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FM AMEMBASSY SEUL  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7463

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DEPT PLS PASS NSC AND SECDEF FOR USD WOLFOWITZ

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TAGS: PARM, PREL, MARR, NS, US  
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT ROH'S NON-NUCLEAR/CHEMICAL/BIOLOGICAL  
DECLARATION

REF: (A) SEUL 11916  
(B) STATE 366965

DECLASSIFIED BY 00SD(P), DOS  
DA3D(NM)  
DATE 03 OCT 2017  
FOIA CASE # 12-F-1306

1. ~~SECRET~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. ON NOVEMBER 7, FM LEE MET WITH THE  
AMBASSADOR TO PROVIDE THE USG WITH A REVISED TEXT,  
ACCOMMODATING USG CONCERNS, OF THE NON-NUCLEAR/CHEMICAL/  
BIOLOGICAL DECLARATION TO BE DELIVERED BY PRESIDENT ROH  
TAE WOO'S ON NOVEMBER 8. END SUMMARY.

3. IN A MEETING WITH THE AMBASSADOR AT 6:00 PM,  
NOVEMBER 7, FOREIGN MINISTER LEE SANG-OCK BEGAN BY SAYING  
THAT HE HAD RECEIVED A REPORT OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY  
SOLOMON'S MEETING WITH MOFA DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR AMERICAN  
AFFAIRS BAN KI-MOON IN WASHINGTON, DURING WHICH USG VIEWS  
ON PRESIDENT ROH'S DECLARATION AND SPECIFIC CONCERNS IN  
THE PROPOSED SPEECH WERE DISCUSSED. FM LEE SAID THAT THE

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ROKQ HAD MET THIS AFTERNOON AND HAD REVISED THE TEXT.

[REDACTED] HE THEN PROVIDED THE AMBASSADOR WITH THE TEXT OF THE REVISED PORTION OF THE SPEECH PRESIDENT ROH TAE WOO WILL DELIVER AT 9:00 AM, NOVEMBER 8 (LOCAL). THE FULL TEXT OF THE SPEECH FOLLOWS IN PARA 11.

4. COMMENT: REF B WAS RECEIVED AT THE EMBASSY ONE HOUR BEFORE THE AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH FM LEE. THE ROKQ HAD REVISED PRESIDENT ROH'S SPEECH PRIOR TO THE MEETING AND WITHOUT BENEFIT OF THE POINTS IN REF B. DURING THE MEETING WITH FM LEE, THE AMBASSADOR ORALLY CONVEYED THE POINTS IN THE MESSAGE, AND A NON-PAPER WAS DELIVERED LATER IN THE EVENING. END COMMENT.

5. FM LEE SAID THAT THERE HAD BEEN SOME DISCUSSION IN THE AFTERNOON OF PERHAPS DELAYING THE SPEECH, BUT THAT THE BLUE HOUSE HAD CHOSEN TO PROCEED AS SCHEDULED WITH THE REVISED TEXT, FEARING THE POSSIBILITY OF LEAKS IN THE EVENT OF A DELAY.

6. FM LEE THEN PROCEEDED TO GO OVER THE REVISED TEXT, [REDACTED] THE AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT IT WAS A MAJOR CHANGE AND THAT WE VERY MUCH APPRECIATED THE ROKQ ACTION. ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS, FM LEE SAID THAT THE REVISED TEXT WAS DESIGNED TO STRENGTHEN THAT PASSAGE, [REDACTED]

7. ON POLICY ELEMENTS BEYOND THE TEXT OF THE SPEECH, FM LEE SAID THAT THE ROKQ WOULD RESPECT THE USG NCND POLICY. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT AS PREVIOUSLY DISCUSSED, THE ROKQ MAY DECLARE AT SOME POINT THERE ARE NO NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON KOREAN SOIL. [REDACTED]

DO5 5 0.S.C. § 5552 (b)(1); E.O. 13526 § 3.3 (b)(6)

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8. THE AMBASSADOR SAID THAT SPEECH WAS A VERY GOOD INITIATIVE BY THE ROKG, ONE WHICH WE WOULD PUBLICLY AND THOROUGHLY SUPPORT.

