

2) Labor Policy of Kim Young-sam Government

The labor policy of the former Labor Minister Lee In-je drifted as he was opposed by some members of the government and the business circle. The beginning of the new government's labor policy could hardly be called a reform, as it was basically readjusting some of the administrative regulations that had been in conflict with the rulings of the Supreme Court; however, even this step caused a great stir among the business circle. The issues that became points of contention in the new government included the recognition of union membership of dismissed workers; legality of unions irrespective of their affiliated organizations; and allowing formation of regional unions at the provincial level. These issues had been hotly debated between the corporations and the workers, and were readjusted according to court rulings, which were favorable to workers. The policy of the Labor Ministry, which attempts to correct some of the practices, were met with organizational opposition by business circle, and some government officials who had been trying to find a way to expand investment of corporations also oppose the Ministry's policy. After all, President Kim ordered the Labor Minister to reconsider his policy. The tension surrounding the labor policy indicated that the growth-first economic policy conflicted with the democratic reform of economy.

At the same time, the labor disputes at Hyundai Group affiliates in Ulsan is spreading. The strike which started at the Hyundai Motor Co. as union members opposed the wage agreement reached between the union president and the management spread to Hyundai Auto and Hyundai Precision and Industry Co. Considering that traditionally May and June is a season for wage negotiations, it is likely that the labor disputes of Hyundai Group affiliates will spread to other large corporations such as Daewoo. Daewoo Heavy Industry and Daewoo Motor are having difficulties with wage negotiations. The labor disputes will become a touchstone for the labor policy of the new government and will reveal a blind spot of the new economic policy. The growth first policy that results in the interest of the corporations while ignoring the interest of workers will always invite worker opposition.

Chapter 16.

Launching of the Real Name Financial Transaction System and Labor Policy

1) Real Name Financial Transaction System

While president Kim's new economic policy has not brought up noticeable results, an important economic policy - the real name system - was introduced. The new economic policy of President Kim Young-sam has been focused on the increase of capital support and sharing the burden of people to break through the bottleneck in accumulation of monopolistic capital in the name of heightening efficiency and rationality. A lot of criticisms on this matter have been raised, and the early enforcement of real name system seems to have been influenced by these criticisms.

The Bank of Korea estimated the earlier projected target of 6.0% the economic growth rate would be difficult to reach at. According to the BOK's report, the growth rate of the GNP for the first half of the year is no more than 3.8%, even 1.8% in the manufacturing industry. Though government increased currency supply to give an aid to financial difficulty of companies, it didn't lead to the expansion of facilities investment due to the structural problem which our economy has fallen in like weakened competitiveness.

On August 12, President Kim Young-sam issued the 'presidential emergency order on the real name financial system and guarantee of privacy' in accordance with Article 7 Clause 1 of the constitution. The keynote was that the real name system would be initiated from 8:00 AM on Aug 12, 1993 and the use of real name would be obligated in transaction in all banking facilities. Therefore, those holding accounts at financial institutions must have confirmed their real names and second, the financial assets under aliases must have registered with their real names in two months. Third, to protect the privacy of financial transactions, the procedures demanding information about financial transaction was strengthened, and financial institutions can deny unlawful

demand for information. The government proposed a three-level working plan composed of the real name financial transaction system, a composite tax for interest income (1996 year) and a tax for margin from transfers of stocks (1998 year).

However, there were problems concerned with the system.

First, reflationary package guided by the new government was not consort with the condition for implementation of real name system. Therefore, government's economic policy needed a change. Second, how to reduce increasing bankruptcies of smaller companies, which were heavily depended on curb market. Third, the possibility of evoking inflation which could be worse in case of expanding currency to prevent bankruptcies of small concerns.

The real name transaction is necessary for justice and normal reproduction in capitalistic economy. Korean economy has experienced depression from 1988 to 1991 due to the excessive speculation and the following fall-down of bubble economy. Therefore, monopolistic capital has to lead investment in unproductive sectors to productive ones with regulating speculative accumulation of capital for normal reproduction of overall economy. A big fraud bill incident happened in 1982 steered public opinion to ask the abolition of alises system, but it couldn't be achieved due to the objection of big-hands, monopolistic capital, and politicians connected with business circle.

However, after the democratization movement on June 1987, Labor struggle on July-August 1987, people demanded more shares from the fruits of economic development. Rho Tae-woo proposed the real name system as a campaign promise when he ran a presidential candidate. However, he didn't keep his word.

Now the real name system is taking a pivotal role in Kim Young-sam government's reformation policy. It realized economic justice like the eradication of corruption and improvement of distribution, and root out underground economy which check sound development of economy and lower productiveness.

2) Labor Policy of Kim Young-sam Government

The labor disputes at subsidiaries of the Hyundai Group which started with the ex officio signing of the leader of Hyundai precision company union provided an prospect of the future direction of labor movement, labor-management relation, and characteristics of Kim Young-sam government's labor policy. The Hyundai dispute showed different faces unlike previous ones. Labor unions of subsidiaries of the Hyundai Group demonstrated high solidarity, the federation of Hyundai labor unions (Hyon-chong-nyon) lead the joint wage-boost struggle. Lawful dispute setting aside unlawful elements as possible. Two-months long dispute. Best use of overall or partly strike, and normal working.

The government's labor policy shown in the Hyundai dispute withdrew from the early position of the Ministry of Labor. At the first stage, Minister of Labor Lee In-je showed his will not allowing labor admistration which favors management one-sided several times. There was shown a possibility of the change in the labor policy like self-regulation of the wage negotiation between labor and management without an intervention, approval of qualification of laborers in dispute of the validity of dismissal, introduction of 'partial wage without working' sytem, pursuit of rational labor-management relations. However, the government's labor policy returned to the past form of military authoritarian regime's policy, invoking the article of ban of the the 3rd side's intervention which regarded to be a dead letter, and emergency arbitration to solve the Hyundai dispute. That means, the growth-centered policy assured benefit of management and forced labor side to take complete charge of pain without considering economic interest of laborers. This phenomenon was related to the overall tendency to be conservative in the political world.

Chapter 17.

Step Back of Real-name Financial Transaction System and Tax Reform

1) Meaning of Supplementary Measure of Real-name System

Implementation of Real-name system was expected to contribute to rationalize capitalism of Korea. In other words, it was supposed to make transparent the collusive relations between capital and the state, which had been major characteristics of Korean capitalism. Real-name system, however, does not mean the completion of the reform but just fundamental for economic democratization. It changed principle of economic actions, and was considered as reform at the level of procedure for economic transactions. Therefore, the real-name system raised rationality of transactions and help progress to become advanced in capitalistic sense.

By the deadline of October 15 to convert financial accounts to real names, 95% of the total false name accounts was converted to real ones. As a result of real-name system, there were some ill effects such as dull economy, bankruptcy of small to mid-size companies and unstable prices. And there are still borrowed-name accounts remaining as amount of some 20-30 trillion won. Differently with what had been worried, the real-name system was calmly proceeded.

Twice of supplementary measures, however, reduced meaning of the real-name system dramatically. The first measure of August 1993 focused on easing anxious feeling of people regarding the system, exempting financial investigation for those who have real-name accounts, and on increasing the amount to be reported to the government for the case of large sum conversion to real-name. The second measure of September 1993 was considered as meaning that the government would not conduct investigation on the sources of large sum non-real-name assets. The measure included exemption of tax investigation even for the case of withdrawing amount over 30 million won, issuance of the registered long-term-low-interest bonds, exemption

of tax investigation for corporate named assets converted to real-name, and increase of the amount to be investigated the source during the course of real-name conversion.

The measures implied that, firstly, the government attempted to draw the registered long-term-low-interest bonds to utilize underground funds for industrial funds, secondly, there would be no restrictions for secret funds of a company as long as the company pays tax for it, and thirdly, tax investigation would be exempted for donation tax paid non-real-name assets. After all, such supplementary measures were taken in consideration for the financial capitalists with large-sum non-real-named assets. Initial Emergency Order of the President on the Real-name System stated that any real-name converting accounts with more than 50 million won should go under tax investigation. The provision, however, became a scrap of paper by supplementary measures. And most provisions of the initial Order concerning past actions lost their effects.

Implementation of supplementary measures, first of all, was nothing but to give material grounds back to the vested rights, and, second of all, President Kim Young-sam admitted his limits for the first time and pushed the measures to soothe the privileged forces. Even in some factions of ruling DLP, there appeared movement to ease reformative election laws. Regarding the measures, opposition DP admitted the inevitability of basic limits of the reform, since Kim Young-sam government is dependent upon the support of plutocrats and privileged sectors. Even DP, however, could not suggest any countermeasures except reconfirming its party principle of legislating substitutional laws for real-name financial system.

Overall meaning of the supplementary measures was the transfer of policy from 'assessment' to 'economy'. The transfer implied early settlement of cleansing the past and building economy based upon economic principles. Decision for measures once raised public attention, since it was made right after President Kim Young-sam had met head members of plutocrats. It can thus be understood that implementation of supplementary measures caused transfer of economic policy to activating the economy, not to economic democracy.

2) Bills of Budget and Restructuring Tax System

According to the announcement of Korea Development Institute(KDI), economic growth rate for the second half of 1993 was to reach 5.2%, which was lower than initial forecast of 7.6%. An analysis showed that annual growth rate would be 4.5%, which would mark the lowest since 1981. Prices had showed 0.1% decrease in July, 0.3% increase in August, 0.5% increase in September, which caused overall increase of 4.9% for the period of last 9 months. Initial goal for annual price increase rate was set to 5%. The total currency increase rate of September reached up to 21.4%, which marked the highest in three years and four months. Nonpayment rate became 0.07%, which was slightly increased comparing 0.05% before the implementation of real-name system.

Budget bill for 1994 was focused on securing financial capability for new economy plan. Specific characteristics of the bill was first of all, that budget for indirect social funds took the most priority. Comparing the overall budget increase of 13.7%, budget in relation with economic development was increased by 22.3%, investment for research and development by 32.1%, and supporting small to mid-size companies by 90.8%. Secondly, the bill eased sturdiness of finances dramatically so as for resources and materials to be put more into business sectors. Thirdly, the bill tried to secure the stability of finances by preparing mid-term financial plan.

