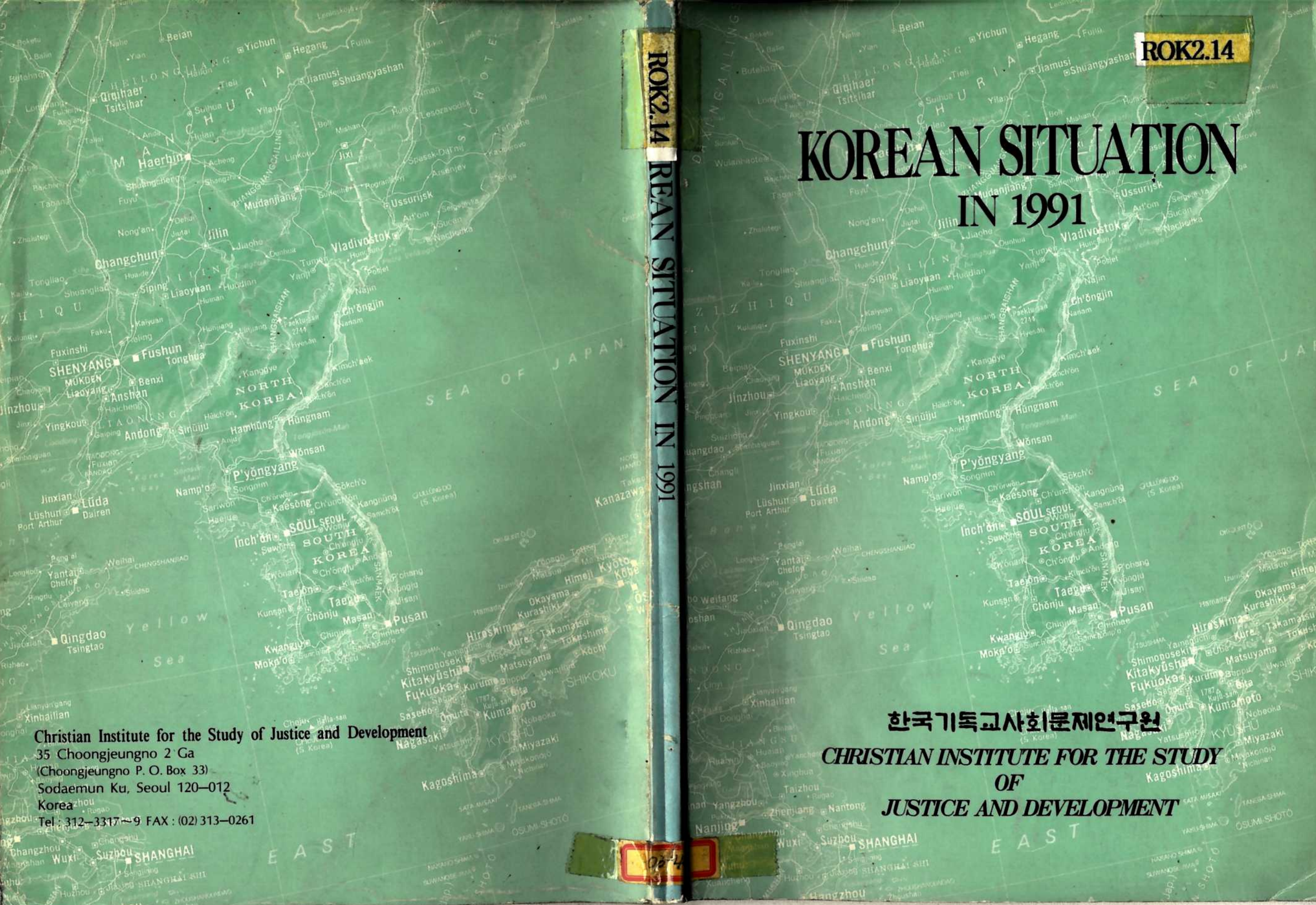


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REAN SITUATION IN 1991

KOREAN SITUATION IN 1991



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CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY
OF
JUSTICE AND DEVELOPMENT

02-4

THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF JUSTICE AND DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

Established on February 21, 1979, the Christian Institute for the Study of Justice and Development(CISJD) was organized on the foundation of Christian convictions. The motivation for the establishment of the CISJD is to be found in the internal needs of the Korean people. The Institute is an expression of the ecumenical movement's new acknowledgement, through its involvement in the suffering and struggle of the people, that social scientific and theological analyses of structural social problems as well as theoretical alternatives are required for the mission of the church to transform society.

GOALS

1. Foster reflection and discussion on the development of the foundation for democracy, justice and peace in Korea.
2. Investigate the task and position of the Korean church in the context of the national history so that it may contribute to democratic, just and peaceful development of Korea.
3. Maintain a close supportive role to the Ecumenical movement.

METHODOLOGY

1. Research and analysis
2. Publication : CISJD runs a publishing company of its own, MINJUNG-SA and publishes books and series of compiled documentations mostly in Korean. And among others are some research works available in English.
3. Documentation and data service : CISJD runs a data center of its own. The data center serves the Christian and wider people's movement in Korea. And In response to increased information needs, the CISJD data center introduced an 'User friendly' computer system, enabling rapid retrieval of documentations on the targeted issues.
4. Seminars and consultations

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FOREWORD

*: Let there be solidarity among the people of the world
for democratization and reunification of the Korean Peninsula.*

The world is continuously changing and each day is different from the day before. In the midst of the rapid changes in the world the Korean peninsula is also undergoing breathless transformation. Today's Korea is qualitatively differentiated from that of not too distant past. Although we are not able to predict the future image no one will doubt that the future will be different from the present. Quo Vadis the Korean peninsula? No. Which way must we proceed?

In contrast to its size and power, Korea is well-known. The Korean war took place in the peninsula, the whole world participated either physically or spiritually. Since that time Korea still remains a country not yet reunified unlike Vietnam and Germany.

The peoples' interest on Korea stems largely due to the growth of economic power during the 70s and 80s. The recent front page coverage on "too rich too soon" was about the economic situation Korea. While the social changes and development in Korea are wonders for the advanced western nations, for the less developed capitalist nations in the South-East Asia considered desirable model. However, as we know, it was a result of long suffering for the average Koreans and the people were poor as they have always been.

At the end of June 1987, there was a great struggle for democracy and it was publicized quite unexpectedly throughout the world. President Roh said during his European tour was that there was no political prisoner and it was ridiculed by the people in Korea. Many Korean laborers are working for the wages which can not support even the subsistence living and there are hardly young workers on the Korean farms. Because, it is impossible to make living as farmers. Against every occasion of peaceful demonstration demanding democracy await the dancing shoes and the poisonous tear gas of the riot police. There are multitudes of factors which interfere the process of

democratization and block the advancement of the people.

For those who long for liberation and realization of the Kingdom of God it is not a pleasant exercise to reminisce the past, because it accompanies pains as one looks back where one has been. We remember the university students who have been murdered by the riot police and ten young people who burned themselves as signs of protest against the death of their innocent friends caused by the Roh regime. We feel guilty for our comfortable life as we remember our friends, more than one thousand of them, who are longing for the day when Korea will be reunified and democratized even in their situation of incarceration.

The reason for our painful reiteration of the past year (twelve months) is that we uphold our faith in God of liberation and that we keep our conviction that our struggle will finally bring the victory. We propose our readers to refresh our memories for the past twelve months and by so doing we will grasp the present reality and anticipate our tasks for the democratization and reunification.

There were many big events in Korea in the year 1991. In the midst of rapid changes in the world history the political realities in the North-East Asia has become increasingly complicated. The external factor and unchanging fervor of the Korean people for reunification brought about "Joint Admission of the both North and South Korea in the UN" and "Joint Agreement between the North and South Korea".

There were struggles of people for democratization, but the results were not so satisfactory. Within the powerstructure of Roh regime there are still elements which hope to perpetuate the rein of power through the means of the constitutional revision. Despite the exposure of the fact that president received enormous amount of political contributions no satisfactory explanations regarding the unjust financial dealings are forthcoming. The local democracy which has been shelved by the military regime since 1961 was revived and yet it requires great many revisions to make it more authentic.

Originally scheduled mayoral and governor's election appear to be

postponed without convincing reason apart from the political consideration of the ruling party. Korean economy is in a serious crisis. The economy which depended heavily on the low wages and the export has been stagnant due to seriously weakened international competitiveness.

We planned to publish the issue of "Korean Situation in 1991" with a hope that it might help our overseas' friends who stood with us over the years in our common struggle for democratization and reunification to understand our present situation. This publication is divided into four larger sections: Political reality, North-South relations, Economy and Ecumenical news.

The first section covers the political trends in Korea. Political events of 1991 are divided into a number of sub-sections and we tried to explain through these sections the political violence committed by the ruling party and actions of the opposition parties and the people's movement.

The second section deals with the North-South relations. The 1991 was a remarkable in terms of North-South rapproachment. This section includes such subject as admission of the both North and South Korea in UN, much discussed nuclear issues on the Korean peninsula, high level political talks, ratification of joint agreement. We hope, it will help clarify the present and give some perspective for the future.

The third section has to do with economy. It contains numerical index for the price and export trend, environmental issues and labor problems. Through the economic trends we hope to explain the crisis which the Korean economy is undergoing. To illustrate the situation we included the statistics as primary source of information.

The last section is select informations about the life of the Korean churches which may have bearing on the general situation of ecumenical movement in Korea. The ecumenical movement in Korea has made some important advance in 1991.

In the course of analyzing the Korean situation, we appended the newspaper clippings. Appendices are the diaries of the important events in 1991. We trust that these clippings will give you the fresh impressions and diary will provide quick references as to the major events in 1991.

We salute you and express our gratitude to your solidarity with us and we present to you this humble publication as a token of our common commitment.

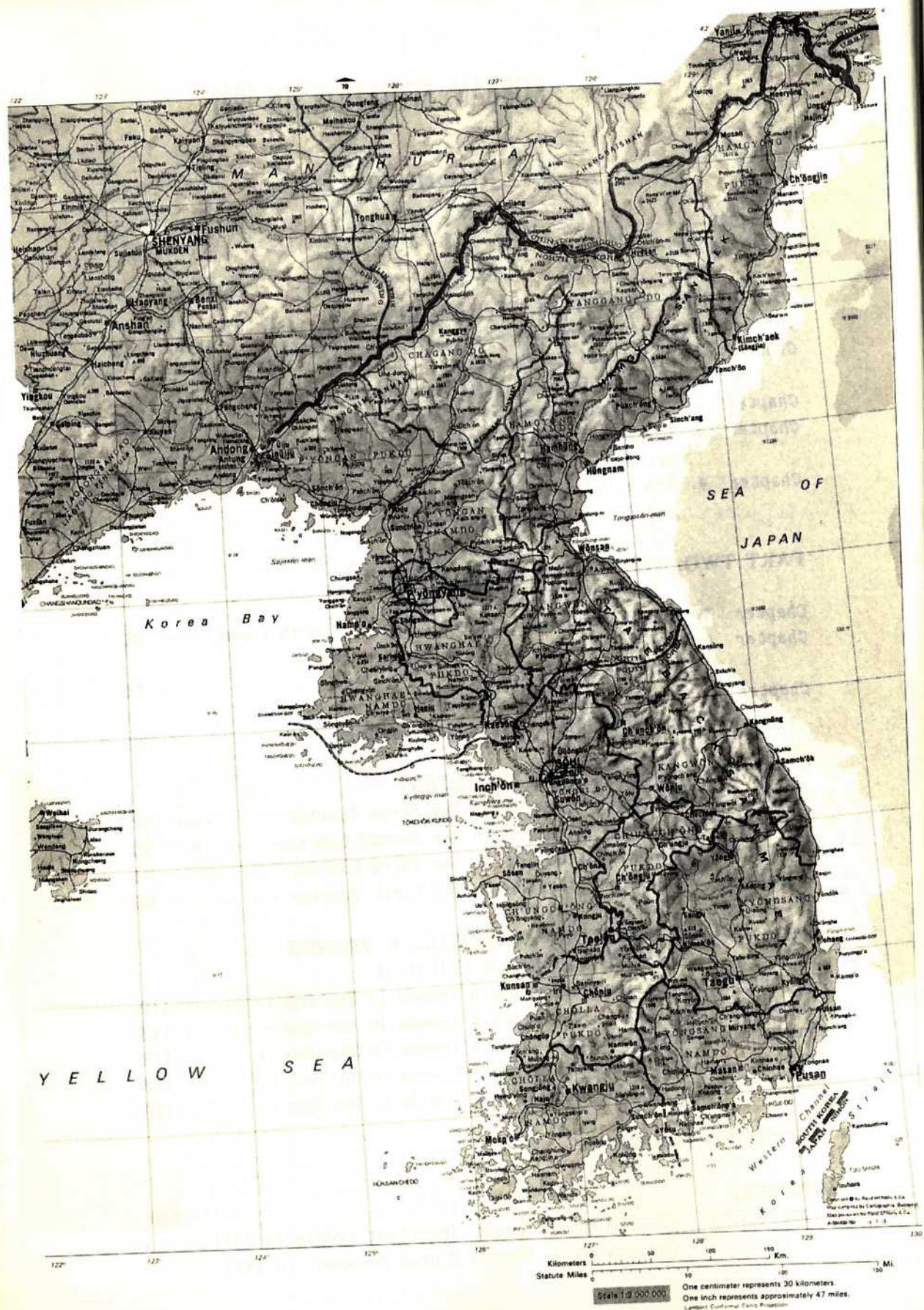
20, Feb, 1992
Seoul, Korea


Park Sang Jung
Director, CISJD

KOREAN SITUATION IN 1991

CONTENTS

FOREWORD	2
MAP OF KOREA	
PART ONE. POLITICAL SITUATION	
Introduction : An Overview	10
Chapter 1. Political Corruptions and the Basic-Unit Local Council Election	14
Chapter 2. The Grand Struggle in May and June	20
Chapter 3. Large-Unit Local Council Election and Political Disarray	39
Chapter 4. A New Union of Opposition Party and The Coming General Election	48
PART TWO. PEACE AND REUNIFICATION IN KOREAN PENINSULA	
Chapter 5. Simultaneous U.N Entry of South & North Korea	66
Chapter 6. The Relation of South & North Korea After Entering the U.N	74
Chapter 7. Adoption of Joint Communique and North-East Asia's Surroundings	78
PART THREE. ECONOMIC SITUATION	
Chapter 8. Economic Situation in the First Quarter	92
Chapter 9. Economic Situation in the Second Quarter	93
Chapter 10. Economic Situation in the Third Quarter	94
Chapter 11. Economic Situation in the Forth Quarter	96
PART FOUR. CHRISTIAN ACTIVITIES & TRENDS IN THE KOREAN CHURCH	
Chapter 12. Christian Activities & Trends in Jan-Feb	110
Chapter 13. Christian Activities & Trends in Mar-Apr	113
Chapter 14. Christian Activities & Trends in May-Jun	118
Chapter 15. Christian Activities & Trends in Jul-Oct	123
Chapter 16. Christian Activities & Trends in Nov-Dec	129
CONCLUSION & PROSPECT	
APPENDIXES	145
Appendix 1 : Chronology of Korean Important Events in 1991	
Appendix 2 : Chronology of Korean Church Movement in 1991	



PART ONE POLITICAL SITUATION



Introduction: An Overview

The year 1991 began with the inauguration of a hard-line cabinet led by Prime Minister Roh Jae-Bong, designed to repress all the democratic forces in order to secure the prolonged rule of the Roh Tae-Woo regime. The formation of this hard-line cabinet reflected the worldwide inclination toward conservatism which resulted from the collapse of the socialist bloc and the victory of the U.S. in the Gulf War.

The year of 1991 was very significant for the political situation as the country was facing 1992, during which for both presidential and parliamentary elections would bring struggle to define the direction of political power. In 1991 the conflict was intensified between the ruling force seeking stable continuation of its power and the democratic forces including the opposition parties and people's power searching for the establishment of democratic government.

The primary task of the Roh cabinet was to press for constitutional reform for a parliamentary cabinet system, in order to securely reproduce the Roh Tae-Woo regime, now in its lameduck period. Since the system of indirect election of the head of government by the parliamentary system in contemporary Korean history has been abused to strengthen existing regimes, all the democratic forces have opposed it.

But the conspiracy to revise the constitution was broken owing to internal disputes in the ruling party as well as strong resistance by the democratic forces. From the beginning the Democratic Liberal Party, created by the merger of the Democratic Justice Party, Democratic Party and Republican Party in Jan. 1990, was dragged into internal disputes on the election of the presidential candidate for the next term, and in this process the faction led by Kim Young-Sam (the so called Minjukye) desperately opposed the parliamentary system.

Ceaseless political scandals and unjust economic policy rooted in the

nature of the authoritative regime gave rise to continuing people's resistance. The scandal of luxurious overseas travel by parliament members with huge bribes from companies and the revelation of the Suso scandal (an incident of grave corruption in which a construction company received privileged treatment by lobbying powerful politicians including the Blue House) accelerated the crisis of the Roh regime in the last period, already faced with soaring prices and a huge trade deficit. These cases of corruption and unjust policy stimulated people's protests, during which the death of a college student due to the violence of riot police in May touched off nationwide struggles lasting over a month. The May struggle, the largest since the Great Democratization Struggle in June 1987, revitalized the democratization movement and forced hard-line Prime Minister Roh Jae-Bong to resign.

Ironically, the Roh regime was able to overcome the crisis through the local council elections. Successive regimes had avoided instituting the local self-government system for fear that the ruling power would be weakened by the division of power. Roh's 6th Republic postponed its own promise for local self-government again and again, until the basic-unit local council election was finally held in March 1991.

Due to the distorted election law not only prohibiting political parties from taking part in the election but also filled with every possible clause to discourage people from participating, the people's indifference and the resulting low voter turnout of 55% gave the ruling party an overwhelming majority. It was through its landslide victory in the local council elections that the Roh regime escaped from the crisis created by the scandal of overseas trips by bribed parliamentarians and the revelation of the Suso scandal. The large-unit local council election held in June had the same result.

