLIC OF KOREA. WE LOOK FORWARD TO MORE PROGRESS TOWARD THESE GOALS THAN WE HAVE EXPERIENCED IN THE RECENT PAST.

BC

4. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE PUBLIC CHARGE AND INDICTMENT OF KIM DAE-JUNG IS IMMINENT AND WILL PROBABLY TAKE PLACE BEFORE YOU SEE GENERAL CHUN TO CARRY OUT THESE INSTRUCTIONS IN THAT CASE, WE WILL WANT URGENTLY TO HAVE A SYNOPSIS OF THE CHARGES AND YOUR COMMENTS THEREON IN ORDER THAT WE CAN AUTHORIZE YOU TO COMMENT TO CHUN UNDER INSTRUCTIONS ON THAT IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT. I BELIEVE YOU SHOULD BE ARMED WITH THE FACT THAT YOU ARE COMMENTING WITH FULL AUTHORITY FROM YOUR GOVERNMENT.

5. YOU SHOULD SEER AN APPOINTMENT WITH GENERAL CHUN AS SOO AS FEASIBLE TO CONVEY THESE INSTRUCTIONS WHICH EMANATED FROM YOUR CONSULTATIONS WITH ME. HOWEVER, I LEAVE TO YOU THE EXACT TIMING IN VIEW OF THE POSSIBLE INTERACTION OF THE KIM INDICTMENT. MUSKIE

SECRET

031507000