There were also some problems found in the budget bill. Firstly, the bill reduced labour costs by maximum degree. The reduction allowed room for the government to demand workers for more burden-share in wage bargainings for the next year, as the government gestured that it shared the burden in its own structure. Secondly, there was no balanced budget bill proposed which should include social welfare, environment, labour and reunification as a whole. Budget for welfare became relatively small, as more weight was on business sectors. In fact, social welfare budget was even reduced from 9.3% of general fiscal year of 1992 to 9.1%. Basically, budget for the next year was that of growth-oriented for revitalizing the economy.

On September 1, Ministry of Finance submitted a bill of restructuring tax system. The government had applied excessively high tax rate, since

the existing tax system had allowed non-real-name financial transactions legally, and thus had not been able to trace tax sources properly. Additionally, tax reduction had been concentrated to large-size companies.

Bill of restructuring tax system was considered as supplementing tax systems and reducing various sorts of tax reduction system, according to the implementation of real-name financial system. Regarding demands to ease tax burdens due to the real-name system and government principle to secure tax yields, the government decided to reduce both income tax and corporate tax down to 1-3%. This meant that the government persisted just tax revenues for the year 1994, and ignored demands of the people for overall easeness of tax system including tax rates reduction. The government attempted to drive the restructuring tax system to secure tax revenues rather than to supplement real-name financial system.

The government should have seriously considered following measures to be taken for the future: ① tax rate should be largely reduced; ② privileges should be reduced for those sectors granted with excessive tax reductions; ③ tax should be strengthened for such sectors as speculation in real estate; ④ supplementation of indirect tax should be installed such as abolishing special consumers' tax for items which do not need any tax charges.



Government announced a supplementary measures for real name financial system in August 31. However, this step was largely drawn back from the original real name system.

Chapter 18.

Conclusion of Uruguay Round and Crisis of Korean Agriculture

1) Meaning of Uruguay Round Conclusion

Uruguay Round was the eighth transnational trade negotiation of GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade). Goal of the negotiation had been known to liberate totally the global trade and to have GATT's control on domestic policies of each country. Since world war II, GATT, led by the United States, had been an international treaty to abolish tariffs and non-tariffs barriers for negotiation control among advanced nations, and a place for international bargainings.

Role of the United States, however, had been changed so that its definite position was destroyed, and the core of world capitalism shifted to multilateral nations of United States, Japan and EC. And economic power of third world countries had been also raised, centered by New Industrial Economic Areas (NIEs). Additionally, GATT was weakened and the need for a new GATT agreement was considered due to economic development and growing protectionism of some countries, regionalism. The United States also tried to recover and strengthen its world economic power based upon its relative superiority in agriculture and service industries.

By the way, transnational trade regulations were totally renewed by leading role of GATT, organized in the 1940s, in opening Uruguay Round. Former GATT was led by the US, but current Uruguay Round worked differently that some 116 nations participated the bargainings, and the theme covered almost all the economic fields. Thus Uruguay Round is considered as the first generalized negotiation, and makes possible to foresee big changes in world trading conditions. Emergence of World Trade Organization (WTO) also makes it possible for international trade regulations to be influential. It will play a role to make GATT become a practical transnational trade structure, which had been just a sheet of agreement without any police power for those days.

Negotiations of Uruguay Round, however, failed to reflect demands of developing nations properly, and accepted positions of superpowers unilaterally, instead. Among 15 other subjects, the ones in which developing countries were mostly interested were just textile and settlement of disputes. Rest of the subjects, such as service industry, intellectual property, agricultural products, investments concerning trade, financial aids and tariffs, were the ones that superpowers would rather demand for developing countries. Expansion of free trade system, based upon relative superiority, means that developing countries become a part of the 'game rule for superpowers' in which interests of superpowers are legally applicable without limitations.

As Uruguay Round proceeds, Korean economy will be at a cross section of either surviving under boundless competitions or falling off. Result of UR will have different impacts on different economic fields. Industrial products, for instance, will be beneficial for us, while intellectual properties and service industry damaged by free trade. Agricultural field, especially, will be damaged severely and its existence even in question, as it reflected interests of major exporting nations of agricultural product.

2) Rice Market Opening and Crisis of Agriculture

On Dec. 4, Korean government officially announced its plan to open the rice market. Korea and the United States concluded an agreement on rice market opening scheme, which contained period of grace for Korean rice market opening for 10 years, and minimum importing quota for 3-5% of total national consumption during that period. Application of UR will cause total restriction on the development of agriculture such as tariffs without exemption (complete opening), reduction of aids for production and export, and easing inspection standards of agricultural products. Rice market opening reflects the government's slogan that political issue after APEC shall be 'opening and globalization'. Government claimed there would be no other way but strengthening international competitiveness and moving toward opening and globalization to make depression of Korean economy become active and to achieve the second take-off stage. After the APEC, however, the government repeated 'major trend of opening rice market' under the table, while 'absolutely impossible to open rice market' publicly. It can

be said such attitude was based upon the government's 'multi-step shock-easing strategy' assuming future rice market opening. The strategy was used to varnish public opinions against the rice market opening.

Rice market opening was also caused by the government's lack of farmers-oriented agricultural policy. Government's policy was well expressed in '5 year plan for new economy in agricultural and fishery fields', which was announced on July 2, 1993. The plan claimed transfer of agricultural policy from production increasing and price oriented to improving agricultural structure and strengthening competitiveness. It also showed its will to complete its investment plan of ₩ 42 trillion 2 years earlier than scheduled, which was planned for 10-year-long program. That means it would increase productivity of Korean agriculture and respond to the market opening in a long term basis.

The policy also showed government would accelerate its plan to liberalize importing agricultural products (currently, 93.9%), and completely open the market by the year 1997. It implies that the government drove its plan to weaken rice production simultaneously with insisting that it would refuse rice market opening what so ever. Government's new plan is nothing but a policy to control price increase for rice purchase. Regarding the policy on farm lands, it will ease qualification of farm land owners, expand upper limit or totally eliminate control on possessing farm lands, and promote conversion of farm lands to other purposes, which will reduce overall area of farm lands consequently.

Under such circumstances, rice market opening will cause exorbitant damage on Korean society. First of all, it will affect rural economy. Currently, rice takes 23.5% of rural household income and 43.8% of farming income. Area of rice paddy takes 63.8% of total arable area, and proportion of cultivating rice is 84% of total rural households. Thus rice market opening will pull out the root of rural economy. Secondly, issue of food security should be considered. It is the most important role of agriculture to provide good quality and clean agricultural products. Under the condition of unstable international market of agricultural products and high possibility of food crisis, it is urgent to have stable food supply. Food is even used as weapons these days, and thus the issue should be considered at the level of national interest. Thirdly, if employment within

agriculture is deprived, it will cause not only employment problem of whole nation but also serious urban problems. Fourthly, we have to also consider issues of protecting natural resources, securing ecosystem and preserving traditional cultures. Fifthly, it will amplify social conflicts. Opening market will draw a distinct line between the ones who take advantages and the others disadvantages from free imports. It will also increase the gap between agricultural fields and the rest.

Therefore, troublesome issue of rice market opening should be considered after overall improvement of agricultural structure is accomplished. The issue not the one of alienation or globalization but of survival of farmers and securing national interests.



Farmers severely blamed the government and expressed a fierce anger against U. S. A as government announced the opening of NTC items in November.

PART FOUR.

ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT



Chapter 19.

Ecumenical Movement in Jan. and Feb.

1) 42nd General Assembly of NCCK : We Are One Nation and One Church

On February 8-9, the NCCK held its 42nd general assembly under the theme of "We are one nation and one church." Kwon Ho-kyung, the current general secretary, was reelected to another 4 year term. The future direction of NCCK are: develop ways to encourage democratic participation in NCCK of denominations and churches; develop programs to induce participation of churches in the movement of recovering citizens' ethics and responding to immediate issues such as Uruguay Round negotiations. Also decided was to set up a local councils, in the anticipation that they would have positive impacts for the building grass-roots movement and activating local programs. Also important outcome was that a basis for mutual cooperation between local councils and the national council was provided.

In the anticipation and appreciation of its increasing role in the international ecumenical movement, assembly concluded that the Korean church needs to make an effort to transform itself from "a church of receiving" to a "church of giving, sharing, and serving." To this end, the assembly planed to develop ways to share its spiritual, material, and personal resources with brothers, sisters, and churches of third world countries, and to provide programs to expand its overseas mission activities. Also, at the suggestion of the Human Rights Committee, NCCK planed to adopt statement demanding a release of all political prisoners and the reinstatement of dismissed teachers who were members of the Teachers' Union (Chunkyocho). Also, it was decided that 20% of the assembly seats will be allocated to women and youth according to the revised constitution.

The 42nd general assembly of NCCK made clear its will to carry on its tradition of prophetic mission of NCCK by responding vigorously to a diversified society and at the same time carry on its social mission and grass-roots movement by encouraging denominational and individual church's participation.

2) The Christian Activities for the Release of Prisoners of Conscience and the Reinstatement of Dismissed teachers

(1) The Human Rights Committee of NCKK sent an open letter to president elect Kim on December 30th, 1992, urging, for the "grand reconciliation and unity" of the new era, the release of prisoners of conscience and abolishment of anti-democratic laws, investigation into the mysterious deaths, release of Kang Ki-hoon (who is imprisoned for allegedly writing a will for another person who committed suicide), and the neutrality of police. On January 31st, the Committee sent a petition to the president elect Kim to release Yoon Suk-yang who is arrested for exposing Military Intelligence Agency's surveillance activities on civilians.

(2) On January 9th, Revs. Park Hyung-kyu, Kim Kwan-suk, Kim Chan-kuk, and Lawyer Hong Sung-woo and other church and opposition movement leaders met with president elect Kim, and requested the release of all political prisoners and prisoners of conscience and the reinstatement of dismissed teachers. The Human Rights Committee report showed that there were approximately 900 prisoners of conscience, and leaders demanded that all of them must be released. Revs. Park and Kim Chan-Kuk, also members of the Task Force for Kang Ki-hoon's Release, demanded the release of Kang, pointing to the illegality of trial during which there was an undue pressure from government.