The Roh regime cornered by the May nationwide struggle, barely survived again though its landslide victory in the large-unit local council elections. Like the basic-unit local council election, the large-unit election was characterized by a low voter turnout, especially in the case of younger generation voters favoring the opposition party. It is certain that the continuing political scandals

and corruption made people more distrustful of politics in general, and that the prolonged division of the opposition parties deprived the democratic forces of a political alternative for democratization.

Since the 1987 presidential election, the opposition parties in Korea have been divided. The discord between the two regionally divided parties led by Kim Young-Sam and Kim Dae-Jung continued until it was replaced with a similar conflict between the group of Kim Dae-Jung and the Minju group remaining after the merger of Kim Young-Sam's party with the ruling party.

After the devastating defeat in the local council elections the discussion on unification of the opposition parties was rehabilitated to finally accomplish a new union of the opposition party under the name of Democratic Party. Democratic personages formerly working outside institutional politics, such as Lee Bu-Young and Lee Woo-Jung, played a crucial role in the unification.

Historically, such movements outside institutional politics as labour, peasant and student movements have played a no less important role than opposition parties. It has been not the opposition parties but the social movement forces outside institutional politics that have led important nationwide democratization struggles including the April Revolution in 1960, the Kwangju people's struggle in 1980 and the Great Democratization Movement in 1987.

The May Democratization Movement in 1991 was likewise initiated and led by the social movement while the opposition parties remained on the outside. The social movement, having gradually grown in strength against the ruthless oppression of dictatorial regimes, was in stalemate after the end of the May Movement, however. It is an undeniable fact that the social movement was substantially shrank due to the ideological confusion resulting from the crisis or collapse of socialist states, the series of mass imprisonments and merciless oppression by the government, and the consequent conservative tendency in the Korean society. In November and December, however, the social movement not only rearranged its organizations with the launching of

the National Alliance for Democracy and National Reunification, but also was actively working for the enlargement of political influence through encouraging mass movement in preparation for both the general and presidential elections.

Chapter 1. Political Corruptions and the Basic-Unit Local Council Election

1. Scandal of Overseas Trips by Bribed Congressmen and the Revelation of the Suso Scandal

In the middle of January, it was disclosed that three congressmen, Lee Jae-Keun, Park Jin-Koo and Lee Don-Man, members of the Commerce and Industry Committee of the National Assembly had traveled abroad with about US \$77,000 received as a bribes from the Korea Automobile Industry Association and the Korean Trade Association. As a series of similar scandals were exposed one after another, the government and prosecutory authorities hastily dismissed and arrested the three congressmen in order to check the further escalation of the scandal. The overseas trip scandal, in which parliamentarians of opposition parties as well as of the ruling party were implicated, rather accelerated people's distrust of politics in general.

Before the end of the overseas trip scandal, the Suso scandal broke out. In this incident a construction company belonging to the Han-Bo Group got the privileged right to construct large-scale apartment houses in the green belt Suso area, by lobbying influential politicians. The shock of Suso drove the ruling circle into a corner. As the strong suspicion arose that even a core member of the Blue House might be involved in it, the Suso scandal became the center of public concern. But after the arrest of 5 congressmen who were bribed by the president of Han-Bo Group, and presidential secretary Jang Byung-Cho, the dismissal of the Mayor of Seoul, and the nullification of distribution of houses, the Suso scandal finally closed with the Blue House intact.

One common characteristic of the series of scandals was that the target of investigation by prosecutors always moved from the government to the National Assembly and that members of the opposition parties were with-out exception involved.

As a result, the Roh regime managed to overcome its political crises through the arrest and dismissal of several congressmen. A more serious problem was the rapid spread of distrust among the people with regard to politics in general, and the growth of political cynicism. This atmosphere was reflected in the low voter turnout in the basic and large-unit local council elections.

2. The Growth of Social Movement and Political Participation of Movement Members

The past 2 years there have seen increased political participation by democratic figures. This increase in political participation has produced three major results:

First, the democratic alliance groups have joined the already existing Party for Unification and Democracy in order to fill the void that was created when Kim Young-Sam joined the ruling party.

The second result is the formation of the New Democratic Union Party which consists of progressive figures from Protestant circles as well as other democratic figures from regions other than Honam (South and North Cholla provinces). They insisted that in order to establish a pan-democratic party through which a democratic change of political power could be achieved, all democratic power must be combined into one with the Party for Peace and Democracy as the center. As a medium to integrate the pan-democratic power, they organized the New Democratic Union, and unified it with the Party for Peace and Democracy on April 9, 1991.

The third result is the opposition by the Minjung Party to the idea of alliance of democratic power with the existing conservative opposition parties. They have insisted on establishment of a party of the minjung separate from that of the conservatives.

In spite of such movements to enter into mainstream politics, the majority of the movement groups (Chonminyon and KukminYonhap) still

prefer social movement as a mean to establish the mass foundation for political participation.

There are several reasons for the emergence of various political powers within the movement groups.

Firstly, during the 1970's and the first half of the 1980's, the Protestant circles played a leading role in the democratization movement. However, from the mid-1980's on, mainly due to the influence derived from the Kwangju incident, there have appeared differentiations of theories among the movement groups. As a result, the social movement further developed in both quality and quantity and this had a positive impact.

Secondly, during the presidential election in 1987, the movement groups divided into three lines, that is, Kim Dae-Jung's supporting group, Kim Young-Sam's supporting group, and the Minjung candidate group. In addition to the disunion of the movement group, the problem of regional sentiment between Honam and Yongnam, which the ruling party has misused in order to weaken the opposition side, and the self-interest of the political sector, has had a negative impact on the movement.

Thirdly, there are differences of opinion concerning how to achieve democratic change of political power. The New Democratic Union group thinks that the change of political power can be achieved only through the pan-democratic union of all the opposition parties with Kim Dae-Jung of PPD as the leader. On the other hand, however, the PUD and Minjung parties think it is impossible in reality to achieve democratic change of political power at the next presidential election with Kim Dae-Jung as the candidate.

Even though both groups agree on the idea of a pan-democratic alliance, there still exist wide differences on which groups should be included and who should be the leader of this alliance.

Fourthly, there have been great changes in the situation in and

outside of Korea since the beginning of the 1990's. The worry is that the unbalanced economic policy and undemocratic politics will lead the Korean society into chaos, and that the basic social reformation which was thought to be needed, has been suspended to a certain extent. As a result, the democratic movement group has struggled to find an alternative way of achieving its goals.

Because of such factors, the whole of the democratic movement camp has experienced disunion and conflict as well as differentiation of political perspectives.

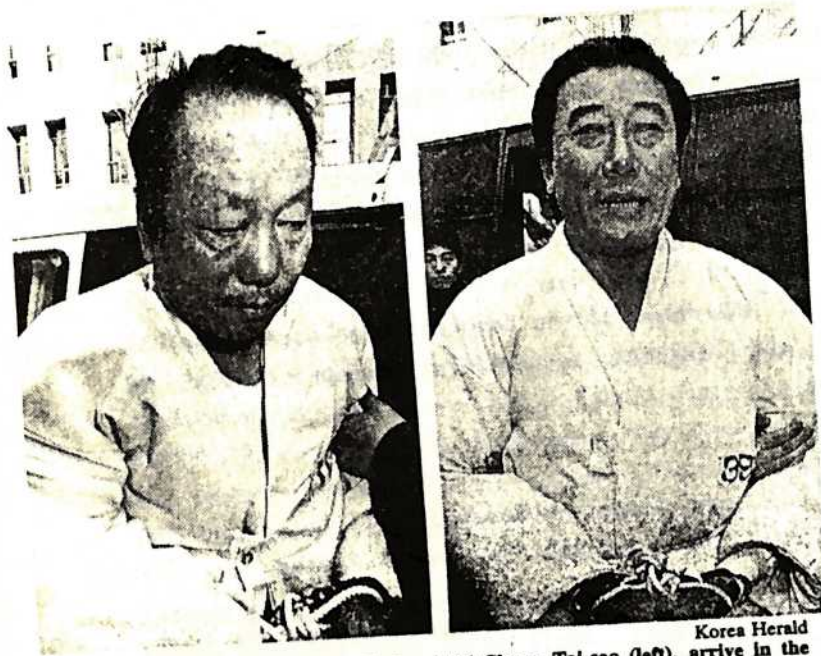
3. Prospects for the Political Situation Related to the Reinstitution of the Local Self-Government System

The restoration of the local self-government system is very significant in the struggle to achieve democratization.

Needless to say, the local self-government system is prerequisite for the bloom of true democracy. Knowing this fact very well, the Park Chung-Hee regime put an end to this system some 30 years ago. In the same way, the Roh regime has also tried to delay the enforcement of this system through various tactics even though it had promised its reintroduction.

Following the political marriage of the three parties, the regime took advantage of its majority power in the National Assembly to revise for the worse the laws related to the local self-government system. When the regime faced crisis upon the revelation of the Suso scandal, the greatest corruption thus far of the 6th Republic, the Roh government quickly pushed through its undemocratic revision of this law and held the lower-level local council elections in order to relieve the pressure on itself caused by the scandal.

However, in the light of the fact that the Roh regime misused the election, the revival of the local self-government system will be the most sensitive issue for both the regime and anti-Roh regime groups in 1991.



Rep. Kim Dong-joo (right) and Hanbo chief Chung Tai-soo (left), arrive in the Prosecutor-General's Office yesterday to be quizzed about Kim's allegation that Chung gave billions of won to the DLP.

Probe of Hanbo's alleged DLP fund under way

Kim Dong-joo starts furor

The prosecution yesterday launched a full-fledged probe into allegations that Hanbo Group Chairman Chung Tai-soo, the central figure in the Suso housing scandal, provided political funds to the ruling Democratic Liberal Party (DLP) and the opposition Party for Peace and Democracy (PPD) in connection with the scandal.

The Central Investigation Department at the Prosecutor General Office called in Rep. Kim Dong-joo yesterday morning for questioning as to his allegation that Hanbo bankrolled a large sum of money to the DLP in the form of political funds.

The probe focused on proving a claim by lawyer Chang Ki-uck, a former lawmaker and now chairman of the Democratic Party's Human Rights Committee, that Suh Chung-won, a DLP lawmaker, delivered a large sum of money from Hanbo to DLP leaders. Suh then served as policy coordinating director during the second meeting of senior party and government officials which was convened to discuss a petition concerning the Suso housing project.

Earlier, lawyer Chang maintained that he received the message from Rep. Kim Dong-joo's brother shortly before the lawmaker was arrested last Saturday on graft charges regarding Hanbo along with four lawmakers and two others.

In a related development, the prosecution reportedly came under fire for presenting reports which are in conflict to the contents of a meeting of senior government and party officials last Aug. 27 concerning the housing project, while revealing the results of its 10-day probe into the case Monday.

Official documents sent to the Suso housing cooperatives, who filed a petition, showed that participants of the meeting, including Lee Seung-yun, then deputy prime minister-economic planning board minister, Lee Chong-nam, justice

minister, Kwon Young-gack, then construction minister, asked Seoul City to consider the housing project in favor of Hanbo.

But the prosecution announced that the DLP held two meetings of party and government officials, but decided to respect Seoul City's position to disapprove the project because of disagreement among participants.

Winding up its initial probe into the case, Choi Myong-bu, chief of the Central Investigation Department, said the prosecution has not found anything so far to back up allegations that Chung offered political funds to the DLP.

Nine PPD lawmakers, who met with Rep. Kim Dong-joo at Seoul Prison Tuesday, reportedly said that Kim flatly denied the allegation that political funds drifted into the ruling party.

Rep. Lee Won-bai of the PPD was also questioned as to how he issued a "declaration of conscience" in which, he said, he received 200 million won from Hanbo Chairman Chung and handed it to Rep. Kwon Roh-kap, special assistant for PPD President Kim Dae-jung, asking him to use the money for the operation of the party.

The statement also alleged that senior presidential aides were deeply involved in the scandal. He was arrested on charges of taking 230 million won in bribes from Chung.

The prosecution is considering summoning PPD officials to determine whether the money constituted a bribe or a political donation, prosecutors said.

Rep. Lee was quizzed over the receipt of an additional 60 million won in the form of a donation from Chung last December which he shared with Reps. Kwon Roh-gap and Kim Tai-shik. Rep. Kim is now behind bars for receiving 30 million won after blackmailing Chung in connection with the Suso scandal.

Hundreds slam 'lukewarm' probe into Suso bribery

Stage rallies at Pagoda, Myongdong Cathedral

Dissident groups yesterday sponsored two outdoor rallies in downtown Seoul condemning the lingering Suso housing land scandal.

The Citizens' Alliance for Economic Justice (Kyongshilyon) held a rally at Pagoda Park and two other dissident organizations sponsored a similar rally at the Myongdong Cathedral, demanding that the prosecution re-investigate the scandal.

At Pagoda Park some 500 citizens and college students gathered, and Kyongshilyon announced the establishment of a citizens' committee to probe the Suso housing land scandal, charging that the prosecution's investigation so far leaves much unsolved.

"The prosecution's lukewarm investigation leaves behind many suspicions about the scandal, and we, by forming the citizens' committee, will probe lingering suspicions with our own hand," said a Kyongshilyon spokesman.

Kyongshilyon also insisted that the prosecution launch a new investigation into the scandal to eliminate lingering popular suspicions.

Some 2,000 riot policemen were deployed around the rally sites to prevent the rallies from becoming violent.

Meanwhile, some 500 citizens participated in a similar rally at Myongdong

Cathedral to condemn the scandal.

After the rally, they tried to march to Chong Wa Dae, the presidential mansion, but were stopped by riot police.

They shouted slogans condemning the "corruption" of the government, political parties and the Seoul City government.

They were the first outdoor rallies protesting the scandal, which has resulted in the arrest of five lawmakers and two ranking government officials.

A police spokesman said the dissident groups' rallies were legal as they had reported to police about their plans to hold them 48 hours in advance.

But Chongno Ward Office had refused Kyongshilyon's request to use Pagoda Park as rally site.

In Kwangju, 50 student activists, mostly from Chonnam National and Chosun universities, occupied a section of Kumnam Boulevard in the eastern part of the city for a surprise antigovernment demonstration at 1:25 p.m.

Chanting "Overthrow the regime of President Roh Tae-woo, the mastermind of the Suso housing scandal," the protesters briefly marched along the road, but then fled as riot police rushed to the scene.

The demonstrators belong to Nam-chongnyon, a student activists' organization in Chollanam-do.



Citizens calling for reinvestigation of the Suso housing scandal march along downtown streets after a protest rally at Pagoda Park in Seoul yesterday.

Korea Herald

Chapter 2. The Grand Struggle in May and June

1. The Significance of May and June of 1991

In the Korean society, the symbolic significance of May and June has been very great. Since the Kwangju Incident, which began on May 8, 1980, there have been nationwide anti-government demonstrations every May. Since the Grand Struggle for Democratization in June 1987, there have appeared wide-ranging of democratization movements each June. The same phenomenon was strongly evident in the Korean political situation in May and June of 1991.¹⁾

Since Mr. Kang Kyung-Dae, a student of Myung-Ji University in Seoul, was beaten to death by the riot police during a demonstration, the Sixth Republic has encountered the most serious crisis. His death moved hundreds of thousands of citizens to stage anti-government demonstrations and have stirred the slack democratization movement camp to organize strongly united struggle. The Korean Protestant circle also actively joined in the struggle through Emergent Situational prayer meetings, Situational Statements, and mass rallies.

2. Development of the Democratization Movement and Crisis of the Regime.

1) The 'Kwangju people's Struggle, Kwangju, in the southwestern part of the Korean peninsula, was a mass revolt against the military coup led by Chun Doo-Hwan which took place in 1980. This revolt developed into an armed struggle in which over 1,000 people were apparently killed by the martial troops or disappeared.

The 'Great June struggle' in 1987 was a series of mass demonstrations for constitutional reform demanding change of the indirect presidential election system. Through the struggle, constitutional reform focusing on the direct election of the president, was achieved.

1) Eruption of Citizens' Anger and Grand-Scale Demonstrations

After the death of university student Kang Kyong-Dae, 10 young people in succession committed suicide by self-immolation in their appeal for pan-national struggle against the Roh regime, which had greatly shocked the citizens through its actions. The suspicious death of Mr. Park Chang-Soo, the president of Hanjin Heavy Industrial Co. Labour Union in Pusan, and the death of Ms. Kim Kwi-Jong, a student of Songkyunkwan University, which also resulted from harsh subjugation by the riot police as in Mr. Kang's case, severely strained the political situation.

The mass media provoked controversy over the good and/or evil of self-immolation by arranging to have some famous people, such as poet Kim Chi-ha and Fr. Park Hong, the president of Sokang University in Seoul, propagandize that there were wire pullers behind the self-immolations.

The general public, however, was of the opinion that the only way to prevent more sacrificial death of young people was to achieve true democracy, and many citizens joined in the anti-government movement. The wide participation of the citizens drew the reluctant opposition parties into the streets.

The Roh regime became bewildered by the far-reaching protests and on April 27 replaced the Minister of Home Affairs, the official who was directly responsible for the death of Mr. Kang. Finally Roh tried to overcome the crisis with a deceitful apology, but even that could not pacify the heightened anger of the citizens. Even within the ruling party, the cry for the resignation of Prime Minister Roh Jae-Bong grew louder and louder.

Even during this whirlpool of crisis, the regime arrogantly continued its high-handed rule. It also forced through undemocratic revisions of various evil laws including the National Security Law, in a 30-second blitz without the attendance of the opposition parties.

This incident drove the opposition party out of the National Assembly, where they continued their struggle. Starting with their participation in the national rally for Mr. Kang's funeral ceremonies on May 14, they held rallies in large cities across the country from May 19 on. Shortly afterward, however, they shifted their effort toward the local council(self-government) elections in June and this brought strong criticism from the Nationalist Democratization Movement group. All in all, however, the pan-national side has been able to struggle against the regime in unison since the joint funeral ceremonies for Mr. Kang.