THE AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT WE COMPLETELY UNDERSTOOD THE ROKG OBJECTIVE OF PUTTING PRESSURE ON NORTH KOREA AND CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT IT WAS RIGHT FOR THE ROKG TO GO FORWARD AT THIS TIME IN TAKING THIS INITIATIVE.

9. COMMENT: ROH HAS TIMED THE UNVEILING OF HIS NON-NUCLEAR DECLARATION TO GAIN MAXIMUM IMPACT WITH FOREIGN MINISTERS AND OTHER HIGH LEVEL OFFICIALS WHO WILL CONVERGE ON SEOUL THIS WEEKEND FOR THE APEC MINISTERIAL. TIMING IS ALSO LINKED TO ROH'S INTEREST IN SIGNALING TO PYONGYANG A PUBLIC ROK POSITION ON THE NUCLEAR ISSUE IN ADVANCE OF FORMAL HIGH LEVEL ROK-U.S. EXCHANGES THIS MONTH AND PRIOR TO THE FIFTH ROUND OF N/S PRIME MINISTERIAL MEETINGS HERE IN DECEMBER. END COMMENT.

10. THE SPEECH WILL BE BROADCAST LIVE. MOFA HAS INFORMED US THAT BACKGROUND BRIEFINGS WILL FOLLOW THE SPEECH, WITH A BLUE HOUSE BACKGROUNDER BEING THE PRIMARY VEHICLE, AND PARALLEL SESSIONS GIVEN AT MOFA AND THE DEFENSE MINISTRY. BRIEFERS HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO CLOSELY ADHERE TO IDENTICAL BACKGROUND MATERIAL IN ORDER THAT THE ROKG SPEAK

11. BEGIN TEXT:

DECLARATION OF NON-NUCLEAR KOREAN PENINSULA INITIATIVES

NOVEMBER 1991 SEOUL, KOREA

MY FELLOW KOREANS,

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THIS MORNING, I AM GOING TO ANNOUNCE AN IMPORTANT DECISION TO HELP BUILD A DURABLE STRUCTURE OF PEACE ON THE KOREAN

DOS 5 U.S.C. § 552 (b)(1); E.O. 13526 § (b)(6)

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PENINSULA AND IN NORTHEAST ASIA.

IN THE PROCESS OF REMOVING THE LEGACIES OF THE COLD WAR AND IN EFFORTS TO BUILD A WORLD OF PEACE, MANY COURAGEOUS AND PREVIOUSLY UNIMAGINED INITIATIVES ARE BEING TAKEN AROUND THE WORLD TODAY.

NOT ONLY HAVE THE FORMER ADVERSARIES JOINED HANDS BUT THEY VOW FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION FOR A BETTER FUTURE FOR ALL MANKIND. WHAT IS MORE, EPOCH-MAKING MEASURES ARE BEING TAKEN TO REDUCE ALL WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, WHICH THREATEN TO DESTROY HUMAN CIVILIZATION IN AN INSTANT.

BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION ARE IN THE PROCESS OF REDUCING AND DISMANTLING NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON A LARGE SCALE, AND INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS ARE CURRENTLY UNDER WAY IN GENEVA TO COMPLETELY ELIMINATE CHEMICAL WEAPONS, WHICH COULD INFLECT INDISCRIMINATE KILLING ON A MASSIVE SCALE.

LOOKING AT THESE GLOBAL WAVES OF RECONCILIATION AND COOPERATION, THERE ARE THOSE WHO MISTAKENLY BELIEVE THAT THREATS OF CONFRONTATION HAVE DISAPPEARED FROM OUR OWN LAND ALSO. UNFORTUNATELY, HOWEVER, A SITUATION THAT IS UNIQUE IN THE WORLD AND IS QUITE INCONSISTENT WITH THE TIDES OF HISTORY PERSISTS ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA.