(3) Human Right Committee of NCKK, National Lawyers Meeting for Democratization, National Professors Council for Democratization, National Alliance for Justice of Catholic Church and other groups declared the week starting from February 8th through 13 "the week to make comprehensive efforts for the release of prisoners of conscience and reinstatement of dismissed teachers," holding a variety of activities such as petitioning for the release of long-term political prisoners, candle-light walk, public forum on educational reform, prayer service, and a meeting with president elect Kim (which was refused). Human Rights Committee on February 11th held a "Thursday prayer service to be together with those who are suffering," which was participated by 200 pastors, lay persons, families of political prisoners, and dismissed teachers. After the

prayer service, they had a candle-light march with police blocking their way. From the morning of 11th through 12th "pastors' hunger prayer and Thursday prayer meeting" took place. Pastors who participated in the hunger prayer later held a press conference in which they demanded the release of all prisoners of conscience, grand amnesty, reinstatement of all dismissed teachers, and went into a solidarity sit-in.

(4) At the same time, 26 political, academic, and Christian leaders in Japan, including Doi Dakako, the former chairperson of the Japanese Socialist Party, Miyaki Doshiki, the president of Meiji University, and Maejima Munetoshi, the general secretary of the Japanese Christian Church's Council, sent a petition requesting the "release of all prisoners of conscience and the granting of amnesty for political prisoners of Koreans-residing-in-Japan." The petition included the 113 names of Koreans-residing-in-Japan now imprisoned in Korea.

3) Search for Directions: New Ecumenical Movement

The Christian Institute for the Study of Justice and Development(CISJD) and the Korean Christian Alliance for Democracy and Reunification (KCADRE) sponsored on February 4th the "Forum on Assessment of the 14th Presidential Election and for New Mission Policy." The forum was initiated by a need of the ecumenical movement to come up with responses to the new political situation. Prof. Choi Jang-jip (of Korea University) and Rev. Kim Sang-keun each gave a presentation, which was followed by discussion session. Prof. Choi, in his presentation titled "The meaning of the election and prospect for change in Korean society," analyzed the new government as basically inheriting the military authoritarianism but at the same time institutionalizing through regional division its political dominance, achieving a "limited democracy." He also anticipated that the role of church will be increased with an increasing role of citizens' movement. Progressive church, he emphasized, needs to focus its attention to human rights and social ethics while at the same time contributing to the reunification by preventing a vertical incorporation of North by South.

Rev. Kim Sang-keun, under the theme of "Role of church and direction of mission in the changing situation" expressed his concern that

churches ignore the urgent demands while participating in social issues, and emphasized that church should be in where reform is and in the history of nation and people. And the tasks of ecumenical movement in the changing situation is to adumbrate a pan-national reunification movement, not limiting itself to grass-roots reunification organization. He called on churches to be aware of its immediate tasks, which is to prevent a constitutional change to a parliamentary cabinet system which paves a way for a long-term rule of the present government, and preparation for the local governors' elections, and movement to abolish anti-democratic laws. He urged for a responsiveness of churches for reform against the gigantic conservative force. Participants agreed that the role of Christian churches will once more become important in the changing situation in which ideological and class-based movement is losing its critical edge; they also agreed that churches should become a medium for the mobilization of nation-wide reform oriented force, while searching for diversified mission activities in order to improve the quality of life of general public which can be ignored in the progress of procedural democratization.

Chapter 20.

Ecumenical Movement in Mar. and Apr.

1) Response of the Christian Churches for the Peace and Reunification of Korea

The Reunification Committee of the NCKK issued a statement calling for a peaceful resolution, based on the principle of national sovereignty and independence, regarding the crisis created since the North Korea's withdrawal from the NPT on March 16. The Committee also held a press conference in which it expressed a deep regret that the South and North could not resolve the nuclear issue through the Joint Committees, set up to resolve issues concerning military and nuclear control as a result of signing the South-North Treaty.

The same committee hoped that the IAEA and the UN Security Council would avoid a forced inspection and extreme measures such as economic and military sanctions against North Korea; it also expressed its resolution to oppose any such moves from the perspective of national livelihood and national sovereignty. Also, the committee urged the North Korea to do something urgently to clear the rising international suspicion over her alleged nuclear build-up and to reconsider the decision to withdraw from NPT; to South Korean government, the committee urged not to continue a large scale military exercise such as Team Spirit. In addition, the committee sent its messages to UN, governments in the world, and World Council of Churches, and is considering sending representatives to these organizations if necessary.

2) Christian Church Expressed its Support on the Kim Government's Reform Policy

On March 29th, the NCKK issued a statement titled "Reform must continue" and welcomed the government's efforts. In the statement, NCKK said the reform so far "has refreshed the mind of Korean people" and that it must continue "in order to cleanse the dark period of the

past." The NCKK urged that the reform, which started from the public disclosure of high ranking officials must continue to a fruition; that the reform is our task for real democracy; that the officials who illegally amassed wealth should repent; and that the government should expand its reform to cover wider areas.

At the same time, the Human Rights Committee of the NCKK held a prayer service welcoming the recently released political prisoners, including Revs. Moon Ik-hwan and Han Sang-ryul. During the service, it called for release of political prisoners still in prison and further passed a resolution calling for the release of political prisoners and those sought by police for their involvement in the movement; abolition of the National Security Law; and resolution of human rights violations committed during the sixth republic.

3) Controversy Surrounding the New Translation of the Bible

The newly translated Bible by the Korean Bible Institute (an ecumenical group of all Protestant denominations) is amidst of controversy by the criticism proffered by the Jesus-Presbyterian denomination. This issue on the surface was with theological differences over interpretation of Bible but has a deeper underlying causes--that of politics of different denominations and sales rights. The Jesus Presbyterian church claimed on March 16th in a public forum that the new Bible version contained errors in translation and did not reflect the position of the conservative theology. To this the Korean Bible Institute replied in a press conference on March 26th that it would seriously consider the expressions used in the translation and revise, but that the new Bible did not contain a theological problem.

It has been pointed out that the Jesus-Presbyterian church intends to strengthen its political position through the controversy. During the general assembly of the church, it was revealed that there were some problems over sending the church's representatives to the Institute, and that the report from Institute has not been forward to the church properly. Also, it has been pointed out that the behind the controversy

lies the issue of distributing to different churches the income earned from sales of the Bible and how the money was going to be used by the Institute; the church claimed that the Institute's report did not address these two issues. Although a close scrutiny over the newly translated Bible was necessary and should be preceded, it did not seem right that the controversy should prolong over economic rights and political differences.

4) Joint Easter Service Held in Seoul

On April 11th there was a joint Easter service in Yoido Plaza in Seoul. The NCKK's Easter message said that "only when the Christian church die for national reunification, which is the salvation of the nation, and die sharing the suffering of the national division, which is the source of all structural evils, will the church resurrect through the work of Holy Spirit and with the 70 million Korean people as the church of one nation and one people."

Also, the Joint Easter Service Committee of NCKK sent a message to North Korea expressing its desire to have a joint worship service on the coming Easter, and the North Korean church responded positively suggesting that they should exchange sermons and prayers. It was to be hoped that there would be an increasing exchange between the churches of South and North.

Chapter 21.

Ecumenical Movement in May. and Jun.

1) Inauguration of "South-North Sharing Campaign for Peace and Reunification "

The "South-North sharing campaign for peace and reunification" was launched on April 27th. The purpose of the movement is to recover the national and communal spirit and to become a seed for peace and reunification through a spiritual and material sharing between the North and South Korean churches.

The first of their project is a "movement to share powdered milk" and they plan to collect 100,000 dollars in 100 churches until September 15th. The reason powdered milk was selected was that North Korea once requested UNICEF to send 2 million dollars worth of powdered milk and the World Council of Churches received similar request. It was also considered that powdered milk was most "humanitarian" compared to rice or other items.

The other campaign conducted by Korean churches is the "Rice of Love" and "Donation to Reconstruct North Korean Churches" sponsored by The Christian Council of Korea (chairman: Rev. Lee Sung-Tac; This council was organized by conservative churches). There was a concern that the campaign to send powdered milk might be in competition with these on-going campaigns. It would be less than constructive if these campaigns grow into a competition due to a lack of unified policy on the part of the South Korean churches toward North Korean Churches.

2) The Activities of the "Jubilee Preparatory Committee"

The Jubilee Preparatory Committee for Peaceful Reunification (chairman: Rev. Park Bong-yang), organized in February, 1990 with participation by the 49 denominations are busy with preparation for the activities scheduled to be held in August, 1993. The committee announced in a press conference on April 28th that it would hold a "Grand Worship Service of Human Chains for Peaceful Reunification" on the Liberation Day. This plan involves a participation of 50,000 church

members lined up on the streets covering 50 kilometers from Independence Gate in Seoul to Imjinkak. They were supposed to hold a Grand Worship service with joint worship literature agreed between the North and South Korean churches. The committee also had a plan of repeating the human chain between Baek-tu Mountain and Halla Mountain, totaling 3,000 li, based on the experience of this year's human chain. The committee also stated that as this worship service is an occasion to pray for peaceful reunification regardless of one's religious and political beliefs, that it is open to participation of other religious groups, reunification organizations, and the government.

Another activity for praying for reunification is the weekly Thursday Jubilee Prayer Meeting which started on May 27th. This prayer meeting was coined "Reunification Fellowship Hour (called to'ug-il sarang-bang in Korean)" and its major programs include prayers, worship services, lectures, seminars, and discussions on peace and reunification, and worship services for those suffering from division of the country. This "Fellowship Hour" is a continuation of the former Thursday Prayer Meeting of the Human Rights Committee of the NCKK, and also takes a form of sarang-bang, a room in the traditional Korean house reserved for gathering of and discussion among neighbors and visitors, which expresses the sponsors's hope to be a gathering of various ideas on the issue of reunification.