After the death of Mr. Kang, the pan-nationalist side organized a "Pan-National Counter Measures Council to Censure the Violent Murder of Kang Kyong-Dae and to stop the High-Handed Rule of the Regime" (Abbr. Counter-Measures Council). The Council united 55 mass organizations including "Chonnohyop", "Chonnong", "Chondaehyop", "Chonbinryon", and "Chonminryon", plus three opposition parties. The Council organized branch offices on the district level across the country and quickly set up a nationwide structure through the experience of solidarity activities of Chonminryon and KukminYonhap since 1987. With its organizational ability, the Council mobilized 270,000 people at national rallies in 21 cities across the country on May 4, 550,000 people in 87 regions on May 9; and 500,000 in 81 regions on May 18.

2) The Conspiracy for Long-Term Power through Revision of the Constitution for the Parliamentary Cabinet System, by Use of Heavy Suppression

The incidents of violence during May, resulting in the death of Kang Kyong-Dae, were the natural outcome of the regime's heavy-handed rule, aimed at preventing the lame-duck phenomenon in the final period of the Sixth Republic and at accomplishing the long-desired revision of the Constitution for a parliamentary cabinet system. In order to achieve its goals, the regime employed harsh measures to suppress the people's complaints and the anti-government activities of the

democratization movement groups.

The suppressive methods applied by the regime were characterized by physical violence against the movement groups through the deployment of the police, the Agency for National Security Planning, and the National Security Command, and strengthening of the attacks on movement groups through anti-communism and anti-North Korean ideologies.

The heavy-handed rule through the use of public security agencies started under the situation of labour unions' expanded activities and the visits to North Korea by Rev. Moon Ik-Hwan and Ms. Im Su-Kyong in the first half of 1989. The suppressive rule was strengthened with the establishment of the Democratic Liberal Party in the first half of 1990 in order to put down the people's complaints arising from the misrule of the regime.

This misrule was revealed in the national economic situation. As seen later on in chapter 3, the living difficulties of the people increased, and consequently the struggle of the workers and the farmers for their survival rights intensified, and complaints by the populace about the government's economic policy led them to join in the demonstrations following the Kang incident.

The political situation in May and June was the greatest crisis faced by the Roh regime, very similar to the situation in June of 1987.

On the other hand, the Democratic Liberal Party is continuing to prepare for the revision of the constitution to enact a parliamentary cabinet system, through a repressive strategy employing the public security agencies.

The New TK (Taegu and North Kyongsang Province) faction, with Park Chol-On, a relative of Roh Tae-Woo, as its center, is the ringleader of the hardened the rule. The group is conspiring to exclude the Kim Yong-Sam sect faction from the DLP through its strong measures.

With things having developed to this point, Roh Tae-Woo could not help but persuade Park Chol-On to stop competing for the presidential candidacy prerogative against Kim Young-Sam, following completion of Roh's term. Park's forced withdrawal may appear to favor Kim Young-Sam, but in fact this measure was taken in order to stimulate the faction of the former Democratic Justice Party to tightly unite as a rival of Kim's group.

Though this measure may have silenced the internal discord temporarily, until all the local elections take place, there seems to be a great possibility of the reappearance of the issue of constitutional revision and the continuing power play for prerogatives.

3) Nature of the Grand Struggle in May and June, and Possible Future Direction of the Pan National Counter-Measures Council, Comparing with the People's Grand Struggle in June 1987

The democratization movement in May and June 1991 reminded us of the People's Grand Struggle in 1987 in various aspects as follows.²⁾

First is the fact that it was the people's anger over the death of a student, in combination with their latent complaints about the government, which stirred the large-scale demonstrations and national rallies.

Second is the fact that the struggle of the nationalist democratization camp was joined by the opposition parties at a later stage of the struggle.

Third, both the 1987 and the 1991 confrontation between the people's democratic power and the undemocratic power was carried out very

2) Like the death of Kang Kyung-Dae in 1991, the torture death of Park Jong-Chul and the death of Lee Han-Yul by tear-gas bomb touched off mass struggles.

peacefully.

However, along with the similarities, there also exist considerable differences. First, unlike the 1987 struggle, when citizens joined in the movement as individuals, this time citizens joined in as members of organizations. That is, not only students participated, but also many members of white-collar trade unions such as the National Teachers Trade Union attended the rallies and demonstrations, very systematically. The fact that such people participated as members of well-organized groups from various circles including industrial workers, farmers, teachers, and students, shows the development of the Korean democratization movement.

Second, unlike the 1987 struggle, the recent struggle indicates a relative strengthening of the minjung's power while the role of the opposition parties has relatively weakened. In 1987, the two Kims played an important role as the joint representatives of the National Headquarters of the Democratization Movement. This year, however, non-political leaders have led all the rallies and have struggled consistently.

The opposition parties even showed a tendency to be led by the actions of the Pan-National Counter-Measures Council, but this aspect had a negative impact when the Council was driven into a defensive posture. The Council felt very much isolated when no support came forth from the opposition parties or religious groups during its sit-in in the Myongdong Cathedral. As a result, the effectiveness of the Council has recently weakened noticeably.

Thirdly, compared to 1987, the activities of the industrial workers were much advanced. In 1987, the leading groups were the students and middle-class citizens, but the industrial workers could not join systematically. This year, however, the organized power of the industrial workers with Chonnohyop (National Council of Democratic Trade Unions) played an active role as one of the important sect in the Council. The suspicious death of Mr. Park Chang-Soo probably stirred the trade unions to participate actively in the political

struggle.

In summary, the struggle for democratization in May and June of this year considerably restored the ability of movement of the Korean people and it is significant that the Pan-National Counter-Measures Council was able to be formed as the centripetal body for the long-term perspective of the democratization movement.

As various political opinions and viewpoints of the member organizations are intermingled in the Council, it cannot easily be predicted whether or not it can draw enough support from the Korean people as a whole to bring about a democratic change of political power.

The title of the Pan-National Counter-Measures Council was chosen in hopes of abolishing heavy-handed rule of the regime through the reckless use of the public security agencies, and of achieving a democratic government. Following Kang Kyong-Dae's funeral ceremonies on May 18, all the leaders of the Council started a sit-in in the Myongdong Cathedral. On June 15, the Council's title was changed to "The National Council for Cessation of the Harsh Rule and Achievement of a Democratic Government", in order to overcome its temporary character and to develop into a long-term, strategic body of pan-national power.

4) Resignation of Prime Minister Roh Jae-Bong and Counter-Attack on the Regime

On May 22, the Roh regime was forced to accept the resignation of Roh Jae-Bong as Prime Minister, whereupon Mr. Chong Won-Shik was appointed the new Prime Minister. A partial cabinet reshuffle also took place.

Chong, however, is a known hardliner and the very government official who, as the Minister of Education in 1989, suppressed Chonkyojo, the National Teachers Union, and expelled over 1,500 teachers from their positions.³⁾ His appointment, therefore, clearly revealed the

intention of the regime to reinforce its suppression, rather than to gain public support. It was natural, then, that the protests by movement circles and opposition parties greatly increased.

The Countermeasures Council escalated its struggle to the level of demanding overthrow of the regime and establishment of a democratic government. The opposition parties continued to stage rallies to take advantage of the coming large-unit local council elections.

At the same time, the Roh regime manufactured a fabricated case over Kim Ki-Sol's suicide note in order to destroy the credibility of the national democratization movement. The regime falsely propagandized that some members of the movement circle had compelled Mr. Kim, a staff of the head office of Chonminryon, to commit suicide in order to create social unrest. Their story had Kim committing suicide reluctantly without leaving a suicide note behind, and Kang Ki-Hoon, another staff at the head office of Chonminryon, supposedly fabricating his suicide note. The ensuing controversy is still going on and is creating strong criticism against Chonminryon and the nationalist democratization movement as a whole.

The decisive moment used by the regime to overcome its political crisis was the incident of Prime Minister Chong. Just after being appointed Prime Minister, Chong visited the Korean Foreign Language University, where he had previously been a given lecturer. There he was attacked by students with eggs and flour. His monstrous appearance after the attack was immediately telecasted and reported. The mass media harshly criticized the students and the student movement as having turned so violent and immoral as to attack their teacher. In this way, the mass media counter-attacked the student movement day in and day out, till finally the movement was intimidated.

3) The National Teachers Union aims at the realization of "True Education" (called 'cham kyoyuk'), by democratizing the national education system.

With the help of the mass media, the regime began to escalate the arrests of not only the leaders of the student movement but also the leaders of the National Countermeasures Council.

The two-month continuous struggle against the regime appeared to have passed its peak with the funeral ceremonies for Ms. Kim Kwi-Jong.

5) Local Election Situation

With the announcement that the large-unit local council elections would be held on June 20, the struggle against the regime stopped suddenly, as the concern of the Korean people turned toward the election.

The election mood influenced the movement camp, obliging it to start its election struggle, that is, to stage campaigns to defeat the candidates of the Democratic liberal Party.

Naturally the DLP was seeking to stabilize its reign of power by winning this election. Meanwhile, the opposition parties made every effort to win, viewing this election as a key skirmish on the way to the next parliamentary election and Presidential election.

In the beginning, the National Council remained silent as to its definite position on the election. On May 23, however, it clearly expressed its position to oppose the election which, it insisted, was promoted by the regime only in order to overcome its political crisis.

Though the strain of the situation obliged the movement camp to take positive countermeasures, the movement camp could not establish any definite strategy towards the election. The result of the election will be analyzed in the following section.

Four riot policemen face arrest on charges of battering a Seoul college student to death with steel pipes when he was caught during a demonstration in front of his campus in western Seoul Friday afternoon.

The prosecution decided to formally arrest the policemen today, charging them with inflicting fatal injuries on Kang Kyong-dae, a Myungji University economics freshman, which led to his death.

The four are Cpls. Kim Yong-sun, Chang Kwang-ju, Lim Chon-sun and Pfc. Lee Hyong-yong, all assigned to the Seoul Metropolitan Police Bureau's fourth mobile squad 94th company and third platoon.

The Seoul District Prosecutor's Office Sobu (west) branch, investigating Kang's death, obtained a court-issued writ for searching the body of the dead student activist, and persuaded Kang's family and students, who opposed an autopsy on the body at the National Institute of Scientific Investigation, to change their mind.

Parents of the dead student said, "Eye-witnesses' testimony confirmed that our son was beaten to death by riot policemen. So there is no reason for conducting a post-mortem. We cannot kill him twice."

Prosecutors, who were trying to contact Kang's family and student representatives for the autopsy, said they were denied access to Yonsei University Hospital where the body of the dead student is being kept.

The four accused riot policemen were handed over to the prosecution for questioning at 5:40 p.m.

Prosecutors called in Sohn In-gyu, 28, and Yu Yong-shik, 27, the two known witnesses to the brutal killing, Choi Ok-kyong, a night-duty doctor at the Yonsei University Hospital, and Park Tong-guk, chief surgeon at the Holy Family Hospital, both who examined Kang's body, to hear testimony.

They said the probe centered around a possibility of the involvement of more riot policemen, adding that witnesses said two to four more policemen seemed to be on the spot.

Although the accused policemen initially strongly denied employing steel pipes, they later confessed to using the objects, sources close to the investigation team said.

Senior Supt. Cho Mun-hyong, chief of Seoul Sobu Police Station, Capt. Kim Hyon-jung, the riot squad's 94th company leader, and Lt. Park Man-ho, the platoon

leader, were relieved of their posts for failing to supervise their men while breaking up the student rally.

Witnesses and police investigators said about 400 riot policemen rushed out of alleys and chased student demonstrators who took to the street about 100 meters from the school gate at 4 p.m. Friday.

But Kang was caught by the policemen, part of a riot police arrest team, while trying to flee into his campus over a wall.

At the time, Kang was in charge of communication between students during a protest to demand the release of Park Kwang-chol, president of Myungji University student council, who was arrested Thursday.

Police investigators said Cpl. Kim Yong-sun grabbed Kang by his jumper and pulled down onto the ground.

Pfc. Lee Hyong-yong, Cpl. Chang Kwang-ju joined hands in battering Kang with 1.2-meter long steel pipes and dragging him five meters.

Cpl. Lim Chon-sun finally kicked and trampled the student, police investigators said.

The four policemen told investigators that they left behind the student, who appeared to have lost consciousness on

the sidewalk, after finding that he was bleeding from the head.

Police said they retrieved two steel pipes and two wooden sticks which third platoon leader Lt. Park Man-ho picked up in his riot police bus and later discarded.

Kang was initially taken to the school dispensary, but an on-duty nurse told students to take Kang, who had already lost consciousness, to a hospital.

The student was rushed to a hospital about 800 meters from the school, but was pronounced dead upon arrival.

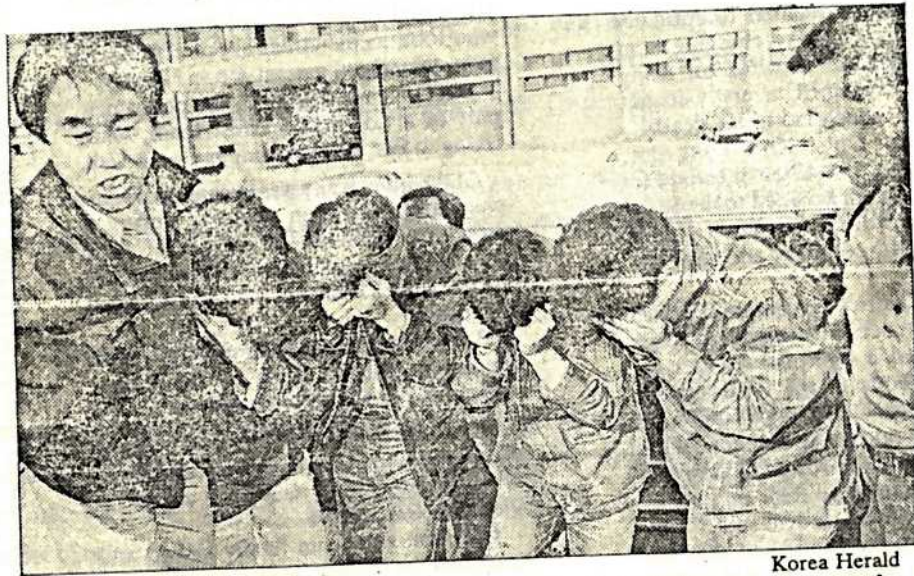
Dr. Park Tong-guk, chief of the surgery department, said Kang's heart had stopped when he arrived at the hospital.

"The student had a 7 to 8cm-long, 0.8mm-deep cut on his right forehead. I presume the injuries were not caused by sharp objects but something long and blunt like a steel pipe," he said.

Park said there was no external bleeding and Kang seemed to have died of a cerebral hemorrhage.

His body was later transferred to the morgue of Yonsei University Hospital at his father's request.

More than 1,000 students converged around the hospital and staged an overnight sit-in, blocking all access to the mortuary.



Korea Herald
Four riot policemen who beat a college student to death Friday are taken to the prosecution office for interrogation by prosecution investigators yesterday.

Professors Move To Join Students To Protest Gov't

In sympathy with students who have staged protest rallies on campuses across the country since Monday condemning the police killing of a Myongji University student, professors are now speaking out on the issue.

In Kwangju, about 700 faculty members at Chonnam National University yesterday issued a joint statement calling for the dissolution of the combat police force, who were originally designed to work in anti-espionage operations, not as riot police.

The collective move came after a 21-year-old university coed attempted self-immolation during a protest rally in front of her campus on Monday. The woman student is still listed in critical condition despite intensive treatment at the university hospital.

The professors also demanded a thorough investigation into the police brutality that resulted in the death of Kang Kyong-dae. The Myongji University freshman was beaten to death during a violent clash with riot police in front of his campus in western Seoul last Friday.

"All police and government officials, regardless of their ranks, who were responsible for Kang's tragic death," the statement urged, "should face legal action."

"The firing of then home minister Ahn Eung-mo was only a gesture to calm public anger over the police bludgeoning, a control method which is being systematically used by special arrest squads," the professors said.

The academicians demanded the revision of the Law on Assembly and Demonstration which virtually bans outdoor rallies by antigovernment protesters.

The professors also asked for students not to commit suicide or to use violent means in antigovernment demonstrations to avoid further casualties.

Chondaehyop declares 6 days to May 2 as mourning week

May Day Sees United Front of Workers, Students

Tens of thousands of students and labor activists mounted antigovernment rallies nationwide yesterday in observance of May Day when another student attempted self-immolation.

Thousands of protesters yelling "Down with President Roh Tae-woo" surged out of Yonsei University where a massive rally was held to mark the international workers' holiday and mourn the death last Friday of Myongji University student Kang Kyong-dae.

Militant students battled with riot police in downtown areas of Seoul until early this morning by hurling firebombs to riot police who responded with teargas.

The vehement protest was triggered as a sophomore of Andong University near Taegu set himself on fire with paint thinner at around noon in a campus rally and was listed in serious condition.

Kim Yong-kyun, 20, chanting such slogans as "Down with President Roh Tae-woo," attempted self-immolation but fellow students immediately put out the fire and conveyed him to a nearby hospital.

As his life is in danger due to third degree burns, he was rushed to the Kyungbuk National University Hospital later for intensive treatment.

The university students were holding a rally in memory of a Myongji University student beaten to death by police last Friday.

It was the second suicide attempt following that of a 19-year-old female student in Kwangju who set herself ablaze in protest against the death of Kang Kyong-dae, 20.

At the Yonsei rally an estimated 30,000 students and blue-collar workers attended the May Day ceremony and

clashed violently with riot police while attempting to take to the street in the evening.

Over 2,000 of them who succeeded in sneaking out of the campus gathered near the Myongdong Cathedral and held a surprise rally late last night. Fifty of them staged an overnight sit-in in the precincts of the cathedral.

Fierce fighting erupted in Shinchon area near Yonsei and several downtown areas in Seoul, but sporadic clashes between the protesters and riot police mostly ended at about 11 p.m. with militant protesters voluntarily dispersing themselves.