AT A TIME WHEN REDUCTION AND DESTRUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE BEING CARRIED OUT WORLDWIDE, NORTH KOREA SHOWS NO SIGN OF GIVING UP ITS EFFORTS TO BUILD NUCLEAR WEAPONS, WHILE RENEGING ON ITS PROFESSED DUTIES AS A SIGNATORY TO THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY. IT HAS BEEN WELL DOCUMENTED THAT NORTH KOREA ALSO MANUFACTURES, AND HAS A STOCKPILE OF, CHEMICAL-BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS.

AS IS WELL KNOWN, THERE HAS BEEN A TRAGIC FRATRICIDAL WAR IN KOREA AND, SUBSEQUENTLY, INTENSE MILITARY CONFRONTATION

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AND ARMS RACE ENSUED ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA FOR ALMOST  
FOUR DECADES. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, NORTH KOREA'S  
DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS HAS TO BE A MATTER OF GRAVE  
CONCERN, AND IT WILL ESCALATE THE KOREAN QUESTION INTO AN  
ENTIRELY NEW DIMENSION. INDEED, NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN NORTH  
KOREAN HANDS WOULD BE SO DANGEROUS AND DESTABILIZING THAT  
THEY WOULD NOT ONLY THREATEN THE VERY SURVIVAL OF OUR  
NATION, BUT COULD IN AN INSTANT SHATTER THE PEACE IN  
NORTHEAST ASIA AND THE WORLD.

IT IS FOR THESE REASONS THAT THE GRAVELY WORRIED  
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY JOINS US IN OUR CONCERTED EFFORTS  
TO DETER NORTH KOREA FROM DEVELOPING NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

IN MY ADDRESS TO THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY LAST  
SEPTEMBER, I MADE IT CLEAR THAT I WAS PREPARED TO DISCUSS  
WITH NORTH KOREA ON THE NUCLEAR ISSUES ON THE KOREAN  
PENINSULA AS SOON AS NORTH KOREA WOULD SIGN THE NUCLEAR  
SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT, RENOUNCE THE DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR  
WEAPONS, AND AGREE ON INTER-KOREAN MILITARY  
CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES.

AND YET, RATHER THAN POSITIVELY RESPOND TO MY PROPOSALS  
NORTH KOREA CONTINUES TO EVADE ITS INTERNATIONAL DUTIES ON  
ACCOUNT OF GROUNDLESS CHARGES AND EXCUSES.

IN LIGHT OF GRAVELY WORRISOME NUCLEAR WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT  
BY NORTH KOREA, AND IN MY EARNEST DESIRE TO RESOLVE THE  
NUCLEAR ISSUES AND BRING ABOUT A DURABLE STRUCTURE OF  
PEACE ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA, I HAVE COME TO AN IMPORTANT  
DECISION AND HAVE DETERMINED TO TAKE STEPS TO CARRY IT OUT.

REAFFIRMING OUR COMMITMENT TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND IN  
ORDER TO ELIMINATE FROM OUR LAND ALL CHEMICAL-BIOLOGICAL  
WEAPONS AND TO SECURE A NON-NUCLEAR KOREAN PENINSULA, I

DECLARE THE FOLLOWING TO BE OUR POLICY:

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FIRST, THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA WILL USE NUCLEAR ENERGY SOLELY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES, AND WILL NOT MANUFACTURE, POSSESS, STORE, DEPLOY OR USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

SECOND, THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA WILL CONTINUE TO SUBMIT TO COMPREHENSIVE INTERNATIONAL INSPECTION ALL NUCLEAR-RELATED FACILITIES AND MATERIALS ON ITS TERRITORY IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY AND WITH THE NUCLEAR SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT IT HAS CONCLUDED WITH THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY UNDER THE TREATY.

THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA WILL NOT POSSESS NUCLEAR FUEL REPROCESSING AND ENRICHMENT FACILITIES.