The annually convened Peace Reunification Council took place in August this year; and the particular characteristic of this year's Council was that in order to promote active participation of Christians it would take the form of lectures and conferences. Also, government policy makers on reunification were invited to a panel discussion. Also, various programs were prepared to carry out a comprehensive discussion, including the suggestions of the grass-roots organizations and other religious groups.

3) Activities of the Human Rights Committee of the NCKK

At the time when the public's attention was focused on the government's reform drive, the Human Rights Committee of the NCKK (chairman Rev. Kim Chan-kuk) urged for an opening of public hearing on the corruption of the Sixth republic and decided to operate a report

center for human rights abuse cases during the Sixth republic. The committee also expressed that the current reform by the government is absolutely necessary for the society's progress, and that it must be continued in order to solve the general problems of the society distorted by the military culture.

The committee also sent on May 20th an appeal to President Kim for the release of long term political prisoners; out of 82 prisoners serving long prison sentences, the committee appealed on behalf of thirteen who have not "converted" and have been suffering from senility and chronic disease and seven who have "converted" who want to return to society. The prisoners on the appeal have been imprisoned for more than 20 years and their health has seriously deteriorated, making humanitarian treatment urgently necessary.



Chapter 22.

Ecumenical Movement in Jul. and Aug.

1) Conference of NCKK for Human Rights Mission Policy

Human Rights Committee of NCKK held a national conference for human rights mission policy from June 28 to June 29. This conference pointed out the past cases of infringement of human rights had still not corrected and decided to completely cope with this problem, and also decided to concern civil rights and rights of child and woman by expanding range of human rights mission.

Representatives of 50 local Human Rights Committee and 120 people of Christian groups attended this conference to discuss human rights problem of arrested, wanted and dismissed laborers, and conscientious professioners within the police and military, conscientious prisoners, national teachers union(Chonkyojo), ousted teachers, long-term prisoners.

The attendents issued a statement asking the abolition of national security law and vicious labor-related laws, release of conscientious prisoners, fulfilment of reinstatement promise for dismissed laborers, legalization of Chonkyojo and rehabilitation of ousted teachers, punishment of politicians from military who invoked 12.12 coup, retrievals of honors of arrested and wanted conscientious professioners within the military and police. In the meeting, they said they could not agree with the current government's motto of 'civil government' and warned they have to strongly struggle as they did under the past military authoritarian regime unless these requirements are fulfilled. And the participants decided to make a

recommendation to President Kim Young-sam asking dismissal of the Minister of Economic Planning Board and the Minister of Commerce, Industry, and Energy who disregraded the decision of the Supreme Court and stick to the principle of 'No work, No money'.

Ecumenical movement should be engaged in much stronger democratization movement, considering the reality of human right infringements which have not been adjusted even after the launch of a new government.

2) "Christian Convention for the Peace and Reunification towards the Jubilee year 1995" and "Human Chains for Peaceful Reunification"

Christian Convention for the Peace and Reunification towards the Jubilee year 1995 was held at the Women's Mission Center from August 12 to 14. At this convention subtitled as big forum for the actual plan of Movement for Jubilee Year, Kwon Ho-kyong (the general secretary of NCCK) delivered the keynote speech, Professor Wolfgang Wilhelm who was the general secretary of missionary division of a former East German church and Reverend Lee Sang Chol from the United Church of Canada gave a lecture on reunification. And there were several other events like discussion meeting for reunification held by representatives of long-term prisoners and separated families, and talk with dissidents to explore ways toward solidarity of nongovernmental reunification movement. Through subcommittee and overall discussion, participants discussed about actual issues like North Korea's nuclear problem on the basis of the actual plan for Movement for Jubilee Year decided during the Christian Conference in 1992. And also tendents criticized the government not allowing the pan-national rally which was supposed to be held at the same time and decided to express this resolution to government in a proper way.

After this Christian Convention, "Human Chains for Peaceful reunification" was evented with 60,000 Christians and citizens to link humans together for 48kms from Toknipmun to Imjinkak. This event provided a momentum for Christian reunification movement to make great strides to the level of the whole Christians mass movement from that of conference or statement. And It reflected steady progress of Christian reunification movement.

The events like "Christian Convention for the Peace and Reunification towards the Jubilee year 1995" and "Human Chains for Peaceful Reunification" which are the first reunification-related events under the Kim Young-sam government showed different aspects with the past Christian reunification movement as a whole. The most characteristic feature was that NCCK-lead reunification movement took an attitude of composure with government. This change reflects flexible response to the change of political environment.

At the same time, considering that Kim Young-sam government's reunification policy has been getting conservative unlikely the early stage, it means much stronger struggle is needed in some specific matters if necessary. Especially, with government's discriminative treatment to the civilian unification activity, solid plans for solidarity with other reunification movement of dissident groups are necessitated. Besides, strong desire of Christians for reunification which was confirmed by the "Human Chains for Peaceful Reunification" should not be estimated as a simple pastime, and should be developed to positive reunification missionary grounded a long-term plan and objectives of Christian reunification movement.



8월 15일 평화와 통일을 바라는 남북 인간띠 잇기 대회본부에서 실시한 인간띠잇기 행사에 참여한 6만여명의 시민, 학생이 인간띠를 형성하고 있다

Chapter 23.

Ecumenical Movement in Sep. and Oct.

1) Logic of Church Reform and Directions of Ecumenical Movement

Since the departure of Kim Young-sam government, there has been no specific achievement regarding reform of churches. In the meantime, a group of pastors from the Holiness Churches, named 'Han-na-ra (meaning, one nation) Missionary', reported complaint against elder pastors who had been cooperative with authority of the fifth republic. Those 27 charged pastors were church leaders who had participated to the 'Prayer Meeting for the Standing Chairman, Chun Doo-hwan' on August 6, 1980. The list reads such names as Rev. Han Kyung-jik, Rev. Kim Chang-in, Rev. Cho Hyang-rok and Rev. Kim Chi-gil, who are elder pastors representing churches of Korea.

Taking this opportunity, issue of some church leaders, who had been cooperative with former military dictatorship regimes, was brought up to the court trial. Regardless of the court decision, the issue itself was more than enough to reveal every single section of rotten parts which Korean churches have held for those days. It has been widely known that breakfast prayer meetings of pro-government personnels had been used to justify ruling of dictatorial regime. Everyone has to recognize right role of churches in history and in social development throughout this event.

This event lay on the extension of series of efforts for reforming Korean churches. Since last spring, voices have been raised to make churches stand at forefront of reformation and to reform inside of churches: statement of the Holiness Churches Convention, that of Presbyterian Church of Korea's Board Meeting for Reformation, Declaration for Renovating Churches of Hyangryun Church, statement of National Clergy Conference for Justice and Peace to Urge Restoring Morality. However, there has been no visualized achievement yet.

Even though everyone agreed on the necessity of church reforms, there have been differences in method of reform and the subjects. After all, it is important for the ecumenical movement to decide its courses and ways to make churches play proper role for history and social development under Kim Young-sam government. Debates on the crisis of Minjoong(grass-roots) Theology also show the differences in viewing role of churches under changing situation. Therefore, it is necessary to have discussions in various aspects regarding the new direction of ecumenical movement.

2) Opposition Movement Against Sending Combat Forces To Somalia

A personal message from the President Clinton was once sent to the President Kim Young-sam to ask Korean government to send additional combat forces to Somalia. When the news was released by the press, ecumenical movement tried its efforts to oppose to it.

On October 14, KNCC(National Council of Churches in Korea) announced a statement and emphasized, "sending troops to Somalia, by unilateral demand of the US and without any conclusion of UN, is absolutely unallowable, and there is no way to send Korean combat forces to Somalia under the situation of worsened inter-battles and of gaining no effect of UN activities there. On Oct. 15, The Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea announced a statement and urged not to send troops, so did National Clergy Conference for Justice and Peace and claimed that not only "no more troops" to Somalia but also troops already sent there should be returned if they were endangered.

On October 19, President Kim Young-sam finally and officially refused the US request to send additional troops to Somalia. The request was rejected since there were strong oppositions against it in public and even inside the government. It is known that the Foreign Affairs Ministry and Defense Ministry worried about the facts that the request was exclusively made not by UN but by the US and that there was possibility of conflicts with African nationalism if sending combat troops to Somalia. And also there is no reason to send more troops to battle

fields without any justification and profit, since previously sending troops have been stationed there not to calm down the war but to reconstruct Somalia and relieve Somali victims.

The point that the request was made by the US became big burden for Kim Young-sam government. However, as people in the US turned their backs to the decision of their government, and as the President Clinton himself stated that sending troops to Somalia was basically wrong and thus he would withdraw troops which had been sent there, the burden disappeared and Kim Young-sam government could finally refused the request. Refusal of sending troops to Somalia should be considered as quite natural response. Kim Young-sam government, however, was quite dependent upon the position and attitude of the US government to make its own decision. This was nothing but a happening caused by Kim Young-sam government's lack of conviction.

Chapter 24.

Ecumenical Movement in Nov. and Dec.

1) Debates on Ecumenical Movement Policy

There have been debates in progress in various aspects on the direction of ecumenical movement under the changing condition of Korea. Since the departure of Kim Young-sam government in 1993, such debates have been deepened.

On November 8, National Council of Churches in Korea(KNCC) held a meeting under the title 'policy discussion for democratic reform and national reunification'. At the meeting, participants evaluated reform policy of Kim Young-sam government and discussed how the christian movement to react on such reform programs.

At a reading of main subject, professor Cho Sung-roh evaluated, "reform of Kim Young-sam government has been somewhat weighted to political revenge and showed possibility of democratic regime beyond the law, but it also earned positive evaluation on restructuring military, correcting illegality of National Security Planning Agency and personnel reform of the judicature", and claimed, "it is necessary for Korean churches to support democratic government to restraint the appearance of conservatives." "Korean churches should encourage and criticize so as for the current government to fulfill its tasks and responsibilities for democratization, and also suggest right direction for it", he also claimed.