Hundreds of volleys of teargas shells and firebombs lit the night sky and the choking gas filled the fashionable shopping streets in Shinchon where five universities are clustered.

Militant students overturned two armored police vehicles and burnt them down after several policemen inside were rescued.

In the Mapo intersection near Shinchon, protesters trapped and surrounded about 1,500 riot police and attacked them repeatedly with rocks and firebombs.

The report on injuries for both protesters and police was not available as of midnight as some sporadic clashes lasted throughout the night.

It was the worst night of violence in Seoul this year and was the third night in a row protesters had battled police. On Monday and Tuesday, students withheld from using firebombs and stones.

In other provincial cities across the country, where violent clashes erupted, several police boxes were attacked with firebombs and stones by angry students and workers.

'Down With Roh Tae-woo'

20,000 Students, Dissidents Take to Streets

With a large-scale rally at Seoul City Hall Plaza aborted by police, about 20,000 students and dissidents launched street demonstrations yesterday to protest the fatal beating of a student demonstrator by police.

Riot police fired volleys of tear gas and streams of water to disperse the demonstrators who shouted "Down with (President) Roh Tae-woo."

As the scheduled rally at the City Hall plaza was aborted by riot police, thousands of ralliers, waving banners and jabbing their fists in the air, filled several roads leading to the City Hall.

Demonstrators tried to reach the plaza, repeatedly dispersing and regrouping to avoid human barriers set up by riot police.

The fierce street battles between ralliers and riot police continued until late in the night, paralyzing road traffic completely.

Student demonstrators refrained from throwing firebombs and stones, following calls by their leaders for non-violent rallies.

Tens of thousands of students and citizens also launched demonstrations in 20 other major cities.

The nationwide protests were sparked April 26 when Kang Kyong-dae, a Myongji University student, was beaten to death by police arrest squads, commonly called "skeleton squads" due to their white helmets. The protesters called for the dissolution of the police squads.

In yesterday's clashes in Seoul, about 20 riot police were stripped of their head gear, shields and other equipment by demonstrators and two police armored vehicles caught fire after demonstrators turned them over.

About 100 lawmakers and officials of the main opposition New Democratic Party, led by president Kim Dae-jung, paraded in cars, blowing horns in support of the protesters.

Demonstrators and riot police fought at several downtown areas, especially, Chongnyangni, Yongdungpo and Shinchon where ralliers were to gather before launching street marches towards Seoul City Hall.

Sporadic rallies were reported in Chongnyangni, Myongdong and Sodae-mun until 9 p.m. and police fired teargas against demonstrators.

About 150 Myongji University students attempted to launch a street march towards the National Police Headquarters but police dispersed them soon.

Rally organizers including a pan-national conference originally planned to hold a large-scale rally in front of the City Hall at 4 p.m.

Meanwhile, police authorities mobilized about 32,000 policemen to quell street demonstrations while allowing rallies held on campus or on sidewalks. Amid successive self-immolation attempts by students, a group of professors also launched a sit-in protest criticizing police violence.

Currently, 2,300 professors from 54

universities across the nation issued statements critical of the deadly beating of the student.

Religious groups, artists and women's movement activists also joined the anti-government rallies, cornering the President Roh Tae-woo regime.

Nearly 3,000 church ministers issued a statement at Yonsei University, demanding the neutrality of police and the dissolution of police arrest squads.

In the statement, they berated the government for remaining lukewarm without taking a definite step to settle the current situation.

About 30 representatives from Buddhist organizations also held a gathering in Kaeun-sa Temple in eastern Seoul and formed a committee to prevent human rights violations.

The participants agreed to mount a joint struggle without other religious organizations.



Korea Times

Students, shouting anti-government slogans, march toward Seoul City Hall from the South Gate near the Namdaemun Market Saturday before they waged a running battle with riot police.

Tension Heightens Over Unionist's Death

Park's Body Forcibly Taken for Autopsy

ANYANG, Kyonggi-do — Police, to obtain the body of a dead labor activist for an autopsy, broke into a hospital mortuary here yesterday and seized it from the hands of fellow workers and students.

Nearly 1,000 riot police were sent into the Anyang Hospital in the operation to seize the body of Park Chang-su, head of the Hanjin Heavy Industries labor union who allegedly jumped to his death in an anti-government protest Monday.

Two forensic doctors of the National Institute of Scientific Investigation conducted an autopsy on his body for about an hour in the presence of two Anyang Hospital doctors but the results are not immediately available.

Several attempts in the morning by police had failed in the face of strong resistance by about 200 workers and students guarding the body.

At 12:50 p.m. plainclothesmen smashed through a rear wall of the mortuary to evade them and managed to take the body.

Police apprehended about 30 unionists but failed to take six family members as workers strongly resisted them.

Choi Chi-hun, a 22-year-old worker, had an artery cut and fell unconscious while over 10 workers and riot police sustained injuries in the course of the police operation.

The Suwon District Prosecutor's Office investigating the death ordered the seizure of the body for a post-mortem examination to figure out the exact cause of death.



Korea Times

Police haggle with family members of Park Chang-su, dead labor leader of Hanjin Heavy Industries, while trying to seize his body at the morgue of Anyang Hospital Tuesday.

Park's fellow unionists raised doubts about the cause of death because the union leader had been confined to the hospital.

Park, charged with violating labor laws, was transferred to the hospital last Saturday from Seoul Prison in

Poilli near Seoul after suffering head injuries requiring 16 stitches in a soccer game.

He was found dead at the foot of the hospital building 10 minutes after he asked to go to the bathroom. His family had been fast asleep in the ward.

Police Quell Violent Rallies Nationwide

Collegian's Body Laid to Rest 23 Days After Fatal Beating

The body of a Seoul collegian was laid to rest at the May 18 Cemetery in Kwangju early this morning, 23 days after he was fatally beaten by police during a demonstration.

Myongji University student Kang Kyong-dae, 20, was initially scheduled to be buried yesterday to coincide with the 11th anniversary of the bloody Kwangju civil uprising.

The funeral for the Myongji economics freshman highlighted three weeks of violent anti-government protests and was made possible through an eleventh hour agreement on the site for a road ritual as day-long protests gripped the nation.

Over 200,000 students, union workers, dissidents and farmers took their protests to the streets in 41 cities and counties, triggering what was described as the most massive and violent anti-government demonstrations since President Roh Tae-woo took office in early 1988.

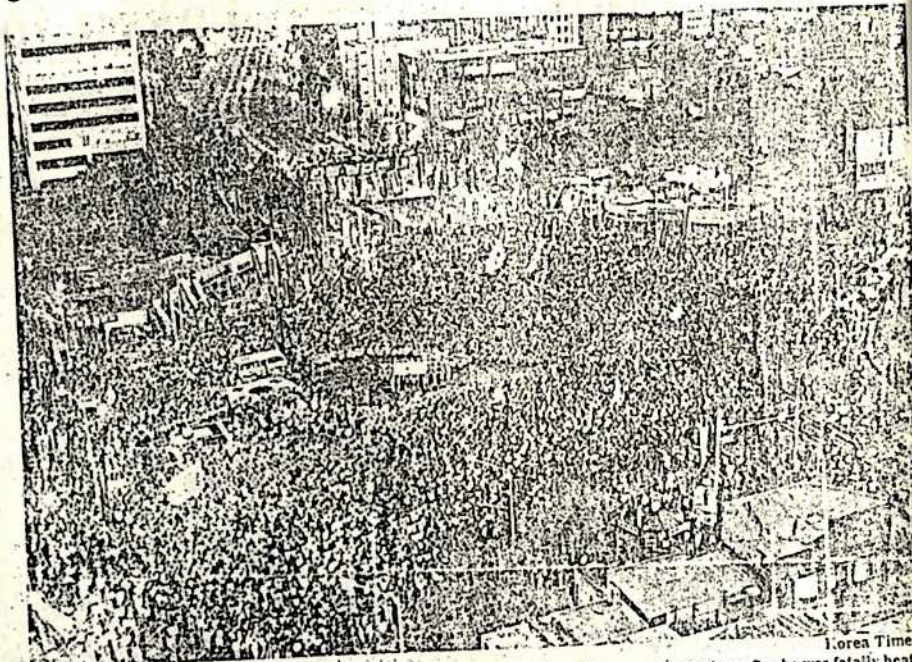
After waging successive street battles with police, the organizers of Kang's funeral submitted to an earlier police proposal to hold a road ritual in Kongdok-dong, Mapo-gu instead of the Seoul Railway Station plaza, thus clearing the way for the dead student to be buried.

The 10,000-strong funeral procession departed from Yonsei University yesterday morning and held a brief ceremony in Shinchon before heading toward the Seoul station plaza for the street ritual against a government ban.

Mourners met with stiff resistance from teargas-firing police as they reached the Taehyon Pass not far from Shinchon and engaged in fierce clashes for over three hours before accepting the proposal to stage the ritual in Kongdok-dong.

The emotions of mourners were heightened when they heard the news of a woman jumping to her death from a railroad bridge along the path of the procession after setting herself on fire. A high schooler also committed self-immolation at around the same time in Posong, south of Kwangju and was listed in critical condition.

The procession left for his alma



Over 25,000 mourners pay their respects to the memories of Myongji University student Kang Kyong-dae in a street ritual in Kongdok-dong, Mapo-gu before the cortege left for Kwangju Saturday evening. Kang's body was laid to

rest early Sunday morning, 23 days after he was fatally beaten by riot police in a demonstration. (Related Stories, Photo on Page 3)

mat of Whimun High School in southern Seoul after the 110-minute the road ceremony at 6:30 p.m. amid the attendance of 25,000 mourners and then took the expressway to Kwangju for the burial. They arrived in Kwangju well past midnight and the burial took place early this morning.

The collegian's funeral was held last Tuesday but a road ritual at the Seoul City Hall plaza was foiled by a massive deployment of police troops. The funeral organizers deliberately put it off to yesterday to coincide with the Kwangju anniversary.

Even after the departure of Kang's body, student and dissident protesters

continued to wage violent battles with combat troops in downtown Seoul including Toegye-ro and Myongdong deep into the night.

As midnight approached, thousands of demonstrators were seen gathering near the Myongdong Cathedral.

Elsewhere, rallies calling for greater democratic reform and the resignation of the Roh administration were staged by 12,000 demonstrators in Kwangju, 20,000 in Pusan and tens of thousands in other major cities including Taegu, and Incheon.

In the weeks following Kang's death from police beating April 26, the anti-government groups have combined

their forces to press for the ouster of the current regime.

Instigated by the dissident Chonnohyop, or the National Council of Labor Unions, over 400,000 union workers were estimated to go on a one-day general strike yesterday against the advice of industrial leaders.

A tally by the Labor Ministry last night, however, revealed that only 3,000-odd workers had staged an illegal walkout.

Over 50,000 riot police, including 22,000 around the capital area alone, were deployed nationwide yesterday to effectively subdue any surge of violence.



Korea Herald
Acting Prime Minister Chung Won-shik, second from left, attacked by students of Hankook University of Foreign Studies with flour and eggs while giving a lecture at the university at around 7 p.m., walks out of the university building escorted by his aides who were similarly molested yesterday.

Premier Chung humiliated by students after lecture at HUFSS

About 200 activist students attacked with eggs and flour Prime Minister-designate Chung Won-shik yesterday evening at Hankook University of Foreign Studies in northeastern Seoul. He suffered no serious injuries, however, his aides said.

The students surrounded Chung, 62, chanting antigovernment slogans when he came out of the classroom after a lecture, according to witnesses. Chung assumed the premiership last Monday.

Chung, helped by his aides and some graduate school students, escaped to a nearby classroom, but the students broke into the room and assaulted him with eggs and flour, they said.

The students took Chung out to the playground and kicked and doused the prime minister with wheat flour as he was led toward the school's main gate, they said. Aides rescued Chung and left the school by taxi.

Chung was contracted to lecture to

took the lead in firing 1,500 teachers when he was education minister in 1989. The teachers were organizing a teachers' union which was banned by the government.

After arrival at his official residence at Samchong-dong around 8 p.m., Chung expressed bitter grief, saying, "Today's incident was due to the students' misunderstanding of me," Kang Yong-shik, chief secretary to Chung, told reporters.

Police immediately launched an investigation and were examining students to find those who participated in the assault. They said those involved in the violence would be sternly punished.

Police suspect that the incident might not have happened by chance but had been planned by the activist students.

President Roh Tae-woo made a phone call to Education Minister Yoon Hyoung-sup later in the night and ordered a "thorough" investigation into the "deplorable" incident, a presidential spokesman said.

Dissident caught fleeing cathedral as police raid becomes imminent

Last-minute negotiations are under way among Myongdong Cathedral authorities, dissident leaders and police to prevent the "imminent" police raid of the cathedral to arrest wanted dissidents who have long sought refuge there.

One of the dissident leaders was caught by police early yesterday morning when he tried to sneak out of the cathedral, which was blockaded by thousands of policemen.



Hyun Chu-ok

Hyun Chu-ok, 36, acting chairman of the dissident labor group, Chonnohyop, was caught scaling down a building adjacent to the cathedral.

Hyun of the Korea Trade Union Congress said at a press conference Thursday that he and two other dissident leaders, including Han Sang-yol, cochairman of the "pannational committee to end the security-oriented politics," and Lee Su-ho, head of the executive committee, would stage an indefinite hunger strike to protest against the police attempt to arrest dissident leaders.

Hyun said to police that he wanted to conclude the ongoing wage struggle led by Chonnohyop by seeking a safe refuge other than the cathedral, which is cordoned by police forces.

The law enforcement authorities, in the meantime, are seriously considering allowing police forces into the cathedral after the June 15 deadline set by the cathedral authorities for the voluntary surrender of dissident figure Kang Ki-hun. Kang is being sought for allegedly writing the suicide note of his colleague Kim Ki-sol.

The police stepped up measures to strengthen a blockade of the cathedral after Hyun's attempted escape.

Two senior officials of Myongdong

Cathedral, including senior priest Kyong Kap-shil and lawyer Kang Su-bin, called on the Prosecutor General Jeong Kuy-yeong yesterday, requesting a fair investigation into the case of Kang Ki-hun who is charged with aiding and abetting the suicide of his colleague dissident Kim Ki-sol.

They also delivered to the prosecutor general a letter under the name of Choi Yong-nok, chairman of the Catholic Committee for Justice and Peace.

In the letter, Father Choi also urged the prosecution to conduct a fair investigation into Kang's case, adding that Kang and So Jun-shik, also involved in the case, have expressed their willingness to voluntarily report to the prosecution.

Dissident leaders staging a hunger strike in the cathedral's Culture Hall re-

quested cathedral authorities to arrange a meeting with Stephen Cardinal Kim Sou-hwan to come up with measures to solve the situation.

They said that they would ask Cardinal Stephen to stop the police from storming the cathedral until Kang, who seems to be inclined to surrender, makes up his mind to do so.

The cathedral authorities, however, were negative to the dissidents' request, saying that Cardinal Stephen would be forced to shoulder a political burden if he meets with Kang, for whom an arrest warrant has already been issued by the court.

The cathedral authorities are striving to mediate between the police and the dissidents, fearing that police storming of the cathedral will have unfavorable results in the long run both to law enforcement authorities and dissidents.



Korea Herald

Amid reports of imminent police storming of Myongdong Cathedral to arrest some dissident figures, riot police troopers tighten security around the cathedral in downtown Seoul yesterday.



Korea Herald

Thousands of union members of the Seoul Metropolitan Subway Corp. held a rally in a show of consolidation in the yard of the corporation's train depot in Kunja-dong, eastern Seoul, last night. Meanwhile representatives of the union and management sit across the table at an office room of the depot in a last-minute effort to avert the union's threatened strike beginning today.

Subway strike threatened today

4.6 million Seoul citizens may be inconvenienced

Union members of the Seoul Metropolitan Subway Corp. are to go on a strike beginning 4 a.m. today. Seoul citizens are to experience extreme traffic difficulties which are already aggravated by a week-long strike by some cabbies.

The announced strike of the Seoul subway trade union members would be illegal, however, as they ignored the 15-day "cooling-off period," and arrests of some union leaders would be inevitable, according to Seoul City government officials.

To tackle the announced strike, the city government said yesterday it would put to use various kinds of buses, private or official, beginning today for commuters, and introduce the differentiation of office attendance hours beginning today.

On the average, 4.6 million citizens in Seoul use the subway lines daily, and the added buses would not be sufficient to transport them.

City officials said that 185 non-unionist

engine drivers would be mobilized to operate the Seoul subway, but expressed concerns that the number is not sufficient.

They were concerned that Seoul citizens might experience "the worst traffic hell."

The subway unionists have demanded an 18-percent pay hike and release of their arrested colleagues, while the subway management suggested a 6-percent wage increase.

Since May 15, the two sides have had 9 rounds of collective bargaining, but failed to reach any agreement.

In a vote last Friday, the trade unionists decided to go on a strike beginning today unless their demands were met by yesterday.

On Sunday, the subway management and union leaders held 12 hours of negotiations to no avail.

The Central Labor Committee, however, told the subway trade union to suspend any collective action till July 2, or have a

15-day cooling-off period. But the unionists ignored it.

A union spokesman said that "the strike would be inevitable unless the management comes out with a new suggestion regarding our demands."