THIRD, THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA ASPIRES FOR A WORLD OF PEACE FREE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND ALL WEAPONS OF INDISCRIMINATE KILLING. WHEN AN INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON TOTAL ELIMINATION OF CHEMICAL-BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS EMERGES, THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA WILL WHOLEHEARTEDLY ABIDE BY THE ACCORD.

WE WILL FAITHFULLY CARRY OUT THIS NON-NUCLEAR, NO CHEMICAL-BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS POLICY.

NOW, THERE CAN BE NO REASON OR JUSTIFICATION FOR NORTH KOREA TO DEVELOP NUCLEAR WEAPONS OR EVADE INTERNATIONAL INSPECTION OF ITS NUCLEAR FACILITIES.

I STRONGLY CALL UPON NORTH KOREAN AUTHORITIES TO IMMEDIATELY TAKE STEPS CORRESPONDING TO MY DECLARATION TODAY.

JUST AS THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA HAS DONE, NORTH KOREA ALSO SHOULD RENOUNCE UNEQUIVOCALLY THE POSSESSION OF NUCLEAR REPROCESSING AND ENRICHMENT FACILITIES.

AS SOON AS NORTH KOREA TAKES THESE STEPS, BEGINNING WITH

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THE SIGNING OF THE NUCLEAR SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT, WE WILL  
INITIATE BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS ON OTHER MILITARY-SECURITY  
ISSUES, INCLUDING THE NUCLEAR ISSUE, AND SEEK TO RESOLVE  
THEM THROUGH SOUTH-NORTH HIGH-LEVEL TALKS.

ANY AND ALL ISSUES PERTAINING TO THE KOREAN PENINSULA  
SHOULD BE RESOLVED THROUGH DIRECT INTER-KOREAN  
NEGOTIATIONS IN A SPIRIT OF SELF-RELIANCE.

NORTH KOREA HAS PUT FORWARD THE IDEA OF DECLARING THE  
KOREAN PENINSULA A NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE, BUT IN THIS CASE,  
NOT ONLY IS IT DIFFICULT TO IMPLEMENT IMMEDIATELY, BUT IT  
WILL ALSO MEAN THE INVOLVEMENT IN OUR AFFAIRS OF ALL THE  
NUCLEAR POWERS IN THE AREA, AS SUCH A MEASURE WILL REQUIRE  
AGREEMENTS AND GUARANTEES FROM THEM.

SUCH AN IDEA THEN IS NOT DESIRABLE, IF ONLY FOR REASONS OF  
NATIONAL SELF-RESPECT AND NATIONAL UNIFICATION IMPERATIVES.

CONSEQUENTLY, I CALL UPON NORTH KOREA IN THE NAME OF  
SEVENTY MILLION FELLOW KOREANS TO IMMEDIATELY ABANDON THE  
ATTEMPT TO DEVELOP NUCLEAR WEAPONS SO THAT TOGETHER WE MAY  
OPEN A NEW ERA OF PEACE ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA, HAVING  
SECURED A LAND FREE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

MY FELLOW KOREANS,

PRIOR TO THE ENUNCIATION OF OUR POLICY TODAY, THE  
GOVERNMENT HAS VERY CAREFULLY EXAMINED ITS POSSIBLE IMPACT  
ON OUR NATIONAL SECURITY. MY DECISION IS BASED ON A FIRM  
ASSESSMENT THAT OUR NATIONAL SECURITY WILL NOT BE AFFECTED  
EVEN IF WE DO NOT HAVE IN OUR POSSESSION CHEMICAL,  
BIOLOGICAL AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

IT IS SINCERELY HOPED THAT NORTH KOREA WILL ACCURATELY  
EVALUATE CURRENT INTERNATIONAL REALITIES AND DECIDE TO  
JOIN US IN OUR COMMON EFFORTS TO ELIMINATE THE SOURCES OF

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NATIONAL TRAGEDY AND TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL HARMONY AND  
PEACEFUL UNIFICATION.

END TEXT.

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