During the dicussion session, various scopes of opinions were raised. Rev. Kim Sang-keun addressed, "subjects of current regime is not Kim Young-sam government but combined political structure of 3 parties union of 1990", and criticized "thus it has been clearly revealed the limitation and ambiguity of Kim Young-sam government's reform policy". He also claimed, "as churches should keep their position as a prophet, they have to take active positions to change subjects of reform (through changing the regime) rather than remain silence with expectations for current government's reform programs".

During the general discussion session, participants released a statement under the title, "Peaceful reunification from reform for democratization", which was written based upon KNCC's "8 democratization policies for democratic society" released during the presidential election of 1992. The statement criticized, "curtailment of high government officials' personal property disclosure and its easy-way announcement, lukewarm reaction on corruptions of former military regimes, dilution of real-name financial transaction system, and maintenance of malicious laws such as National Security Law", and claimed they would try their best efforts to clean them up.

On Nov. 15, Korean Christian Alliance for Democracy and Reunification (KCADRE) had a meeting with the subject, "Let's build up prospect of christian movement". At a keynote address, the speaker evaluated, "christian movement are now facing aggravation of affiliated feeling and identity crisis". Participants strongly claimed 'the need of new leading group' at the meeting.

Background of such discussions is closely related to overall change of Korean social structure since 1987, and is also to the roaring of individualism and conservatism within society specifically since the departure of so-called 'peoples government'. In fact, people have been getting used to the reality that flags of minjoong church or church of nationals do not earn great social concerns any more. At the discussion sessions, it was also discussed that churches should not just stay to say what should be not to give up minjoong church or church of nationals, but should prepare new theological ground to analyze scientifically detailed ideas and scheme required today.

Korean churches should face up to the fact that current changes, since 1993, have not met properly with the democratization of Korean society and realization of human rights. As shown in the cabinet reshuffle of December 1993, Kim Young-sam government's will for reformation is getting diluted. As shown in the process of Uruguay Round negotiation, it becomes harder to draw distinction between Kim Young-sam government and former military regimes. It is clear that changing situation requires new reactions, but such reactions should not make it confused the prophetic attitude and principles of church movement.

2) Anti-Rice Market Opening Movement of Churches

Korean society as a whole got very upset before and after government announced rice market opening due to Uruguay Round conclusion. On Dec. 7, the biggest mass rally, ever since the departure of Kim Young-sam government, was held hosted by "Emergency Committee To Block Opening Rice and Basic Agricultural Products Imports". Churches also raised their voices against rice market opening. On Dec. 1, they organized "Christian Counterplan Committee for Solution of Opening Rice and Basic Agricultural Products Imports", and began active movements against rice market opening.

8 other christian organizations, including National Clergy Conference for Justice and Peace released a statement on Nov. 26, and urged; (1) president Kim Young-sam to officially express his will for non-opening of rice market, never open market for 15 major agricultural products including rice, and (2) to withdraw immediately the plan of total opening of importing agricultural and stockbreeding products.

Each christian bodies also responded by various means such as statements. On Nov. 30, KNCC released a statement and stressed; (1) the government should listen to the voice of people regarding rice and major agricultural products opening, (2) should concentrate investment on agriculture so that rice and other major agricultural product have international competitiveness, (3) people still consider rice and other major agricultural products very important like their lives, and thus the market should not be opened yet, and (4) christians should buy more domestic products including rice with piety and moderation, and listen to the pain of farmers.

In December, upon strong resistance of people against rice market opening, president Kim Young-sam announced apology statement, and executed cabinet reshuffle to temporize public concerns. Issue of rice market opening is not a matter of short-term basis. We have to respond to it for long-term basis since it is connected to globalization and block of world economy. We have to wisely respond to the upcoming ratification of National Assembly scheduled April of 1994, and also keep our eyes closely on the process of structural reform of rural economy which the government declared publicly.

Conclusion: Evaluation on the first year of Kim Young-Sam Government

As far, we have reviewed the process and limitations of Kim Young-sam government reform policy in 1993 through studies in politics, economy, reunification policy, and Ecumenics. Now, as the final step, we will search the underlying features of Kim Young-sam government, cast the future prospect and find out problems to solve.

The Kim Young-sam government has come from so-called the "merger of 3 parties" in January 1990. The Democratic Liberal Party was born through the merger of 3 parties - the Democratic Justice Party based on newly-established military leadership since 1980, the Republican Party founded on old military circles of the 4th Republic, and the Democratic Party rooted in Kyongsang province. The Democratic Justice Party won the first but lacked a majority in the 13th general election in April 1988, and opposition parties gained seats in the following order. First, Peace and Democratic Party led by Kim Dae-joong, second, Democratic Party, and lastly Republican Party. So-called, "Y'oso-Yadae (small government party, big oppositions) was forged out. The ruling Democratic Justice Party was seriously expected to reconstruct the politics. As the result of the merger, the new-born Democratic Liberal Party became the major party and only the Peace and Democratic Party substantially stood as an opposition party.

Kim Young-sam went through fierce power struggle within the power circle to be the presidential candidate of the Democratic Liberal Party. Several leading representatives withdrew from the party after the national convention to nominate the presidential candidate. After all, Kim Young-sam became the candidate through this process and was elected as president.

The first feature of Kim Young-sam government is originated from his political career shown above. His reformative orientation has come from that he had been a leader of an opposition party and not been related with the military circle. At the same time, the limitations of his reform policy stem from that he acquired power through the coalition with conservatives within the existing ruling camp. Thus, it is quite

natural that his movement has been restricted by the pressure of "Chaebol" (big conglomerates) and conservatives within the party and government. His policy showed a reformative trend at the beginning of his administration, however the reform drive became stuck in the thick of the process, and finally it is showing a tendency to go back to conservatism. His turning back to conservatism appeared well in the process that the Minister of National Unification Board, Han Wan-sang, and the Labor Minister, Lee In-je was replaced by conservative figures in December 1993.

We can grasp the keynotes of Kim Young-sam government reform policy for 1 year in the light of this feature. At the same time, the limitations below can be explained in this context.

First, the reform drive in the political world fostered at the early stage of his presidency sufficiently drew an attention. Kim Young-sam government first diagnosed "Hankook b'yong (social malady of Korea)" has rooted in corruption and authoritarianism and subsequently enforced inspections shaking the root of old powership. Roundup inspection of the key posts in the military circle and the National Security Planning Agency, the major political hotbeds of the past regimes, created a great sensation and the supporting rate of people reached 90% at a survey. 1300 crooked officials left office and 242 officials resigned for their personal property problems. 3 key assemblymen including the former and incumbent chairman of the National Assembly retired, and 4 ruling party members were ousted from the party. The president of the Supreme Court withdrew dishonorably for his excessive personal assets and several minister and vice-minister level officials left office. The military circle was not an exception, thus all four-star generals of Army, Navy and Air Forces retired and 30% of three-star generals were replaced. The military, the past hotbed of power, became finally shrunk off.

However, several problems were cropped up in the course of inspection. Probe of the power-connected corruptions became characterized as retaliatory inspection and it was considered as a power struggle itself. This feature can be shown well in the fact that several persons contributed to the construction of Kim Young-sam government were avoided from the inspection. Also, the limit of his reform work was clearly emerged as ex-presidents linked with a heavy debauchery directly or indirectly were bypassed in the inspection process.

Even if we regard the political reform needs to be stabilized through institutionalization, the institutional reform was only achieved in the revision of Public Officials Ethics Law, and Law on National Security Planning Agency. Politics-related reform bills were carried over to be handled in 1994.

After all, reform drive of Kim Young-sam government has merely been represented as a reshuffle of the ruling camp in spite of considerable positive outcomes. The reigning circle of Kim Young-sam government, replaced the military leadership which had lasted about 30 years since 5.16 Coup in 1961, has to touch on laws concerning human rights like the National Security Law and other labor laws, and should reemploy dismissed laborers for the success of real reformation. Above all, the essentials of political system including laws on electorate, political party, and National Assembly should go under the knife. If the reform is limited to the only reshuffle without continuous development, the slogan of "civil government" might be changed into "civil dictatorship."

Economic policy of Kim Young-sam government has been characterized as an invigoration policy and this means it follows the earlier policy focused on development, the past trademark of Korean economy. Major characteristics of economic policy can be summarized as the revitalization with increased issue of currency and Chaebol-preferred economy.

Pointed out several times, Kim Young-sam government took a measure of increasing currency even though industrial competitiveness of Korea was weakened by structural problems. This kind of step to stimulate economy basically accords with the interest of Caebols (big cooperations). According to the economic statistics of 1993, the economic growth rate reached 5.3%, rate of price rising reached 5.8%, and current account surpassed 500 million dollars. It is quite natural that prices highly rised at the end of the year due to the stagnation in 1993.

Though reformative measures like real name financial system, liberalization of interest rates turned to be efficient, there was shown a serious flaw in the mechanism as proved in the fraud incident of Chang Young-ja. The preceding corruptions, unearned income, secret funds were expected to be eradicated, but ceaseless appeasement tactics shaked

the procedures and enforcement of the reform measures. In the tax and financial policy, government has hardly touched on imposition of heavy taxes to unlawful and unearned income, and relief of tax burden of low income bracket, and cutting off the defense budget.

Failure in the Uruguay Round negotiation was the biggest economic blunder of Kim Young-sam government. There was no serious discussion with people in the course of negotiation with U.S.A. and government eventually made a fumble of opening rice and basic agricultural products, and capital market. Kim Young-sam government is trying to evade its responsibility for the failure in UR pact with the slogan of "internationalization", "open-door policy". However, this stance will deepen the structural dependency of Korean economy on foreign countries.

In labor part, Kim Young-sam government did not slough off old customs of the past military dictatorship. In the beginning of his administration, the ex-minister of Labor, Lee In-je tried to take some measures to revise labor-related laws, like ban of the third side intervention, acknowledgment of partial wage without work, guarantee of labor unions' political activity. However, the labor policy returned to the starting point facing the opposition of Chaebol and conservatives. Minister Lee In-je was also replaced by a conservative figure in a reshuffle at the end of the year. Labor policy of Kim Young-sam government was merely focused on the restraint of a wage increase and blockage of labor dispute, not on the structural reform. This kind of policy shows the underlying tone of economic policy was centered on Chaebol.