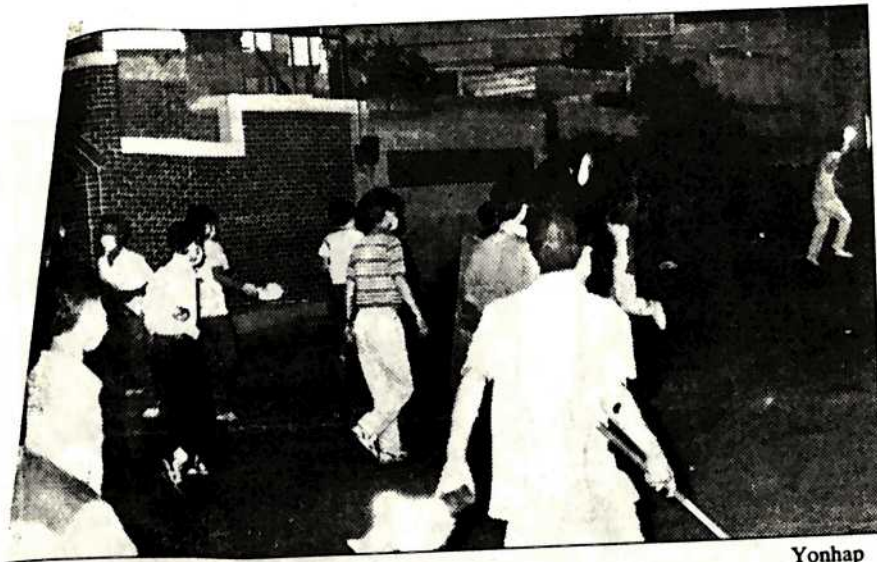
"The management knows well how to avoid the strike," he said.

During an illegal strike in March 1989, several union leaders of the subway were arrested and demonstrating unionists were forcibly dispersed by police.

Citizens, reminded of the "traffic hell" at that time, urged the unionists to abide by the cooling-off period, during which the Central Labor Committee of the Ministry of Labor Affairs could arbitrate the dispute.

City officials asked the drivers to pick up commuters to help ease the expected traffic problem.

The Seoul taxi cabbies are on the strike for the seventh day yesterday, calling for a 10.5 percent pay raise.



Yonhap
Radical students hurl firebombs at the U.S. Cultural Center in the southwestern provincial capital of Kwangju early yesterday morning. About 500 students battled with riot troopers outside the cultural center and several of them briefly occupied the U.S. facilities.

Students attack Kwangju USIS to protest Roh's U.S. visit

Police fired 20 blank shots and volleys of tear gas to disperse 400 students shouting anti-American slogans and hurling firebombs near the U.S. Cultural Center in Kwangju at dawn yesterday.

During the 20-minute battle with police in front of the U.S. building, the students yelled: "Go home Americans pushing U.S. agricultural and fishery products into our markets" and "no visit by President Roh to the United States."

The firebombs destroyed a police motorcycle and a signboard on a police substation, but fell short of the U.S. building. Police arrested five students on the scene.

Most of the protesters were students from Chonnam National University and Chosun University in Kwangju and mem-

bers of the radical federation of southern student council, police said.

At the time of attack, there were no employees in the building.

Many riot troopers on guard were injured and 10 of them are in hospital with serious injuries, police said.

A statement by the U.S. Embassy called the attack a riot and said that while no damage had been done to the cultural center, the Kwangju Women's Center which shares the building was affected.

"Although the rioters managed to force their way into the women's center, the portion of the building housing the American center was not entered and suffered no damage. No American center employees were in the building at the time," the statement said.

Chapter 3. Large-Unit Local Council Election and Political Disarray

1. Analysis and Assessment of the Large-Unit Local Council Election

The overwhelming landslide victory by the ruling regime in the large-unit local council election (election of local councils of large cities and provinces) was a huge shock. Even though many people were worried about the limitations of local self-government after seeing the results of the earlier basic-unit local council election (election of local councils of small cities and districts), they had still hoped that perhaps the result of this election would be different. After witnessing the grand uprising of the people during May and June, people expected this election to become the "people's judgement" on the 3-party regime. The result, however, was totally the opposite. Like the basic-unit election, the characteristics of the large unit election can be said to be the low voter turnout, the much greater margin of victory for the ruling regime than expected, and the devastating opposition defeat. Furthermore, most of the candidates from the democratic circle, in whom people had high hopes, lost the election.

1) Poor Voter Turnout

It was shocking to see such a low voter turnout. The greatest reason for the low voter turnout in the earlier basic-unit election was the Korean people's low level of understanding of local self-government politics. Furthermore, even for persons who were familiar with party politics, it was very difficult to vote for candidates because none of them were allowed to be outwardly affiliated with any major political party. The prohibition against identification of a candidate's party was a very effective tactic of the regime in this election. However, many expected the voter turnout in this large-unit election to be

close to that of past General Assembly elections, and in several Gallup polls before the election, it was predicted that the voter turnout would be around 70%. The actual voter turnout, however, was only 58.9%, a slight increase of 3.9% over that of the basic-unit election. This proportion of 58.9% voter turnout was 20-30% lower than that of the 1988 general election and the 1987 presidential election. It was also 8% lower than the 67.4% voter turnout for the municipal and provincial council elections of 1960.

The characteristic of this large-unit council election was that even though the voter turnout in the cities was lower than in the countryside, there was a rise in voter turnout in the cities compared to the basic-unit election. The regions of Taejon (10.1%), Seoul (9.4%), Incheon (9.2%), Pusan (7.7%), Taegu (6.4), and Kwangju (3.6) showed an increase while provincial regions such as Cholla, Kyongsang, North Chungchong, and Kangwon showed a declining voter turnout. The reason for this was the heavy involvement of the parties in the election, which intensified the competition and heightened the interest in the election, especially in big cities.

What needs to be paid close attention to here is that there was a higher increase in the voter turnout in Taejon, Seoul, and Incheon area than in Pusan, Taegu, and especially Kwangju. What was the reason for this? The reason was that in Seoul, Incheon and Taejon, there was a high level of competition between parties, but in other regions, the voters' indifference and non-voting tendency deepened due to the show of overwhelming superiority by one party over the others with the ruling regime holding strong in Pusan and Taegu while Kim Dae-Jung's party held power in Kwangju.⁴⁾

Generally in the case of advanced nations, voter turnout is low,

4) One of the characteristics of Korean political structure is the fact that a particular political party has hegemony over a particular region: the New Democratic Party led by Kim Dae-Jung over Cholla Province, Kim Young-Sam's faction in the Democratic Liberal party over Pusan, the ruling faction in the DLP over North Kyungsang and Kim Jong-Pil's faction in the DLP over Chungchong.

falling below 50% in regional elections. However, not only is this undesirable but the reasons for such low turnout are very different from those in Korea. Of course, as Korea becomes more and more capitalistic, and urbanization and division of labor more intensified as in other advanced nations, Korean people's sense of community is weakened. The main distinction which separates Korea from other advanced nations, however, is the question of the subject of politics. In other words, is the government democratic or is it dictatorial?

Another reason for the low voter turnout was the emergence of the DLP from the three-party merger and the show of unreasonableness the disunion by the opposition parties since then. In the situation where the ruling regime's candidates unexpectedly win the election even though the citizens voted for the opposition parties, not only do people become perplexed but they come to lose of the meaning of voting. Furthermore, people who have considered the opposition parties as the alternative to the ruling regime, can no longer have faith in them due to their disunity and in fighting for party interests. Because of the corruption of both the ruling and the opposition parties, clearly shown during the Suso scandal, and the nomination process for the large-unit council election, people became distrustful of not only the ruling regime but also the opposition parties.

Another reason for the low voter turnout was that the younger-generation voters showed a high degree of distrust in politics and a rather large-scale rejection of the voting process. As seen in the results of absentee voting and normal voting by the younger generation, most of them voted for the opposition parties and held strong desires for change, but the voter turnout among the younger generation was only 30%, compared to a 37% turnout during the basic-unit election. Their rejection of the voting is said to be one of the reasons for the decrease in the overall voter turnout and the victory for the ruling regime. Even though the younger generation's responsibility for the low voter turnout cannot be overlooked, the truth was that there were not many candidates or political parties

which attracted the younger generation's interest in this election.

2) The Ruling Party's Overwhelming Victory and the Opposition's Defeat

The Democratic Liberal Party (DLP from here on) was victorious in 313 electoral districts in spite of the fact that the combined vote for the 2 opposition parties was greater than the regime's. The ruling regime gained 564 seats, surpassing its expectation of 550 seats, the New Democratic Party (NDP from here on) won 165, in spite of expecting to win 260, and the Democratic Party (DP from here on) took 21 seats.

The reason for the regime's overwhelming victory in the large-unit council election was that, unlike the general election, this one was carried out in an atmosphere of "electing those who work for the good of the locality." The election result can be seen as a natural outcome of the regime's enormous political fund and its ability to influence the wealthy people in the localities. The scattered votes received by the opposition party due to its disintegration is another reason for the DLP's victory. The way the May-June struggle ended with the Prime Minister's incident and the accusation of alleged forgery of the suicide note left by Kim Ki-Sol also contributed to the DLP victory. It must also be recognized that the regime's offensive, using the theme of "political stability" centered around the various violent incidents, also influenced the outcome of the election.

The result of the large-unit council election can be summarized by the following analysis:

Firstly, the ruling regime received substantially more votes than the opposition parties in terms of total votes. The 40.6% vote for the regime was higher than the votes received by the 3 opposition parties put together. Furthermore, the fact that the main opposition party, NDP, received most of its support from the Honam region further strengthens the regime's dominance over the rest of the regions. The belief that the only reason the regime had won previous elections was due to the split of the opposition parties was repudiated. In other

words, even if the opposition parties had merged for this election, the ruling regime would still have won. Looking at the election results regionally, even though the DLP's 41% could not have beaten the 47.7% vote garnered between the NDP and DP in Seoul, the DLP completely dominated the other regions. Even in Inchon, a region of traditional opposition party stronghold, and despite entering one opposition candidate, DLP received 41% of the votes while 74.1% of the DLP candidates who entered the election were elected. In Pusan, the DLP claimed as many as 98% of the seats with only 47% of the vote.

Secondly, the NDP's image as a regional (Cholla province) party was strengthened and the DP was further reduced to a small and insignificant party. In view of the fact that the ruling regime recorded victories in every region except the Honam region (South and North Cholla provinces), it is assumed that the regional disparity and rivalry will grow. Since the beginning, it had been the plan of the NDP to absorb other opposition parties, such as the DP, in order to fight against the TK group (TK refers to the Taegu and North Kyongsang region which is the stronghold of Roh), but as a result of the election, the NDP became totally isolated. Until then, the NDP had insisted that it was not a regional party and that it had been highly supported in "Seoul, the capital". But the party was overwhelmingly defeated by the DLP in the election, even in Seoul. This result indicates that the NDP may, indeed, not be supported strongly anywhere except in the Honam region.

The DP, which had expected to win in Pusan and South Kyongsang province in place of Kim Young-Sam, was also defeated by the DLP. As a result of its defeat, the DP can no longer claim its position as "the only opposition party outside of the Honam region," and is even in danger of dropping out of its number two opposition position. The fact that the DP only managed to win one seat with 25.1% of the votes, even though it had directed most of its energy toward proving itself the only substantial opposition party, greatly shocked the party.

Thirdly, almost all the democratic candidates from the Minjung Party, Kukmin Yonhap, and Citizen's Solidarity Council were defeated. Kukmin

Yonhap at first had planned to enter the large-unit election, but because of the May Grand Struggle, it could not find any room to maneuver. Furthermore, when the National Council formally rejected the election, the democratic candidates could not receive enough support to win the election.

The Minjung Party managed to get one winner out of 42 candidates. From the 80 candidates from Chonnohyop, Chonnong, and Chonkyojo, member organizations of Kukmin Yonhap, only 8 were elected. The Citizen's Solidarity Council, which had drawn the concern of the people as a new stream of citizen's movement, entered 15 candidates but none of them was elected. This poor showing by the democratic candidates reveals how high the wall is surrounding the political world, and proves that without constant political activities, no group can draw the concern of the people during the election period.

It should be noted that the advancement of the democratic groups in the political field is still insignificant even though some improvements have been made.

2. Restart of Discussion on Unification of the Opposition Parties and Continued Political Struggle

Since the emergence of the DLP through the merger of 3 parties and the speedy forced passage of undemocratic laws, there have been efforts to unify the opposition parties. This effort, however, failed because the activity to unify the opposition parties was an instrument of the two main opposition parties to strengthen their own positions. With the result of the recent large-unit council election, talk of an opposition merger has been raised again. This time, however, the unification of the two opposition parties is most urgent and vital for both of them. This is because it has been proven that the divided opposition parties can no longer get the support of the mass and can no longer be accepted as the political alternative to the ruling regime for democratization.

Even though there have been no further developments in the opposition unification discussions, these will probably continue due to the critical importance of this issue to the opposition parties. It has, especially, become the major task for those democratic people who have joined the NDP. They are compelled to develop the unification discussions more concretely with various strategic prospectuses and by overcoming their excessive dependence on the conservative leaders of the NDP.

Even though unification among the opposition parties is vital from this point on, hurried unification should be prevented because that would only lead to quick disbandment. Merger through political bargaining among a few leaders who lack a substantial foundation of mass power should also be avoided. In other words, the opposition unification should be based on the inclusion of all the democratic forces power.

Consequently, the results of the large-unit council election may once again revive the debate on constitutional revision towards establishing a parliamentary cabinet system. This issue is said have been brought up during the meeting of Roh Tae-Woo and Kim Dae-Jung on July 16. The DLP will try to use the cabinet system to solve its problem of selecting the next presidential candidate, while the NDP is said to be considering use of the cabinet system to overcome its image as a Honam-region party.

Due to the majority of the people's belief in the presidential system, talk about cabinet system has temporarily been suspended, but there is every possibility that the issue will reemerge through political bargaining between the DLP and NDP.

In addition to all this, the struggle between the different factions in the DLP over who will be the next presidential hopeful continues. Even though the fighting seems to have eased off after the Roh-Kim Young-Sam meeting, there is a high probability that the internal dispute in the DLP will lead to a serious problem.

Ruling party scores big, wins public support for stability

Gains 564 of 866 seats nationwide; independents fare surprisingly well

The ruling Democratic Liberal Party clinched major victory in the large-unit local council elections, a showing widely seen as public support for stability after weeks of violent street protests.

Officials results showed that the government party gained 564 of the 866 seats nationwide, winning a comfortable majority of seats in 11 of the 15 newly formed municipal and provincial assemblies.

The main opposition New Democratic Party won 165 seats. The NDP led by Kim Dae-jung secured majorities in its stronghold of Kwangju and adjacent Cholla provinces, but fared poorly in most other areas.

The splinter Democratic Party won 21 seats, while the progressive Minjung (People's) Party of Korea gained one seat. Independents, who accounted for one-third of the total runners, fared unexpectedly well, garnering 115 seats.

The ruling party led in almost all parts of the country except the southwestern Cholla areas.

"The fact that the DLP won is a clear sign that people seek stability and clearly oppose revolutionary reforms through street politics or demonstrations," ruling party Executive Chairman Kim Young-sam said.

Kim, the No. 2 man in the governing party after President Roh Tae-woo, said his party will seek "reform with stability."

An especially bitter defeat for the opposition came in Seoul, a traditionally

opposition stronghold.

Government party candidates won as many as 110 of the 132 seats at stake in the capital while the NDP gained only 21 seats.

The NDP had earlier predicted that it would win at least 60 seats in Seoul.

Surprisingly, the ruling party took 50 of the 51 seats up for grabs in Pusan, the nation's second largest city. The remaining one seat went to the minor opposition DP.

As expected, the government party swept its power base of Taegu and surrounding Kyongsang districts, but won only one seat in a Cholla province. Taegu is the hometown of President Roh who concurrently heads the ruling party.

Likewise, the opposition NDP gained just one seat in a Kyongsang province.

Independents did well in Chieju-do, Kangwon-do and Chungchong areas.

In the southern island province of Cheju-do, independents secured nine of the 17 seats at stake. The remaining eight seats went to the ruling party.

Meanwhile, official returns showed that the ruling party won 40 percent of the total valid votes cast, the NDP 22 percent, the DP 14 percent, the Minjung 1 percent, and independents 23 percent.

The ruling party had forecast that it would gain 55 percent or 470 seats of the council seats nationwide.

Analysts attributed the DLP's victory in part to popular disillusionment with violent protests by students and dissidents.

Election results

	Council members					Total
	DLP	NDP	DP	PPK	Independents	
Seoul	132	21	1			154
Pusan	51		1		2	54
Taegu	28		3		3	34
Inchon	27	1			4	32
Kwangju	23	19			6	48
Taejon	23	2	1		8	34
Kyonggi-do	117	3	2		18	140
Kangwon-do	54		1	1	5	60
Chungchongbuk-do	38		2		14	54
Chungchongnam-do	55		4		1	60
Chollabuk-do	52	51			5	108
Chollanam-do	73	67	5		16	151
Kyongsangbuk-do	87	1			14	102
Kyongsangnam-do	88		1		9	99
Cheju-do	17					17
Total	866	165	21	1	115	1168

"Many people must have been shocked by such incidents as the students' pelting of 63-year-old Prime Minister Chung Won-shik with eggs and flour," a university professor said.

In addition, many young voters in their 20s and 30s who are critical of government stayed away, he said. Those people constitute 57 percent of the population.

He said that alleged payoffs involving NDP lawmakers with regard to candidacy nominations for the local polls may have dealt a blow to the opposition party.

Pro-ruling party figures dominated the small-unit local assembly elections March

26, the first in 30 years. Unlike in March, parties were authorized to field candidates for Thursday's elections to form assemblies in six big cities and nine provinces.

The watchdog Central Election Management Committee (CEMC) said 58.9 percent of the 28 million eligible voters cast ballots in the polls that are being viewed as an interim assessment of the three-year performance of President Roh's government, and a prelude to the next parliamentary and presidential elections.

The large-district local councils are required to convene in 25 days.



Kim Young-sam, the ruling DLP executive chairman, is all smiles yesterday as his party won a sweeping victory in Thursday's local elections (left). Kim Dae-jung (center), president of the main opposition NDP, appears depressed as his party experienced a stunning defeat while dispirited Lee Ki-taek, president of the splinter DP, rests at his home after his party ended up with only 21 seats.

Korea Herald

"The people" unequivocally chose stability by voting for the ruling party in Thursday's local elections, and they would be rewarded, Kim Young-sam, the executive chairman of the governing Democratic Liberal Party said yesterday.