The economic invigoration policy caused a lot of problems, especially an environmental problem while several restrictions were lifted. Environmental problem in Korea has been point out for a long time. As a recent example, Nakdong river was proved to be polluted not to fit for drinking water for millions of people. Environmental problem, sacrificed by the logic of economic invigoration, will be a litmus paper to test the real success of Kim Young-sam government.

The most impending issue after depart of Kim Young-sam government was probably North Korea's nuclear issue. Tensions has deepened after

North Korea withdrew from NPT in March 12, 1993 and the negotiation has been still ongoing. South Korea's policy for a while has been the breaking off South-North relation based on pro-US line. Reunification policy of Kim Young-sam government became more conservative unlikely the first stage, and is unswerving in conservatism much more than U.S.A. while the latter is at the point of time to desire improvement of relation with North Korea.

Foreign and reunification policy of Kim Young-sam government for a while has made us ask a question whether we live in the era of post-Cold War. This era doesn't belong to the Cold War period. South Korean government need to prepare a transitional policy for the existence of nation itself. This is also a sufficient condition of strengthening international competitiveness in which South Korean government puts forth all the energy. A new thinking and change of the way of thinking are needed in the post-Cold war period.

First, NK's improvement of relation with US is a big step forward to settle down peace in the Korean peninsula. No one can deny a big shadow of US casted in the history of Korea after the 1945 liberation. The most interested party in the reunification problem except both Koreas is the United States. The most important thing for consolidation of peace structure on the Korean peninsula is normalization of DPRK-US relationship lasted since the division. It is necessary that the improvement of relationship with capitalist bloc actively promoted by North Korea in the post-Cold War era for consolidation of peace structure and national welfare on the Korean peninsula. Didn't even ex-president Roh promised to help North Korea in improving relations with South Korean allies in the July 7 declaration. North Korea's isolation and aggravating economic situation are not advantageous for the South. North is not a foreign country. It is a partner in reunification. If South Korean government implement hard line policy towards North Korea again, it will be an act against national welfare.

Moreover, the South Korean government should boldly exercise independence in decision making to resolve issue on the peninsula. That is, we should reconsider international consortium. The international consortium could have been the best choice for a small country to cope with big countries like Soviet Union and China. The Soviet Union had collapsed and it is impossible for China to export socialism to South

Korea. North Korea is facing much difficulties. Then, What is the purpose of the international consortium that we are participating at. As the former Soviet Union is weakened due to change in international situation following the post Cold War, Japan is changing its attitude towards the United States. Even China has assumed a highhanded attitude after it improved the relation with Russia. The world is under going drastic changes in the post-Cold War era. As we can see in the negotiation process of the Uruguay Round, competition among individual countries is getting fierce.

There is nothing for South Korea to gain in the international consortium. Since we dealt with the North Korean nuclear issue within the international consortium beginning last march, we could get no more than what we had before. It is the time for us to wisely foster favorable conditions for our nation.

On the whole, Kim Young-sam government is on the same lines with the former military dictatorship, however it has clearly different features in some aspects. The dilemma which Korean social movement and Non-governmental organization faces after 1993 starts at this point. Different strategy in social movement is needed to respond to the changing situation of Korea. It is not quite easy-going. Under the circumstances, Korean social movement take two principles. One is an unending struggle shown in the past military regime to realize people's society. The other is an opposition against conservative wings impedes the reform drive of Kim Young-sam government. We need more wisdom not to be biased more than any time.

CHRONOLOGY OF IMPORTANT EVENTS IN 1993

Jan. 4

- President Kim Il-sung made a New Year address to emphasize the federal reunification and an ideological education.
- South Korean Government additionally opened 1 industrial and 44 agricultural products.

Jan. 5

- Unification People's Party and New Korea Party failed to merge.
- Korea Trade Promotion Corporation announced that North's trade volume increased by 37% in 1992 recording US\$11.2 billion.

Jan. 6

- Kim Dongkil resigned from the chairmanship of Unification People's Party in a midst of conflict following the defeat in the presidential election.

Jan. 7

- South and North Korea resumed trade in agricultural products.

Jan. 8

- A Japanese general trading company started its first sales in Korea.
- South Korea and People's Republic of China signed a memorandum of understanding and cooperation in construction to promote mutual collaboration in the field of construction.
- Chonkyojo(National Teacher's Union) and general association of teachers decided to send separate delegations to the inaugural meeting of international teacher's union league to be held in Stockholm, Sweden.

Jan. 9

- Several representatives of Democratic Party disclosed expenditure of their political activities, declaring "clean politics."
- 3 Parties disclosed expenses used for the presidential election. (Democratic Liberal Party spent 28.4 billion won, Democratic party 20.7 billion won, Unification People's Party 22 billion won)

Jan. 11

- Democratic Party reorganized its leadership system to a collective leadership system under one-man representative.
- Korean electronic businesses touch off a boom in the Chinese market.

- Lee Kyung-sik, the Deputy Premier & Minister of Economic Planning Board, announced to take measures to lower the interest rate in the first quarter of 1994, including public interest rate.
- The New York Times reported South Korea attempted a contract with UK to extract plutonium in 1991. The Foreign Ministry repudiated it as groundless.

Jan. 12

- The National Unification Board made a proposal to realize a North-South Federation by 1995 to the presidential transitional committee.
- Ministry of Commerce and Industry made an announcement on the present condition of overseas investment of domestic companies (in East Asia 74.1%, in Europe and North America 17%)

Jan. 14

- South Korea and Japan agreed to take a joint step against U.S. pressure on rice opening at a meeting of departmental officials related to the matter.

Jan. 16

- Overdue wage amounted to 75.1 billion won, a six-fold compared with that of last year, according to Korea General Managers' Association and Ministry of Labor.

Jan. 18

- Presidential Transitional Committee decided to execute local governor and mayor elections in 1995.

Jan. 21

- Association of the Press Union received the Registered certificate.

Jan. 22

- Ministry of Defence announced to go ahead with its plan to a unified military command system.

Jan. 25

- Presidential transitional committee, policy making committee of Democratic Liberal Party, and Offices of Presidential Secretariat decided on the three tasks of the new government: economic recovery, cleaning corruption, and reform of consciousness.
- Korea-Vietnam jointly founded a the Vietnam First Bank.
- South Korea announced the resumption of Team Spirit military exercise to North Korea.

Jan. 26

- Kim Daejoong departed to UK
- The whole banking facilities lowered the interest rates substantially.
- Urgent resolution on legalization of Chonkyojo and reappointment of 1,500 dismissed teachers was adopted in the last general meeting of IFFTU demanding unconditional reappointment of dismissed teachers.

Jan. 27

- Actual interest rate recorded the lowest rate since 1988 as a result of measures to lower interest rate on Jan 26.
- North Korea declared its revised constitution. The prerogative of supreme command was transferred to the chairman of the defense committee.

Jan. 28

- DP leader, Lee Kitaek proposed a chief leader's meeting to discuss state affairs, demanding an investigation on corruptions occurred in 6th Republic.
- Three North Korean officials visited Seoul to participate in the communication conference on the development of Tuman river, a part of UN development plan.

Feb. 1

- North Korea rejected IAEA investigation, arguing that Yongbyon is a military facility and that its has nothing to do with nuclear development.
- In pretext of the nuclear issue, the US refused to issue passports to 6 representatives of supreme people's committee including the secretariat Kim Yongsoon.

Feb. 2

- Democratic Liberal Party installed "special policy planning committee for women" to the presidential office to heighten women's social status. DLP announced plans to establish a law to patronize part-time family workers, reinforce the punishment provisions of equal employment law, revise the law that one person can take an layoff if a family has a newborn, and increase day nursery facilities to 34,000 by 1996.
- Korea Labor Institute forecasted unemployment rate would reach over 2.6% by the first quarter of 1993.
- North Korea asked South Korea's major conglomerates, Samsung, Daewoo, Lucky Gold Star to participate in the development projects for the 4th 7-year plan.
- South Korea and Vietnam signed an agreement on economic cooperation.

Feb. 4

- 50 members of Minkahyup (The family council to practice democratic movement) began a sit-in demonstration for an indefinite period demanding release of conscientious prisoners and abolishment of the national security law. At the same time, 200 dissidents jailed in 30 prisons or detention houses went on a hunger strike.

Feb. 5

- Foreign ministry announced additional number of comfort women and labor service corps under Japanese colonialism to be 103 and 135 respectively.

Feb. 6

- Chong Jooyoung, chief of Unification People's Party, was indicted without detention.

Feb. 7

- Japan reviewed the issue of comfort women. It announced to submit the result of additional probe by April to South Korea.

Feb. 10

- Chong Jooyoung announced to retire from politics and resigned his post as the chief of Unification People's Party.
- 100 dismissed teachers started a hunger strike simultaneously in 15 branches.
- US announced to apply the Super 301 to steel and semiconductor made from South Korea.

Feb. 12

- Chondaehyop (National university association) announced it will disorganize itself in April and establish a Hanchongnyon (Korean Association of college student associations) at a press conference.
- The IAEA delivered an official letter to North Korea asking its acceptance of a special inspection on its nuclear facilities.
- North Korea decided to execute preferential tariff and visa free to induce foreign investment in Najin-Sonbong free trade zone.

Feb. 13

- North Korea announced it refused any special inspection and would take a self defensive measure in case the IAEA press for special inspection.

Feb. 14

- UN accepted a suit against the South Korean government submitted by Sin Jonkyu, the ex-union leader of Keumho Inc, on the clause that forbids a third party intervention in labor disputes in the Labor Law of

1992. UN sent a notice to South Korea asking for its position on the matter.

Feb. 15

- Kim Dongkil was elected as a new chief of Unification People's Party.
- 10,000 members of the National Farmers Union held a rally to check the opening of rice market and asked for a fundamental reform in agricultural problem.
- Beef negotiation between South Korea and US ruptured.

Feb. 16

- Union of Wonjin Rayon announced 21 laborers poisoned by carbon bisulfide were approved as suffering from occupational disease by Labor Ministry at a press conference.
- South Korea and US failed to reach an agreement on semiconductor.

Feb. 17

- North Korea announced if the IAEA enforced a special nuclear inspection, it could repeal an agreement with the IAEA on nuclear inspection.
- PFC Kenes pleaded not guilty in a court for Yoon Keumee's murder case.

Feb. 18

- The Bureau of Statistics announced employment trend in 1992 (unemployment rate 2.4%, employment rate of manufacturing industry diminished 3.4% and agriculture, forestry, and fishery 2.5% lowered. wholesale and retail business increased 4%. unemployment rate is high in metropolitan and high educational background).

Feb. 20

- Democratic Party started competition for the party leadership.
- UPP broke up failing to form a negotiation body as 7 members bolted.
- Ministry of agriculture, forestry, and fishery announced the statistics on agriculture, forestry and fishery in 1992 (agricultural population recorded 5.7 million, reduced by 360,000 in a year.)

Feb. 22

- Chong Jooyoung, the ex-chief of UPP resigned from his membership of Assembly.
- North Korea blamed US of controlling the IAEA's special inspection and announced that it is considering a self-defensive measure against US intervention.
- Kim Nakjoong, the former co-chairman was sentenced to life.

- Tentatively named "pan-national conference to keep domestic rice" adopted a proposition against rice opening.

Feb. 23

- Secretary General of the IAEA stressed that inspection on two undeclared sites in Yongbyun is inevitable.

Feb. 24

- The 22nd collegiate division of Seoul district criminal court, judged the name of "Central area division of Chosun Labor Party in South Korea" as groundless and that "patriotic front for national liberation" is the right appellation.
- Persons concerned with the PFNL incident were sentenced to life, 10 and 12 years imprisonment respectively.

Feb. 25

- Kim Young-sam was inaugurated as the 14th president.

Feb. 26

- Deputy Premier Lee Kyoungsik announced to relax economic regulation on the basis of reform.
- 21st collegiate division of Seoul district criminal court, decided the NSPA allegation that "Lee Sonwha(Lee Sonsil) is a candidate of North Korea political bureau and ranks No. 22 in the party hierarchy" has no evidence.

Feb. 27

- New government announced it would promote reform on the basis of national consensus and not accept egoism and evasion of responsibility at the first Cabinet council.
- IAEA adopted a resolution emphasizing the realization of inspection on North Korean nuclear facilities.

Feb. 28

- NSPA was banned to attend the "counterplan committee of concerned authorities"

March. 1

- The Bank of Korea announced that the total foreign loan amounted 42.68 billion dollars and pure foreign loan 10.96 billion dollars as of the end of 1992.

March. 3

- 3 representatives from labor movement circles including Chonnohyop (National association of labor unions) had an interview with Kim Jongnam, the secretary for social and cultural affairs to the president,

and demanded a measure to resolve employment problem by enacting a law to stabilize employment.

March. 4

- USA mobilized a B1 strategic nuclear bomber for the first time in this year's Team Spirit joint exercise.

March. 5

- President Kim Young-sam declared anti-corruptions campaign.

March. 8

- Government formulated a tentative revision plan of labor law including adoption of modified working hours, cutback of holidays, law on workers dispatch. Labor movement groups opposed this plan.

Mar. 10

- NSPA reduced its sections and offices.
- Ministry of Finance approved Japanese security companies to enter the Korean market.

Mar. 11

- ILO (International Labor Organization) remonstrated South Korean government to acknowledge plural labor unions, guarantee the right of organization (unity) to civil servants, reappoint dismissed teachers, and release laborers under restraint.
- Plenary judge division of the Constitutional court, concluded the provision, "ban on strike of civil servants" does not accord with the constitution.

March. 12

- 9th special division of Seoul High court of justice, judged that even though the item is included in the right of management, it could be an object of a collective agreement between labor and management if it is concerned with labor condition.

March. 16

- South Korean government decided to repatriate Lee Inmo to North Korea on March 18.
- Government objected to military sanction on North Korea.

March. 17

- President Kim Young-sam expressed his opinion that there is no signs of war preparation on the part of North Korea.
- Korea auto insurance company forced union members to withdraw from the union. The labor union resisted and Ministry of Labor started to probe the truth.

March. 18

- President Kim Young-sam failed to enter Mangwoldong cemetery.
- 29 minister-level officials revealed their personal assets.
- 20 Seoul National University students entered the US army post and demonstrated for complete termination of Team Spirit.

March. 19

- President Kim Young-sam published the "100-day new economy plan" including 7 major tasks: revitalization of economy, strengthening competitiveness of small and medium-size companies, early relaxation of administrative regulation, structural improvement of farming and fishing villages, stabilization of major necessities, and campaigning conscious reform movement.
- Ministry of Defense was banned from investigating civilians. It reduced the security command personnel.

March. 21

- Democratic Party, began disclosing personal assets.

March. 25

- The Bank of Korea announced GNP growth rate of 1992 to be 4.7%, recording the lowest rate since the past 12 years.
- Ministry of Education decided to reinstate the students expelled from school
- DLP persuaded its party members to resign who brought about public criticism in the disclosure of personal assets.

March. 27

- The office of statistics announced the 1992 average monthly income of city laborers as 1.35 million won, an increase by 17% compared with that of 1991 (real increase rate of 19.2%)
- Government disclosed personal assets of vice-minister level officials.

March. 28

- Government announced to start gradual reduction and abolition of duty free system.
- 1,000 dismissed teachers held a meeting calling for reappointment.

March. 29

- Mainichi newspaper reported that Japanese government made a negative response to the allegation of organizational forcibleness on the national level even though it admitted individual responsibility in the matter of Korean comfort women.
- South Korean government drafted the Livelihood Protection Law for comfort women and announced it would not demand material compensation to the Japanese government.

- Government persuaded 4 or 5 the director-level officials of Prosecutors' Office to retire from office in relation with the disclosure of personal assets.

April. 1'

- Ministry of Culture and Sports plans to allow Yoon Yisang to return.
- President Kim Young-sam announced that he would investigate corruptions during 6th republic and revise politics-related laws.
- The board of directors of the IAEA handed over North Korea's nuclear problem to the UN Security Council.
- Foreign Minister Han Sungjoo had a talk with Japanese Foreign Minister Michio in Tokyo. They discussed over possible response to North Korea's withdrawal from the NPT and also on comfort women issue.

April. 2.

- Government banned mail censorship and wire tapping.
- Ministry of Defense announced 5 reform bills including expanded disclosure of defense budget.
- Ministry of Culture and Sports allowed organizations associated with popular movement like people's art association to register as a body corporate.

April. 3.

- Party-government meeting reviewed reappointment of Chonkyojo teachers.

April. 4.

- Democratic party finished disclosure of personal assets. The average assets amounted to 14 billion won.
- 1,000 college students demonstrated against Team Spirit exercise in front of USFK (United States Forces, Korea) headquarter building.

April. 7.

- The 5th session of the 9th Plenum of the North Korea Supreme People's Assembly opened. President Kim Il-sung proposed "Ten-point Decree for the great unity of the whole nation" to achieve national reunification.

April. 8.

- UN Security Council adopted the chairman's statement demanding diplomatic resolution of North Korea's nuclear issue.
- Government announced a new 5-year economic plan. It emphasized reform of economic institution and conscious reform, expansion of growth potentiality, quality improvement of people's life, and enhancement of national strength in the international society.

April. 9

- Kim Jong-il was elected as the chairman of defense committee in the supreme people's committee. The supreme command of armed forces was completely handed over to Kim Jong-il.
- Education Minister and chairwoman of Chonkyojo first met to discuss about reappointment of Chonkyojo teachers.

April. 10

- President Kim ascertained that there will be no revision of constitution during his term as president.

April. 13

- Ambassador to Japan, Gong Romyoung showed a positive stance on Japan's bid for a permanent seat in the Security Council at a press meeting.

April. 14

- Choi Hyoungwoo, Secretary General of DLP resigned.
- Pvt. Michael Kenneth from the 2nd Division, who was indicted on charge of having murdered Yoon Keumee, was sentenced to life.

April. 19

- Prosecutors office found about 10 Representatives to have hoarded their personal assets abroad. 2 or 3 persons were supposed to be summoned.

April. 21

- Government decided to obtain 11 billion dollar loan from the World Bank before 1995.

April. 22

- Peter Tarnoff, US Undersecretary of State notified President Kim Young-sam that high-level talks between US and North Korea would be effected soon.
- Government announced it would increase unification fund from 250 billion won to 1,000 billion won by 1995 through imposing unification tax.

April. 23

- By-elections for representatives were held at 3 electorates. Candidates from DLP landslided.

April. 25

- Ministry of Defense conducted sweeping investigation into corruptions in the military.

April. 26

- National People's association, at a press conference, criticized Kim Young-sam government's reform policy for 2 months as shallow and asked for legal and institutional rearrangement.

April. 27

- The Board of Audit and Inspection conducted an overall investigation into modernization project of the military.
- NSPA arrested Hwang Sokyoung at Kimpo airport, who had stayed in the USA after he illegally entered North Korea in 1989.

April. 28

- Government and DLP finally concluded an enactment bill on special measures to relax the regulation on business activity.

April. 29

- Education Ministry and Chonkyojo agreed to deal separately with the legalization of Chonkyojo and reappointment of dismissed teachers after working-level talks.
- 50 college students belonging to Kwangjoo-Chonnam branch of Hanchongnyon started a hunger strike in Myoungdong Cathedral demanding a probe on the truth of the Kwangjoo people's movement and punishment of the persons in charge.

May. 27

- Ministry of Education announced that it would reemploy teachers who only withdraw from Chonkyojo before the second semester.
- "Civic movement council to realize a just society" was launched proclaiming civilian-based reform of consciousness campaign.

May. 28

- Hanchongnyon was officially inaugurated.

May. 29

- 50,000 college students belonging to Hanchongnyon demonstrated in the downtown of Seoul.
- Hanchongnyon had a talk on the telephone line with overseas youth representatives of North Korea for joint chairman council for national reunification. Discussed on matters to set up a sisterhood relationship between South and North students.
- Changwon factory of Korea heavy inc. covered up a radiation accident for 3 years.