Kim, the party's No. 2 man after President Roh Tae-woo, said the election results were a message to the DLP and would set the tone for the remainder of Roh's term.

Roh's party won a landslide victory in the polls for councils in six large cities and provinces, grabbing 564 of the 866 seats. It was the first local election in which party nomination was allowed.

"The fact that the DLP won is a clear sign that people seek stability and clearly oppose revolutionary reforms through street politics or demonstrations," Kim told reporters after the election results were declared. "Stability was restored through the merger of political parties, and the DLP was evaluated through the election."

The DLP was inaugurated in February 1990 as a result of the surprise union of the ruling and two opposition parties, giving Roh 218 of the 299 seats in the National Assembly.

The main opposition New Democratic Party and the splinter Democratic Party, both stung by a stunning defeat in Thursday's local council elections, are expected to make fresh attempts to merge with opposition forces.

In a statement, the NDP led by Kim Dae-jung said it would "humbly" take on its election defeat.

"At the same time, we will be armed with a strong determination, and push for a reorganization and unification of opposition forces for the coming elections."

The parliamentary elections are to be held in late January or early February next year and the presidential election is expected in late 1992. President Roh Tae-woo's single five-year term winds up in February 1993.

Also, mayoral and gubernatorial elections will be held sometime next year as the rival parties earlier agreed.

Chang Suk-hwa, DP spokesman, said in a statement that the election results were certainly a "judgement on division in the opposition ranks and manifestation of popular distrust of all the political circles that have failed to present a clean-cut picture for democratization."

"We will make all-out efforts to create a unified responsible opposition party," Chang added.

The NDP and DP last year unsuccessfully attempted to merge with each other.

Some liberal-minded lawmakers of both parties had actively called for unity of opposition forces.

Individual lawmakers of the two parties also emphasized the necessity of unity in the opposition ranks yesterday.

Chyung Dai-chul, a liberal legislator of the NDP, said, "It seems urgent that all opposition forces as well as the NDP and DP should be restructured into a single, powerful force."

For this purpose, Rep. Chyung, who is from Seoul's Chung-gu constituency, said he wants to meet with liberal lawmakers of both parties soon.

Park Chan-jong, a vice president of the DP, told reporters that the latest elections reaffirmed that the NDP is a "regional party," and it also turned out that his party is not the group which could present non-Cholla areas.

He said opposition parties need unity and changes in their leadership as well.

Lee Pu-yong, a vice president of the minor opposition DP, said all opposition forces have little option but forge unity to cope with the ruling party's "giant organization and money power" in the next national elections.

Many vocal lawmakers of the NDP and DP are likely to call on Kim Dae-jung and Lee Ki-taek, president of the minor opposition party, to quit their current posts, political observers said.

Chapter 4. A New Union of Opposition Party and The coming General Election

1. A New Union of Opposition Party and Conflict Between The Ruling and Opposition Party

The New Democratic Party (NDP, Kim Dae-Jung's new party) and Party for Unification and Democracy (PUD, remnant of Kim Young-Sam's party) finally accomplished a new union of the opposition side. The newly formed opposition party, under the name of Democratic Party (DP), has given rise to the expectation of a democratic change in power and has also added new dynamism to the democratization movement circles.

Recently there has been the continuous rumor that the opposition side might compromise with the ruling party to revise the constitution into a cabinet system and that this agreement might be reached during Kim Dae-Jung's trip with Roh Tae-Woo to the U.N. General Assembly. The opposition union, however, has cleared away all such rumors and has showed signs of an epoch-making turning point for the unity of the democratization movement.

The newly united DP has revealed determination by protesting the insincerity of the government and the ruling party at the National Assembly session in regard to the administrative investigation of the Hanbo Scandal. By completely rejecting the administrative investigation, the DP initiated its own investigation of the wrong-doings of the ruling regime.

Even though the result of the separate investigation was not as revealing as hoped due to the regime's action to push forth its own investigation, the DP's actions were, nevertheless, meaningful and significant in that these actions showed the possibility of the reappearance of a strong opposition party.

In spite of such a drastic transformation within the democratic circle, the ruling regime has not let up on its hard-handed rule. The accidental death of Mr. Han Kook-Won, a doctoral student at Seoul National University, who was killed by a bullet fired by a policeman as he was walking past a demonstration site, is just one example.

The above case is just one of many weapons-related accidents by the police which have occurred continuously since the regime's proclamation of the 'War Against Crime' last year. The politically disputed point of this accident was that the policeman aimed directly at the demonstrators and that the victim was just a passer-by. Despite the seriousness of the incident, all the ruling regime could do was to criticize the danger of the molotov cocktail demonstrations without showing any indication of apology or remorse.

In addition to using physical countermeasures, the regime has tried to check the Korean people's aspiration for true democratization through the use of various tactics. For example, the regime revealed its intention to postpone the election of the local administrative unit chiefs which it had promised to hold before next spring. In the general and presidential elections, the local administrative unit chiefs, who have all been appointed rather than elected up to now, have played an effective role as tools of the regime. If they are freely elected by the people, they can no longer play that role in the next election. The ruling regime, therefore, is trying to postpone the unit chiefs election as long as possible, thus buying time. By this delay, the regime is trying to break the united activities of the democratization movement while settling its party's unstable inner situation which has appeared due to a serious power game between several factions regarding the issue of who will succeed Roh Tae-Woo.

The political detainee in prisons across the country have entered into hunger strikes to demand the abolition of all the undemocratic laws, including the National Security Law. They have grown disillusioned, seeing no positive outcome from the National Assembly's action to revise or abolish the undemocratic laws, but rather the passing of worse laws.

The fact that the total number of detainees as of July 13, 1991, was 1,630, among them 550 laborers (Activity News KNCC, Sept. 1991), clearly reveals how undemocratic and anti-human rights the 6th Republic is.

Briefly speaking, in spite of the planned union of the democratization movement circles, including the opposition parties, and the crisis in Eastern Europe and U.S.S.R., the ideological aggression and physical suppression by the 6th Republic during September and October did not let up and still influenced the political situation.

It is crucial that the democratization movement become more tightly united in the face of the coming elections, especially as the mass people become more and more indifferent toward politics.

2. The Trends of Political Groups Heading into the General Election

1) Toward the General Election

Heading into the General Election, inner conflicts surrounding who would hold power next, plagued the ruling party. Kim Yong-Sam's faction and two others in the party engaged in a bitter tug-of-war over the time schedule and the selection of the next presidential candidate. Kim's group insisted that Roh Tae-Woo nominate Kim Young-Sam as the next presidential candidate before the general election. The other two factions (Roh and Kim Jong-Pil) responded to this insistence with scorn.

The Blue House and the two ruling party factions have tried to diminish the power of Kim's group, and through a win in the coming general election, they aim to achieve their desired goal of constitutional revision of the current system into a parliamentary cabinet system in order for them to firmly grasp the political power for the long term.

Against the attitude of confidence shown by the other two factions,

the Kim faction, whose true intention in the political marriage was to make him the next president, has felt the increased pressure. Recently, the faction has come into full-scale confrontation with the other two by strengthening its own unity through a signature campaign pledging to share the same political destiny with Kim Young-Sam. It was also reported in the press that Kim's faction threatened to break away from the ruling party.

The newly formed United Democratic Party is struggling to recover its lost credibility in order to win in the next election. The party has been under pressure to completely change its character and the party structure.

On November 18, the core leaders of the Minjung Party met with Roh Tae-Woo for political negotiations. Due to the view that the Minjung Party does not have the ability to win even a single seat in the next election, which would lead to the dissolution of the party, this move appears as a desperate measure taken by the party which had up to then demanded the withdrawal of the Roh regime. The people, however, view that the party might be trapped by the regime's tactic to divide the democratization movement group, because of the timing and the way the meeting was held.

Nearing the general parliamentary election, the movements of various political groups have appeared. Already-retired politicians have re-entered the political scene and the forces the 5th Republic are stirring again. The owners of the biggest companies have also disguised themselves as politicians. In addition, some leaders of the labour movement, who have opposed the political line of the Minjung Party, have tried to organize a laborers' party.

2) Illegalities in the Sessions of the 13th National Assembly

Again at the last regular session of the 13th National Assembly, the majority ruling party repeated its illegal administration of the session. On November 10 the regime irregularly passed numerous laws that were in dispute, by excluding the opposition party lawmakers from

the vote. The laws that were passed illegally included the Comprehensive Law on the Wire System of Broadcasting, Special Law for the Development of Cheju Island, and a law to foster the organization of the Campaign for Right Living. The Broadcast Law is intended to control the mass media more closely and completely. The Special Law for Cheju Island is only in the interests of the biggest capitalists and against the interests of the island residents. Through this law, the regime is said to be aiming to gather underground funds from the profiteers for the next election. The regime is also suspected of organizing pro-government organizations or legally fostering existing ones for the next election through the Campaign for Right Living Law.

3. Tax Evasion Case of the Hyundai Group

The 6th Republic's absurdities were not limited just to the political arena but reached the economic arena as well. On September 9, the Tax Administration Office started a tax investigation of Chong Ju-Yong, the owner of Hyundai Group, the biggest enterprise in Korea, and his family members for alleged illegal donation of stocks and division of wealth. The news of the investigation was, indeed, sensational because nobody imagined that the Hyundai Group could be in discord with the dictatorial regime.

The Korean people should be happy to see that even an economic monster such as Hyundai can become the object of an investigation. However, there can be no rejoicing when they realize that the Hyundai incident occurred for political reasons and not for economic ones.

It became necessary for the ruling regime to tighten its reign on the financial area to procure political funds in order to effectively prepare for the next election, and the Hyundai Group became a convenient scapegoat for that purpose. Chung Ju-Yong is said to have offended Roh Tae-Woo and his T.K. sect in the ruling regime by providing Kim Young-Sam with political money and by outspokenly criticizing the regime's economic policies. Chung was reported to have insisted that the people from the economic circle, including

himself, should enter the political circle in order to defend their interests against the Roh regime.

The irony of the Hyundai case is that the ruling regime is illegally collecting political funds while at the same time it is blocking the opposition parties from collecting even legal political money.

The Seoul Regional Tax Office announced its decision to force the payment of a 136.1 billion won penalty by 9 members of the Chung Ju-Young family, the owner of the Hyundai Group, and 14 subsidiary companies of the Group for tax evasion. The announcement created a great sensation among the people, who know the very close political relationship between the regime and Korea's biggest conglomerate.

There are two ways to view this incident.

One view is of the high-handed tactic of the regime to gather political money by threatening the big companies. During the 30 years of close collusion with the political power, the strength of the big industries has grown enough not to be easily influenced by the political power. Especially in the case of the 6th Republic, many of the big industries have stood against its economic policies and have protested against the harsh regulation of their investments in real estate. Therefore, the 6th Republic probably needed to seize the bridle of the big companies once again in order to make them disgorge the illegal money, and Hyundai Group was just caught as a scapegoat.

The other view of this incident is as a case of political retaliation. Chung Ju-Young was reported to have strongly criticized the economic policies of the regime, including the plans for construction of 2 million houses and High Speed Electric Railway from Seoul to Pusan. Chung has also tried to organize a political party among the financial groups. As a result, the Hyundai Group is said to have become a victim of punishment for treachery.

The main point of contention in the Hyundai case is, of course, why this huge case of tax evasion was only able to be revealed now and in

this manner. This case, nonetheless, clearly revealed the absolute power of the big companies and has raised severe criticisms against the huge corporations once again.

The Hyundai case, however, is only the tip of the iceberg. If the ruling regime is to clear itself of the suspicion that the case was part of its plot to gather illegal money, or its political retaliation, it must root out all of the illegalities and wrong-doings of the big companies. If this is not done, the Hyundai case will be just another aspect of political-economic collusion.

4. Rearrangement of the Democratization Movement

On December 1, The National Alliance for Democracy and National Reunification (National Alliance from this point on) was launched with 13 classical organizations, including the Korean National Democratization Movement United (Chonminryon), National Farmers Association (Chonnong), the National of Student Association Representatives (Chondaehyop), and 8 regional alliances as its member organizations. In addition to these, the National Council of Labor Unions (Chonnohyop) and 5 other regional alliances are set to join the National Alliance. In other words, almost all of the classical (laborers, farmers, slum dwellers, students, teachers, and religious) organizations are united into one body. As a result, 'Chonminryon' and 'National Association to End the One-Party Dictatorship and to Achieve the Minjung's Basic Rights' was dissolved and absorbed into the National Alliance, as well as other mass organizations such as Chonnohyop, Chonnong, and Chondaehyop, which were hesitant to joining Chonminryon before.

While the National Association consisted of the independent councils of every member organization, the National Alliance will be a united body with a single leadership system.

The significance of the launching of the National Alliance is that the democratization movement, which had been divided since the election in

1987, and once again since the organization of the Minjung Party in 1989, has been united into one.

Still, the differences in a political lines will never be completely erased. There has appeared the conservative tendency in the Korean society since the downfall of U.S.S.R.. In addition to this, the suppression by the present regime against the democratization movement has become more tenacious and more crafty. Therefore, the National Alliance must overcome many difficulties from the start.

On November 12, 4 labour movement organizations, including Chonohyop, organized the National Laborer Special Committee to take countermeasures against the regime's ratification of the ILO Basic Agreement and to demand the revision of labour-related laws.

The Special Committee held a national laborers' rally on the embankment of the Han River in Seoul in commemoration of succeed the spirit of Chon Tae-II and to achieve the revision of the undemocratic labour-related laws.⁵⁾

The most important issue for the labor movement is, of course, the revision of the labour-related laws. The labour movement side had demanded the complete revision of the laws along with the entry into the ILO. The government, however, entered the ILO on December 9 without any law-revision. It suspended the ratification of specific issues among 172 ILO agreements such as the agreement on freedom of association and protection of the rights of organization, the agreement on application of the principle of the right of organization and the right of collective bargaining, and the agreement on procedures for decision on employment conditions, and the protection of the right to organize by workers in public utilities.

The democratization movement has actively joined the farmers' movement

5) Chon Tae-II burned himself to death on Nov. 13, 1970, demanding that companies follows the Labor Standards Law. Then a laborer in a sewing factory, he became a symbol of the labor movement.

in protesting the import of rice, which will be decided upon the conclusion of the Uruguay Round.

On November 26, Chonnong held a 'National Farmers Rally' to block the import of American rice and to guarantee a fair price for rice as well as the purchase of the whole quantity of the crop. Over twenty thousand farmers from across the country attended the rally. Following the rally, even the pro-government farmers organizations, notably the Agricultural Co-operatives, developed various campaigns, including a signature campaign, to protest rice importation and gained the fully hllpositive response of the people.

NDP, DP declare merger

Co-led by Kim Dae-jung, Lee Ki-taek but elder Kim legal party head

Leaders of two major opposition parties announced a merger yesterday to form a unified force ahead of next year's parliamentary and presidential elections.

Kim Dae-jung, leader of the largest opposition New Democratic Party (NDP), and Lee Ki-taek, president of the second opposition Democratic Party (DP), announced the merger at a joint news conference.

Two of the DP's 10 lawmakers said they will not join the new party, tentatively called the Democratic Party.

However, three lawmakers who had bolted from the NDP, are expected to join the merged party, party officials said.

"To meet the call of the times for democracy and reforms and to meet the wishes of the people, desiring to see a unified opposition party comprising all democratic forces, we hereby declare the formation of a broad-based unified opposition party," Lee said.

"With the merger of the new party, we have formed a strong opposition political force, a giant opposition to the government," Kim said.

Kim and Lee will co-lead the new party, although the elder Kim will legally represent it.

The new party will act as a negotiating group in the National Assembly from today before it is formally registered with the Central Election Management Committee Monday.

Ten seats on the decision-making supreme council of the new party will be divided between the two groups, and party posts will be shared among NDP and DP members at the ratio of 6 to 4.

The two parties are the only opposition groups with seats in the 299-member National Assembly. The NDP has 68 seats and the DP 10, against the ruling Democratic Liberal Party (DLP)'s 214 seats and six independents. One seat is empty.

"We are resolved to block the prolonged rule of the DLP and realize a transfer of political power to a civilian, democratic government next year by integrating the NDP, DP and all democratic forces into the new party," said a joint declaration issued by the two parties.

The declaration said the new party would firmly reject any attempt to revise the Constitution to replace the current presidential form of government with a parliamentary cabinet system.

It accused the ruling party of being intent on keeping its vested rights while aggravating the gap between the haves and have-nots and inflation with policy failures.

It said the new party would, if it came to power, force Koreans to use real names in financial transactions, establish the concept that land is public property and revise the tax system to prevent wealth from being monopolized by the few.

Kim Dae-jung told the press conference that the unified opposition party would serve as a catalyst in easing the regional antagonism bred by military governments.

Regional conflicts have intensified, especially between Kyongsang and Cholla residents. Kim is a Cholla native and Lee is a native of the Kyongsang region.

Kim said he would never accept constitutional change in favor of a parliamentary form of government led by a prime minister or the multi-seat parliamentary electoral system.

Kim said the new party would strive for a sharp reduction in next year's budget, reinvestigation of the Suso housing scandal, stable consumer prices and clean elections during the current three-month National Assembly session.

In an angry response to the merger, Reps. Park Chan-jong who is from Seoul's Socho district and Kim Kwang-il who is from Pusan, issued a statement denouncing the merger as an "undemocratic happening."

They said they will not join the new party, and instead plan to form a "genuine opposition party seeking generational changes and democratic reforms."

About 20 heads of the DP's district chapters in the Kyongsang provinces will also stay away from the new party, sources said.

However, Reps. Lee Hai-chan, Lee Chul-yong and Kim Kil-kon are expected to join the new party, they said. They have left the NDP in recent months criticizing Kim Dae-jung for his "authoritarian" party operation.

Hyundai founder refuses to pay W136 bil. penalty tax

'Simply doesn't have the money to pay, will take the case to court'

Hyundai Business Group declared yesterday that it would not pay the 136.1 billion won (about \$180 million) in penalty taxes levied on it by the government, and bring the case to court.

Chung Ju-yung, founder and honorary chairman of the giant business conglomerate, said that because Hyundai cannot consent to the tax authorities' measure, it would go to court and follow its final decision.

"I regret that Hyundai cannot pay the tax because we don't have enough money," Chung told a press conference at the group headquarter office in downtown Seoul. He said Hyundai cannot let its subsidiaries go public nor float corporate bonds immediately.

Chung's remarks, widely interpreted as pronouncing a head-on confrontation with the Office of National Tax Administration, drew immense interest of business watchers here.

In a written statement, also published in major local daily newspapers, Chung said that the tax imposition on Hyundai has exceeded the boundaries of laws and practices.

"We can't understand why the ONTA applied such excessive and unprecedented tax-levying methods on Hyundai," he said.

Hyundai has merely disposed of cross-invested shares among its subsidiaries according to the new Fair Trade Act which went into effect in April 1987, Chung said.

"In the process, we fully followed the laws and regulations and had no intention of avoiding taxes," he said.

Chung's announcement came as a response to the ONTA's Nov. 1 decision to levy a record 136.1 billion won in back taxes and punitive levies on Chung Ju-yung, his relatives and the group's 14 subsidiaries for an alleged tax evasion through illegal stock transactions.

The total tax bill, an all-time high for a single tax charge for false stock transfers, breaks into 63.1 billion won in corporate tax, 67 billion won in income tax and 6 billion won in gift tax.

The ONTA's announcement, which followed several months of intensive tax probes into Hyundai, was construed



Korea Herald
Hyundai Group founder Chung Ju-yung announces his decision to refuse the payment of penalty taxes and take the case to court at a press conference yesterday.

among economic watchers here under several contexts, including the widening chasm between the thus-far amicable relation between the government and large businesses.

In a brief question-and-answer session after the announcement, Chung made it clear that Hyundai's tax default can be regarded as its disobedience to the ONTA.

"If the cash flow in the group improves, however, we may pay part of the taxes later," he said.

He said he has yet to decide whether to first file for a review of the record penalty tax imposition with the Board of Audit and Inspection, or with the National Tax Tribunal under the wing of the Finance Ministry before going to court.

Asked whether there were "outside pressure" to drop the tax appeal in the course of Hyundai's decision-making, Chung said he did not know if there were any on working-level officials.

On the question of the possible "political implication," regarding the tax scandal, Chung snapped, "Direct that question to those in politics."

He said Hyundai is ready to suffer from disadvantages caused by the tax default but said, "I do not think there will be an additional pressure and believe that the government will handle it fairly."

Chung said his group has dutifully paid all taxes in the course of conducting businesses, and that there can be "no ethical problem involved in it."

If Hyundai fails to get through its appeal at the Tax Tribunal or Audit and Inspection Board, it can go to upper court, and the entire procedure may take about two years, economic observers said.

During the procedure, Hyundai will be limited in its bidding for various domestic projects and, if it fails to meet the payment deadline of next Jan. 25, the group will have to pay a surtax of 25 percent in addition to the original penalty tax, they said.

The tax controversy, since it first surfaced, has spread to a sort of "showdown" between the governing ruling circle and the entire business, they said.

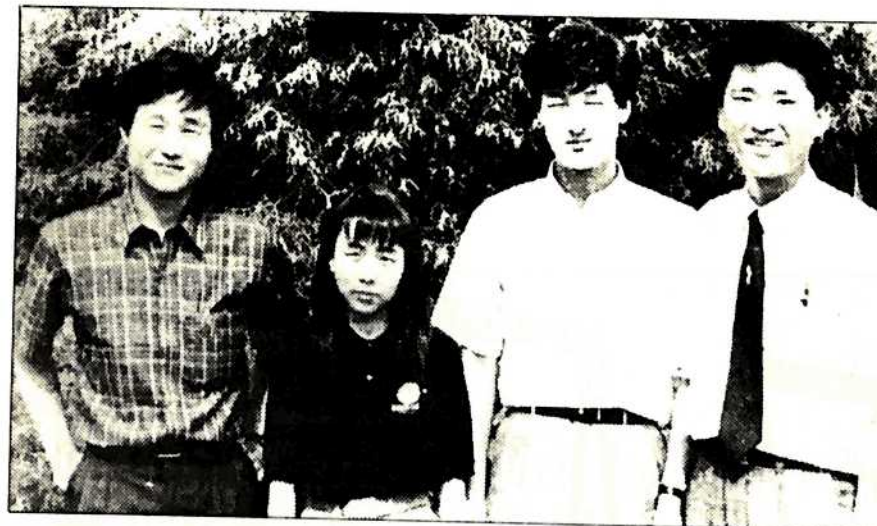
Recently, Yoo Chang-soon, chairman of the Federation of Korean Industries, said the government's harsh treatment of large businesses, or chaebol, might shrink their normal activities.

Yoo's remarks soon triggered unpleasant responses from Deputy Prime Minister Choi Gak-kyu, and President Roh Tae-woo also reportedly expressed his anger on resistance from the business circle to the government's decision in a meeting with his aides.

The observers, against this background, supposed the Hyundai's action may have come from the judgment that the government has some political motivation behind taking the strong action and that once Hyundai surrenders, it will continuously suffer from disadvantages.

Meanwhile, an ONTA official, commenting on the Hyundai's decision, said that if Hyundai wants to take the legal procedure as a taxpayer, it is entirely up to its own decision.

"The ONTA, however, discharged its duty faithfully in accordance with the law," he said, adding that there is no "bending of law" in the tax investigations and imposition.



Yonhap
Song Yong-sung (second from right) and Park Sung-hi (second from left), who are now in Berlin for an unauthorized scheduled visit to Pyongyang, pose with Kim Chong-shik (left), chairman of Chondaehyop, and Han Chol-su (right), chairman of Chondaehyop's committee for peaceful reunification of the motherland. This picture was taken last week shortly before Song and Park left for Berlin Monday.

Coed Park to be held on return from pan-nat'l rally in N.K.

A student activist will be arrested immediately after she returns from an unauthorized trip to North Korea Aug. 13 via the truce village of Panmunjom, prosecutors said yesterday.

Chondaehyop, South Korea's largest student group, announced Friday night it was sending Park

Song-hi, a 22-year-old senior coed from Kyunghee University in Seoul, to Pyongyang to take part in a "pan-national march" there Aug. 5-12 to dramatize the organizers' "aspirations" for Korean reunification.

Park has been in Berlin since late June with another member of the radical student group, Sung Yong-seung, also 22, to discuss preparations for the North Korea-initiated inter-Korean march with their North Korean peers.

They attended a preparatory meeting for the march, which is scheduled to start at Mt. Paektu on the border with China and end at the truce village of Pan-

munjom.

The prosecutors said they were also considering charging Sung, a senior of public administration at Konkuk University in Seoul, with contacting North Koreans, a violation of the National Security Law.

In a news conference, officials of Chondaehyop said Sung would stay in Berlin to relay information between South and North Korea.

They said Park will enter South Korea Aug. 13 through Panmunjom in the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) dividing South and North Korea with the North Korean marchers and continue their walk to Mt. Halla on Korea's southernmost island, Cheju.

The North and South Korean organizers also plan a rally in Seoul Aug. 14-15 to celebrate Liberation Day, Aug. 15.

Park, who majors in musical composition, will be the second South Korean student to go there illegally.

In 1989, Lim Soo-kyong traveled to Pyongyang via Berlin to take part in the world youth festival. She was arrested on her return through Panmunjom and is now serving a five-year jail term.



Park Song-hi



Yonhap
Workers of the nation's largest shipyard, Hyundai Heavy Industries Co., hold a rally at the company yard in Ulsan, Kyongsangnam-do, yesterday, demanding wage hikes and the reinstatement of dismissed colleagues.

Hyundai workers go on strike after pay talks fail

Some 18,000 workers of Hyundai Heavy Industries Co. in Ulsan, Kyongsangnam-do, went on strike yesterday after rejecting a management pay offer.

The morning shift reported to work at the shipyard at 8 a.m. but went straight into task-force meetings to prepare for the strike and a rally at 1 p.m.

The union rejected a company offer to hike pay and reinstate dismissed workers. In a vote Tuesday, 32.1 percent were in favor and 67.2 percent against.

Hyundai Heavy Industries Co., one of Korea's major shipbuilders, is a subsidiary of the Hyundai Business Group.

Workers demanded a 113,000-won (\$156) raise, or an increase of 19.27 percent, and immediate reinstatement of all 33 dismissed workers. The company countered with a 91,500-won (\$126) raise and rehiring of 14 workers after a four-month training period. *talks since June*

Negotiations failed after 21 rounds of

Gunfire victim seen hit by stray bullet

Autopsy suggests bullet ricocheted off a hard object before striking student.

Han Kuk-won, the student passer-by shot to death Tuesday night at a students' protest site, was hit by a bullet which ricocheted off a hard object, most probably a concrete, an autopsy of his body showed.

The fatal 38 revolver bullet found lodged in his left chest had a scratch on its side which the autopsy doctor said suggested that it hit a hard object before striking Han.

A Seoul National University graduate student majoring in chemical engineering, Han, 27, was shot in the left chest and killed as he and his wife, 24, walked past a group of about 50 SNU students attacking a police box near the campus in southern Seoul with firebombs.

The post-mortem examination was designed to determine if Han was struck by a stray bullet fired by Lt. Cho Dong-bu into the air as warning shot as Cho and his colleagues claimed.

The finding from the autopsy which was confined to the chest area contradicted the claim by students and dissidents that Lt. Cho might have fired the shot, aiming at people.

The autopsy doctor, Prof. Lee Chong-bin of the SNU medical school said that the bullet retrieved from Han's chest had a scratch, 2mm long, which he said indicated that it hit off a concrete into Han's left chest.

The bullet entered his body between 5th and 6th ribs from the front and burst through his heart before being lodged between the 9th and 10th rear ribs, said Lee, one of the country's top forensic experts.

Prosecutor Chu Ho-kyong who attended the autopsy agreed with Lee's view. But he added that exact cause of the death will be determined after a telescopic examination of the bullet and trajectory



Korea Herald
Forensic experts examine the body of Han Kuk-won prior to an autopsy yesterday afternoon at the Seoul National University Hospital. Han was shot to death late Tuesday night while passing by a students' protest site in southern Seoul.

test by fire arms experts are made.

The autopsy was witnessed by some 20 people, including representatives of Han's family members and students, and several pool news reporters and photographers.

Han's body was moved from the Kwanaek Sacred Hospital near the SNU campus to the SNU hospital in central Seoul for the autopsy before dawn yesterday after the Han's family members agreed to an autopsy.

It was the first shooting to death of a civilian during a protest in recent years.

The prosecution investigating the incident yesterday said that it will make a

decision on whether to punish Lt. Cho based on the autopsy result, and testimonies from the witnesses of the Tuesday night's protest scenes.

From the witnesses' account, Prosecutor Chu said, the prosecution plans to determine if Lt. Cho's claim that he had to use firearms in the night because the students' attack was too violent was true or not.

It, he also said, also wants to determine if Lt. Cho complied with security code in firing the warning shots as he claimed.

Following the autopsy, the prosecution

Kang Ki-hun sentenced to 3 years in jail for abetting self-immolation

Judge refuses to accept Japanese expert's probe results

A Seoul court yesterday sentenced Kang Ki-hun to three years of imprisonment, convicting him of aiding and abetting the suicide of his fellow dissident Kim Ki-sol by writing Kim's suicide note. Kim committed self-immolation at Sogang University in Seoul, May 9, in protest against the police killing of a college student during a street demonstration in late April.

Presiding Judge No Won-uk at the Seoul District Criminal Court also convicted Kang of joining an antistate organization known as Hyocknomaeng in violation of the National Security Law.

Judge No said that the court found valid the results of a forensic examination of the handwriting in Kim's suicide note by the National Institute for Scientific Investigation (NISI). The handwriting was found to be identical to Kang's.

The judge, however, refused to accept the examination results of the Japanese handwriting expert Onishi Yoshio, who asserted that the handwriting in Kim Ki-sol's suicide note was different from Kang's.

The court also ruled that the notebook allegedly written by Kim was fabricated as proven by NISI.

The court, however, refused to accept as material evidence 14 other documents which the prosecution insisted were written by the dead Kim Ki-sol.

In delivering the sentence, the judge said that it was not sure whether the accused simply wrote the suicide note or actively took part in the fabrication of the suicide note.

When the prison term was announced, Kang and more than 100 spectators protested, heaping verbal abuses on the bench.

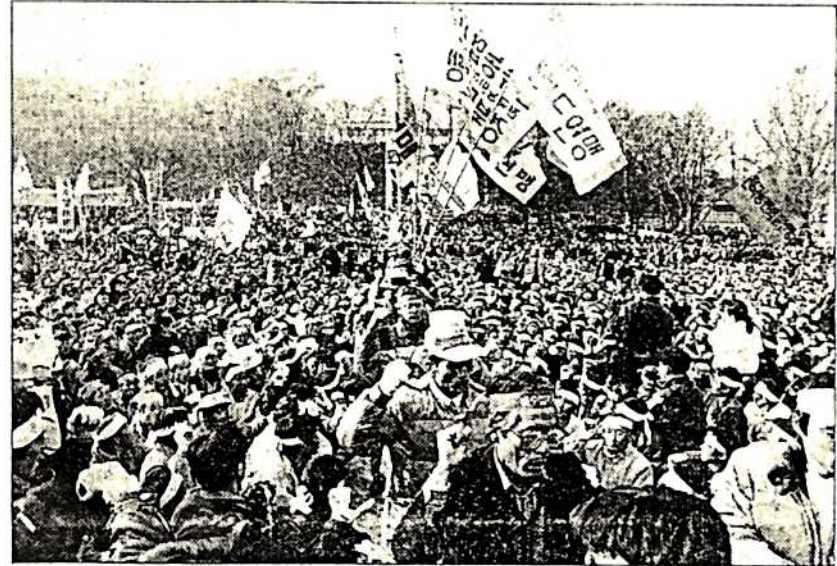
Kang's defense lawyers said that they would appeal the case to a higher court.

Kang was held June 24, when he voluntarily reported to the prosecution, emerging from Myongdong Cathedral in downtown Seoul where he had holed up for more than one month.

He was indicted by the prosecution July 12, on charges of aiding and abetting the suicide of his colleague Kim.



Korea Herald
Escorted by policemen, Kang Ki-hun, former senior official of a dissident group, enters the courtroom of the Seoul District Criminal Court yesterday.



Korea Herald
FARMERS' PROTEST — Thousands of farmers shout slogans opposing the opening of the domestic rice market during a rally held at Changchungdan Park in downtown Seoul yesterday afternoon. (Story on Page 3)

Farmers protest demand for rice market opening

Ask for 10-15% price hike at Changchung rally

Over 10,000 farmers and college students yesterday opposed imports of foreign rice and denounced outside pressure to open the domestic rice market in a rally at a park in Seoul.

The farmers called on the government to buy all of their harvested rice at a price higher than that of last year's.

"Unless the government meets our demands, we are going to stack up rice bags in front of each municipal and provincial government office and launch demonstrations," rally organizers threatened.

They also threatened to return their agricultural machines and tools to the government and pay their debt to the Agricultural Cooperative Associations with rice, if their demands are not met.

The farmers also demanded a meeting with President Roh Tae-woo.

About 12,000 riot policemen were deployed around Changchungdan Park, the rally site, in case the rally turned into a violent demonstration.

The United States and several other countries are calling for opening of South Korea's rice market, "but it would threaten the very survival of us farmers," they charged.

They also demanded the government buy more of their rice at higher prices.

The government plans to purchase 1.22 million tons of rice from farmers within this year while the farmers call for the government to buy all of the 5.39 million tons of rice harvested this fall.

As for the price, the government plans to buy rice at a price 7 percent up from last year's, or at 119,210 won per 80kg, while farmers call for at least a 15 percent increase for ordinary rice and 10 percent hike for Tongil, a lower-quality rice.

Under a dual rice price system, the government purchases rice from farmers at higher prices and sells to urban consumers at lower prices.

"If the National Assembly passes the government-proposed bills (of rice purchase for this year), we will not sit idle," the farmers warned.

President Roh Tae-woo will make final decisions on the price and how much rice the government will purchase.

After the rally, the farmers had a street march through Taehak-ro, some 1km away, temporarily paralyzing traffic in the region.

PART TWO

PEACE AND REUNIFICATION IN KOREAN PENINSULA



Chapter 5. Simultaneous U.N Entry of South & North Korea

1. North Korea's Decision of Separate Entry into the U.N.

Revolutionary changes in the issue of reunification of the Korean peninsula continued. The shock of North Korea's announcement on May 27 that it intended separate entry into the U.N, was far greater than the concern over possible amity between North Korea and Japan. This change was expected to influence not only on achievement of peace on the Korean peninsula but also the inner politics of South Korea.

The only decisive way the present regime could sustain and strengthen its power in spite of its low popular support was by propagandizing its advancement in relations with socialist countries and on the reunification issue, under the rapidly changing international political situation.

It is a well-known fact that the regime has used the issue of national reunification in order to sustain its reign of power, just as former dictators have done.

In spite of the global movement toward disarmament and detente, and the movement towards the reorganization of world politics initiated by the U.S.A. under the name "New Order", the tension on the Korean peninsula and the strategy to isolate North Korea were sharply increased.

On April 21, Donald Gregg, the U.S. Ambassador to Korea, insisted in a lecture that, "because the Korean peninsula is within the range of nuclear bombs of the U.S.S.R. and China, it is meaningless to make only this area a non-nuclear weapons area." Through this remark he recognized indirectly the existence of nuclear weapons in the Korean peninsula and at the same time expressed the official position of the U.S.A. to oppose making this area a nuclear-free area. In the

"Evaluation of U.S. Military Power" by the U.S. Defense Department, reported to the U.S. Congress, the Korean peninsula was classified as a region with the relatively high possibility of nuclear war, and the report contained a 120-day war scenario which laid out the U.S. strategy to deal with such a war. The scenario outlined the possibility of chemical and nuclear war, foretelling terrible disaster if an actual war on the Korean peninsula should take place.

Through a statement made by Lee Chong-Ku, the Korean Minister of Defence, it was revealed that since the end of the Persian Gulf War, the U.S. had concentrated on pressuring North Korea to open itself to international nuclear inspection. Mr. Lee expressed his opinion that North Korea's development of nuclear weapons would welcome such serious chastisement as an Entebbe-type of attack from south Korea. His words brought strong criticism in South Korea and strong rejection from North Korea.

It seems that such incidents acted as an external factor to force North Korea to decide on separate entry to the U.N. and to sign the International Agreement on Nuclear Safety. On May 29, North Korea announced that, "if South Korea enters the U.N. separately, we will enter the U.N. for the national interest."

Such a sudden change in North Korea's position seemed a desperate measure to escape from political isolation which was the result of changes in the international political situation. These two realities however, also had an offensive aspect in that they established international opinion for denuclearization of the Korean peninsula and pressured the U.S. to withdraw the nuclear weapons which its Army was keeping in south Korea.

In preparation for changes in its diplomatic strategy, North Korea invited South Korean lawmakers to the General Assembly of the IPU in April and agreed to organize South-North united teams in soccer and table tennis.

If the Korean people's subjective activities for national

reunification provide the necessary, support, North Korea's decision for separate entry in to the U.N. and the changing situation of North-East Asia can promote the reunification of the Korean peninsula. However, if the people's movement for reunification weakens, the U.S. and the 6th Republic government of the south, will strongly promote their intention to stabilize the continuous division of the Korean peninsula.

2. South and North Korea's Simultaneous U.N. Entry

Early in the morning (Korea time) on August 9th, the simultaneous entry of South and North Korea into the U.N. was unanimously approved by the 5 permanent members of the U.N. Security Council. All that was left was the formal ratification by the U.N. General Assembly which would open in the coming fall. Not only was this simultaneous entry into the U.N. a big turning point in the nearly half-century-old history of the Korean division, but it foretold radical changes in international relations surrounding the Korean peninsula and in South-North relations, toward national reunification.

The South-North simultaneous entry into the U.N. created problems pertaining to such areas as constitutional territorial claims, revision of the National Security Laws, the dismantling of the U.N. military headquarters in South Korea, and international laws including the conclusion of a peace treaty between South and North. The very first problems that emerged along with the simultaneous entry into the U.N. were how to deal with conditions which would guarantee peace on the peninsula, such as declaration of a non-nuclear zone, a peace treaty, and a non-aggression pact. The North's entry into the U.N. may have two aspects. One is the North's need to adapt to the rapidly changing international power relations due to the confusion and crisis in socialist countries. The other is that the North's entry into the U.N. can be seen as a defiant attitude towards the U.S.'s pressure in connection with the signing of the nuclear safety treaty.

In 1985, North Korea became a member of the NPT (nuclear

Non-Proliferation Treaty) which stipulates that all members must sign the Nuclear Safety Agreement Treaty, but it has since delayed the signing. Due to this fact, the call for investigation of the North's nuclear capability has become the central issue in the U.S.'s military pressure towards North Korea. The problem of the North's refusal of nuclear investigation has interfered in the improvement of the North Korea-U.S.A. relationship and has been brought up as a justification for the delay in the normalization of relations between Japan and North Korea. The North has been further isolated diplomatically. To come out of this difficulty, the North suddenly announced on July 7 that it would start working-level negotiations in July and sign the Nuclear Safety Agreement before the end of September. In connection with the problem of nuclear investigation, the North insisted on such investigations simultaneously in South and North and the withdrawal of the U.S. nuclear weapons from South Korea.

The change in the North's policy once again called attention to the nuclear problem on the Korean peninsula and acted as a pressure on the U.S. to alter its nuclear policies. In response to the pressure by North Korea, however, the U.S. introduced a more serious demand, for "total destruction of the north's nuclear capability," while continuing with its NCND (Neither Confirm Nor Deny) policy on the deployment of nuclear weapons on the Korean peninsula. This stance, however, could not persuade either the international community or the Korean people. Both the Soviet Union and China, in dealing with the nuclear problem on the Korean peninsula, generally sided with the North, and even in the U.S., there were calls for the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from south Korea.

The main issue at the Korea-U.S. summit meeting, which took place during Roh Tae-Woo's July state visit to the U.S.A., was the two governments' mutual response concerning North Korea's entry into the U.N. and the signing of the Nuclear Safety Agreement. The content of this summit meeting recently started to appear in U.S. and Korean policies. The U.S.'s reexamination of the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from South Korea in order to block the development of nuclear

weapons in North Korea and the recent announcement that the South Korean authorities would have direct talks with their northern counterparts can be seen as the outcome of the U.S.-Korea summit talk.

On August 7th, a high ranking official of the Korean government commented, "The U.S. government is hurrying to withdrawal its nuclear weapons from the Korean peninsula, they have lost their value from a military standpoint and are only creating political debate." Furthermore, the issues the Korean peninsula's nuclear problem, withdrawal of the U.S. Army in Korea, and the sharing of defence costs were discussed between Korean officials including a Presidential security aide and officials of the U.S. Department of Defence during a meeting in Hawaii on August 6-7. In addition, the South Korean government, which first showed a lukewarm attitude towards North Korea's suggestion on July 30 of a "North-South Joint Statement Concerning the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula", on July 30, changed its policy by stating that it would discuss the issue at a South-North Nuclear Related Conference on August 1.

Even though there was no doubt that the series of changes in relation to relieving tension and fixing peace on the Korean peninsula had some positive aspects, there were some points to be considered in order to be sure that these changes would realistically contribute to peace and unification. While the South Korean government proposed to continue direct negotiations with North Korea on the nuclear problem, in reality it revealed its limitations by its refusal to allude to the U.S. nuclear weapons on the Korean peninsula. As shown by Roh Tae-Woo's remark during his visit to the U.S.A., "I myself do not know whether or not nuclear weapons are deployed on South Korean soil," The South Korean government was sticking to the NCND policy, and had very limited authority over the nuclear issue. Even though the South stated that it would examine the North's proposal for a "Denuclearization Conference" on the one hand, its position of leaving the issue of U.S. nuclear deployment in South Korea off the discussion agenda seemed an obstacle to the South-North discussion of denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. The reason why North Korea was so insistent on the issue of denuclearization was because it is

related to the withdrawal of U.S. nuclear weapons from South Korea, so without the inclusion of U.S. nuclear weapons deployment in South Korea as part of the discussion agenda, there was no meaning in such denuclearization negotiations.

3. Discussion of Reunification Plan and South-North Interexchange

After the South-North simultaneous entry into the U.N., discussions on reunification plans advanced more broadly as the issue has become more concrete. Such changes could be noted just from what the officials of both South and North were saying, and the discussion of the confederal System of Reunification along with discussion on denuclearization and disarmament, were the key topics in 1991 among non-governmental organizations including Protestants, Bumminryon, and student movement groups.

In his New Year's Message, Kim Il-Sung showed a flexible attitude toward the already existing idea of a Korean federation System when he said, "We will examine the realization of the federation System in stages, gradually giving more power to the federal government." During his visit to Canada, Roh Tae-Woo also suggested the possibility of a new system that would be a compromise between the North's Korean confederation System and the South's One Nation One Community Unification System when he said, "We will examine the North's plan for a confederation System positively." Even though it appeared that both South and North Korean governments were working toward a compromise reunification system, the gap between the position of the two sides was still very wide.

The North's Korean Confederation System is not a transitional plan but a permanent plan and it can be said that the North's recent show of flexibility was just a slow step toward the Korean Confederation System. The greater authority held by the local government in defence and diplomatic affairs seemed to resemble South Korea's transitional unification plan for a South-North Common wealth System.

However, this was just a middle stage towards achieving the Confederation System, and it could be said that it was much different from the South's South-North Common wealth plan, which was just a functional aspect of the coalition and not true reunification. Nevertheless, thanks to the advancement of the reunification discussion between South and North, the efforts of both sides to reduce the differences between them could continue.

In the meantime, the non-governmental level reunification movement advanced greatly. Within the Protestant circle, the NCK held an International Christian Conference for Peace and Reunification from August 12-14 and tried for broad discussions on reunification. Bumminryon carried out every practical struggle in order to advance the reunification movement by holding a Pan-National Rally from August 15-18 under the strong blockade of the police. During the rally, Bumminryon realized the necessity for popular support. Chondaehyop also made great efforts for reunification by sending two representatives to Pyongyang. (A detailed analysis will appear in the following)

In the future, South-North relations will be advanced in the economic area on a large scale. The South Korean government has agreed to participate in the Special Economical Region which will be established soon along the Tuman river, and North Korea will try for direct trade with the South through its trade representative's office in Tokyo.

General Assembly admits seven new members, including Baltics

By Kim Hyeh-won
Korea Herald correspondent

UNITED NATIONS — South and North Korea finally became U.N. members 42 years after they first applied for membership in 1949, paving the way for a new era for the two rivals.

The U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution on their membership by consensus Tuesday, (early Wednesday morning, Seoul time), the first day of its 46th U.N. session.

The admission of seven countries increased to 166 the total number of U.N. members.

The five others are Micronesia, the Marshall Islands, and the three Baltic countries — Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

The entry into the world body of the seven countries reflects the revolutionary changes that have swept the Soviet Union and altered the diplomatic landscape fashioned after World War II.

South Korea had long been blocked by a Soviet veto.

North Korea and South Korea have held non-voting U.N. observer status for years.

North Korea has insisted on a joint seat, saying that Communist North Korea and capitalist South Korea were one nation divided. But the North reluctantly accepted one seat for each country at the urging of China and the Soviet Union.

The flags of all seven newly admitted nations were raised alongside other member flags outside the U.N. headquarters.

The three Baltic republics were members of the League of Nations, the U.N. predecessor, but were annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940 under a secret Soviet-German pact. They recently gained independence from the Soviet Union.

Only a few states are not U.N. members: Monaco, San Marino, Switzerland

and the Vatican, which are non-voting U.N. observers; Western Sahara, Tonga, Taiwan and some South Pacific islands.

The General Assembly will take up an agenda of about 145 items this year, ranging from the Middle East, to control of chemical arms, the environment and human rights issues.

Before the admission of new members, the Assembly was to elect its new president, succeeding Guido de Marco of Malta.

The presidency rotates annually among the Assembly's five main regional groups and this year is the turn of the Asian countries.

South Korean Foreign Minister Lee Sang-ock hoped that the U.N. membership of the two Koreas would open a new chapter not only in inter-Korean relations but also mark a new beginning and a chance to finally remove the last vestiges of the Cold War from the Korean Peninsula in his speech following the adoption of the resolution.

"While we are joining the United Nations separately, we pledge at this august forum to make determined efforts to realize the peaceful unification of our divided land," he said.

The minister said the admission of South Korea, which came at a time when the United Nations is playing a central role in the formation of a new international order, would "definitely help accelerate the ongoing process of global rapprochement."

"By simultaneously joining the United Nations, South and North Korea have now taken a giant first step forward. Confidence built through dialogue and cooperation within the U.N. framework will certainly move us closer toward durable peace and eventual reunification. The United Nations will provide an excellent opportunity for us to make significant strides in these very challenging endeavors." (Related stories on Page 2, news analysis on Page 5)

Chapter 6. The Relation of South & North Korea After Entering the U.N

As is already well known, the Bush administration recently announced a series of sweeping disarmament proposals in order to seize the initiative under the newly established international order. Bush's plan to reduce nuclear weapons, including one-sided abolition and dismantling of tactical nuclear weapons of short range (under 500 km) is very significant, indeed. This plan is regarded as one of several in preparation for the establishment of the "New World Order" through new strategic defense policies, by seizing the initiative in disarmament under the notion that the U.S.S.R. has lost its international political influence.

The plan has the effect of reducing the tremendous political burden of the U.S.A, which has the greatest number of nuclear weapons. The plan is also considered a way for the U.S.A. to check such anti-American countries as North Korea and Iran for possible possession of nuclear capability.

In spite of its impure intentions, the U.S.A. disarmament initiative will greatly influence world politics.

Firstly, upon the U.S.A.'s proposal, the U.S.S.R. responded with a proposal for similar nuclear arms reduction. This move was expected to exert considerable pressure against the presence of nuclear weapons and the U.S. Army on the Korean peninsula. The so-called "Neither Confirm Nor Deny" (NCND) strategy employed by the U.S.A. to hide the existence of nuclear weapons on Korean soil could no longer be used. As a result, not only the issue of nuclear weapons but also the issue of a peace treaty and the adoption of a non-aggression agreement were expected to be discussed anew.

Under such a changing situation, the 6th Republic also established a

new military strategy. As revealed by a report from the Ministry of Defense, the new military strategy had no intention of reducing arms but rather was a plan to develop the most up-to-date military techniques for modern war, with the presupposition of the continual Korea-U.S.A. alliance by sustaining the U.S. Army on the Korean peninsula until the year 2000.

Similarly, Bush's proposals for nuclear weapons disarmament was intertwined with the U.S.A.'s world strategy and its plan to hold hegemony in the Far East. Therefore, the new military strategy of South Korea has not changed significantly from the basic orientation toward attaining and sustaining military superiority over North Korea. For these reasons, we cannot be overly optimistic about the possibility of peace on the Korean peninsula, which still contains in itself the condensed contradiction of the world in the midst of the Cold War, irrelevant to the international main-stream of detente.

On the other hand, the possibility of a South-North Summit Conference was newly discussed under the changed situation after the South-North simultaneous entry in to the U.N.

Mr. Kim Yong-Nam, the North Korean Foreign Minister, strongly suggested the possibility of a South-North summit conference, proposing basic agreement on concrete and substantial plans and countermeasures for the realization of peaceful reunification. The proposals were as follows:

- i) the adoption of a declaration of non-aggression,
- ii) a political conference of all political parties and social organizations from both South and North,
- iii) discussion to combine the South's plan of Korean Commonwealth and the North's plan of Korean Confederation.

Even though the above three proposals by the North were not much different from the past, judging from the recently changed attitudes of both sides, if some kind of agreement on them could be reached, it seemed that the possibility of a summit conference considerably

greater.

Nevertheless, there still remained many problems to be solved, such as the peace treaty investigation of nuclear facilities, and establishment of political relations between North Korea and Japan, and between South Korea and China.

North Korea reverted back to its hard-line stance in the face of the U.S. pressure for inspection of North Korea's nuclear facility. Kim Yong-Nam announced that if Bush followed through with his proposal to withdrawal or destroy all the short-range nuclear weapons now in South Korea, the North would accept the nuclear inspection.

The hidden significance of this announcement seemed to be the North's intention to check the unfair pressure by the U.S. to investigate its nuclear facility, by turning U.S. declaration on reducing nuclear weapons into an offensive tool.

On the economic side, North Korea planned to explore the possibility of designating Sonbong area, along the Tuman River, as a Special Trade Area in order to solve its present economic problems. This plan seemed to be taken from the Chinese economic strategy. Establishment of a special economic area beside the Tuman River would mark considerable progress because interest in that area is shown not only by North Korea and China but also by the U.S.S.R. and Japan.

Such realistic responses by North Korea seems to be connected with the interests of North Korea and China in countering the active international changes surrounding the Far East. The two countries are trying to strengthen solidarity and exchanges among socialist countries in the Third World through the New Socialist Alliance. It is necessary for us to pay attention to what kind of influence this movement will have upon the establishment of peace in East Asia.

It is also important to note how certain realistic responses by North Korea also apply to the South-North relationship. South and North have tried to find a new relationship through various ways. One such

example is the call for a "written agreement for reconciliation, non-aggression, exchanges and cooperation between South and North", which was agreed upon during the 4th South-North high-level conference (Analysis of the conference will follow.)

Chronology of S.,N. Korean relations

The Korean Peninsula was divided into Communist North Korea and capitalist South Korea in 1945 at the end of World War II. Here is a brief look at some of the important events in their decades of hostility and attempts at peace:

Aug. 15, 1945: Korea is liberated from 35 years of Japanese colonial rule. In post-war politics it is divided along the 38th parallel, with Soviet troops in the North and U.S. troops in the South.

1948: North Korea establishes a Communist dictatorship headed by Kim Il-sung. South Korea holds elections and establishes a U.S.-supported government headed by Syngman Rhee.

1950: North Korea invades South Korea, triggering a bitter three-year war.

1976: North Korea security guards kill two U.S. soldiers with axes in a dispute over pruning a tree in the Demilitarized Zone.

1983: North Korean commandos bomb a cemetery in Rangoon, Burma, killing 17 South Korean officials, including four Cabinet ministers accompanying then-President Chun Doo Hwan.

1987: Two North Korean terrorists bomb a South Korean airliner over the Andaman Sea near Burma, killing all 115 people aboard.

1988: The Summer Olympic Games are held in Seoul, South Korea, with 160 nations attending. North Korea boycotts the Games.

1990: The prime ministers of the two

The United States and other Western nations fight for the South and China for the North. An estimated 2.4 million soldiers and 4.4 million civilians are killed or wounded.

1953: The Korean War ends with an armistice and 20-mile-wide demilitarized zone dividing the peninsula. A peace treaty is never signed.

1972: The two Koreas issue a joint statement renouncing hostilities and pledging peaceful unification of the peninsula, but talks fail.

1974: The first of four tunnels allegedly dug by North Korea for an invasion under the Demilitarized Zone is discovered by South Korea. North Korea denies digging them.

Koreas hold three rounds of talks, the highest level contact ever between the two governments. Soccer teams from both Koreas meet in the first sports exchange between the two nations.

1991: Joint Korean sports teams are formed for table tennis and youth soccer. The Koreas join the United Nations as separate members Sept. 17. The prime ministers resume talks Oct. 22 and agree to work toward an accord on reconciliation.

Dec. 12, 1991: The two sides reach agreement for a comprehensive accord calling for reconciliation, nonaggression, exchanges and cooperation, the most significant step toward ending hostilities since partition in 1945. (AP)