May. 30

- South Korea and United States decided to drive the UN resolution to impose sanction against North Korea, unless North Korea returns to the NPT.
- Public security division at the Prosecutor-General's Office directed Seoul District Public Prosecutor's Office to request an arrest warrant in advance for leaders of Hanchongnyon in violation of National Security Law by having a talk on the line with North Korean students.
- Chonkyojo held "the national teachers rally asking educational reform, legalization of Chonkyojo, and reinstatement of dismissed teachers while celebrating the 4th anniversary.

May. 31

- The Office of Bank Supervision and Examination announced "equity capital rate of 30 big corporations in 1993". The rate was lowered from 25.9% of 1992 to 20.8%
- Domestic, Justice, and Education minister proclaimed in a joint press conference that they would penalize those who contact with North Korean people directly or over the phone line without prior approval, in accordance with the National Security Law.
- National committee of labor union representatives was inaugurated.

Jun. 1

- President Kim Young-sam denied the possibility of amendment of the constitution and dismantlement of big business groups at the press conference after 100 days from his inauguration. He announced that he would nominate a reformist in the 15th presidential election. On the occasion, he defined 5.16 incident as a coup d'etat and denied the possibility of any judicial measures against ex-presidents.

Jun. 5

- Democratic Party leader, Lee Ki-taek raised 10 problems to solve and 10 reformative tasks of the government including full-scale implementation of real name financial system. He expressed his worry over the rise of authoritarianism within the government.

Jun. 8

- 5 opposition organizations including National Democratic Movement Association and People's council had a joint press conference asking establishment of a special law to probe 5.18 incident and designation of a special prosecutor.
- Government and ruling party committee decided to close Wonjin Rayon Inc.
- National Committee of the deans of student affairs in universities decided to ban student's money-making activity within universities in order for "campus stabilization."

Jun. 9

- Stock market recorded the highest running price of 98,529.5 billion won.
- Memorial committee for Lee Han-yol had an evening event in commemoration of Lee Hanyol.

Jun. 10

- T. Laney, president of Emory University, was appointed as US ambassador to Korea.
- 20,000 people held a rally in 13 cities at 6th anniversary of "June resistance" calling for structural reform.
- National Unification Board decided not to allow preparatory talk at Panmunjom to discuss about sisterhood relationship between South and North universities and ways to realize national reunification by 1995.

June. 11

- US and North Korea agreed to hold a political talk in the near future. US and North Korea made an agreement on 3 items. Both would not appeal to arms including nuclear weapons and threaten each other; guarantee denuclearization, peace and security on the Korean peninsula, and respect sovereign rights and would not intervene in the internal affairs; and support reunification of Korea.

June. 12

- A riot police, Kim Choon-do was killed while disbanding a demonstration held after launching ceremony for the preparatory talk for sisterhood relationship between North and South students.
- Promotion committee for information center of industry and health established Korean research institute of labor, health, and occupational disease, which is the first civilian institute concerning occupational disease from industrial disaster.
- Ministry of Health and Social Welfare prepared a project for social well-being.

June. 13

- Hanchongnyon apologized to the family of Kim Choon-do. It planned to have a memorial ceremony from 14 to 16 at memorial altars installed in each university.
- Seoul District arrested Jong Jaehyon, reporter of Joong-Ang daily newspaper who made a fault by writing "Defense Minister Kwon Young-hae was banned to go abroad."

June. 14

- Prosecutor-General's Office proclaimed that it won't permit open-air meeting and demonstration led by Hanchongnyon, and it would exercise jurisdiction to leaders of Hanchongnyon.

June. 15

- President Kim Young-sam had a talk with DP leader Lee Ki-taek. Lee proposed 4 principles including structural reform of corruption. President Kim expressed he would reserve the inspection on Kwangjoo movement and revision of National Security Law. Both agreed to revise the law on National Security Planning Agency and establish a wiretapping ban law.
- President Kim Young-sam ordered to start an investigation on the effectiveness of Peace Dam and where donations flew to.
- Gallucci, US chief representative in US-DPRK high-level talks announced there would be no change in Team Spirit plan.
- 400 journalists consisted of an emergency committee against the arrest of Jong Jae-hyon. Journalists association decided to make a concerted efforts in the struggle against government's intervention in press affairs with press organizations like Press Labor Union.
- Defense Ministry declared it would postpone the relocation of Yongsan US military post.

June. 18

- 120 laborers of Wonjin Rayon demonstrated in front of the head office of Industrial Bank, legal management body of the company asking for withdrawal of the company decision to close and demanded a guarantee for livelihood.

June. 19

- 4 organizations including National Democratic Movement Association and the Pacific War bereaved demonstrated calling for reestablishment of ROK-Japan relationship at Tapgol park at the meeting of held in reminiscent of the 28th year of Korea-Japan agreement.

June. 21

- BAI started investigation on 20 suspects involved in Yulkok enterprise.

June. 22

- Hankyore shinmun(newspaper) reported that ex-minister of defense, Lee Jong-koo directed to "totally reexamine" the change of x-generation aircraft type by order of Roh Tae-woo, the predecessor of Kim Young-sam.
- Government expressed to North Korean premier Kang Song-san that it would accept the working-level talks to discuss procedures for exchanging special envoys to resolve nuclear issue.
- Education Ministry disapproved unconditional reinstatement of teachers belonging to Chonkyojo in the first official statement concerning Chonkyojo.

June. 24

- DP pointed out the back-stepping turn of Kim government reform policy.

June. 25

- 500 students, civilians affiliated with NDMA performed candlelight march for national reconciliation and peaceful reunification from Myongdong cathedral to Tapkol park.

June. 26

- Defense Ministry arrested Sinohara Masato, the bureau chief of Seoul branch of Fuji TV on charge of disclosing secret military documents.
- South-North dialogue was cut off. DPRK premier Kang Song-san criticized South Korea of linking special envoy exchange with nuclear issue.
- National Council of Representatives of labor unions decided to reserve overall strike of subordinate labor unions for a while.
- 1000 laborers affiliated with National Council of Representatives of labor unions held "a rally of laborers of Capital Area calling for economic reformation" denouncing surcharge of burden on laborers and asking reinstatement of dismissed teachers.

June. 28

- The BAI started inspection of NSPA relating to suspicions raised from Peace Dam.
- At the ROK-US Defense Ministers Talk, US defense commitment towards South Korea was reaffirmed and Joint response against North Korea's nuclear issue and collective defense cooperation in North-East Asia was discussed.

June. 29

- ROK-Japan Foreign minister Meeting discussed North Korea nuclear issue and inter-Korea dialogue, North-Japan relation, G7 talk.

June 30

- Japanese Education Ministry reportedly announced it would print "Japanese Forces mobilized and used comfort women during the Pacific War" from 1994 in the history textbook of high school.
- 1,000 people including members of education-related organization like Professors Council for Democracy, National Parents Association for true education held "a meeting for educational reform and reinstatement of dismissed teachers", and demanded reinstatement of dismissed teachers from the 2nd semester and a blueprint for educational reform.

July. 1

- Korea Bar Association made a resolution asking general reorganization of the Supreme Court and voluntary resigning of politics-related judiciary.

- President Kim expressed in an interview with New York Times he hoped US would not be dragged by North Korea in relation with the future North-US high-level talk.

July. 2

- Seoul District Prosecutor's Office announced the final result of Slot-machine case. It arrested 10 people including Park, Chol-un, an ex-representative, Lee, Gon-gae, ex-chief of Taejon high Public prosecutor's office, Um, Sam-tak, ex-head of the Office of Military Manpower Administration.
- Government announced 5-year plan of new economy.
- Public Security Division, Prosecutor-General's Offices first issued a bench warrant in advance in the new government to arrest Tan Byongho, chairman of National Council of Representatives of labor unions on a charge of violation of a provision on ban of the 3rd intervention in the law on labor dispute adjustment.

July. 3

- 700 members of the committee for reinstatement of arrested, wanted and dismissed laborers had a rally in Seoul Station plaza asking immediate reinstatement of dismissed laborers.

July. 4

- Kim Dae-joong, the former DP leader returned home and declared he would not be involved in politics again.

July. 5

- The Supreme Court announced reform bill for judicature and built the council for the judicial system. the judiciary personnel committee was reorganized to the legislative organ. objected the manpower reshuffle.

July. 7

- 9th Civil Affairs Division of Seoul High Court adjudicated Government to pay 45 million won to Kim in the charge of torture of a national organization on the hearing of appeal for damages against government brought by Kim Keum-tae, the former Youth Association for Democracy.

July. 8

- Patriots and Veterans Affairs Agency decided not to confer a decoration on so-called "men of merit for national independence" who was suspicious of being pro-Japanese, if they were found to be charged by the inspection of a standing committee of National Assembly.

July. 9

- BAI ended up inspection on Yulkok case and indicted 6 persons including Lee Jong-koo, the ex-minister of defense on charge of bribery. It also asked disciplinary punishment of 53 high-ranking military officers including 4-star generals. However, it reserved investigation whether the ex-president Roh was involved.
- Farmers, students, and other citizens demonstrated opposing visit of US president Bill Clinton all over the country 1 day before his visit.

July. 10

- President Clinton visited ROK to hold a summit talk. Both leaders agreed to keep running of US troops in Korea, install an organization for economic cooperation, and press North Korea for clearing suspicion on nuclear issue.
- ROK and US agreed to inaugurate the Dialogue for Economic cooperation System within 2 months through the 2nd working-level talks.

July. 12

- Public Official Ethics Law came into effect.
- Han. Wan-sang, deputy prime minister stressed "Real progress would not be expected unless North Korean nuclear development is clearly revealed"

July. 13

- National Assembly closed. 12 bills including postal money order bill were passed. However, reformative bills like NSPA law were threw out.

July. 14

- Defense Ministry announced the Defense Security Command was involved in terror against politicians.

July. 16

- Government gave effect to the enforcement ordinance of the law relaxing restriction of business enterprise. It includes to approve enlargement of small and medium enterprises in Metropolitan area, to enlarge non-urban type factory to the limit 99 pyong, set 50,000 or more square meters as induction area for factory building.

July. 19

- 22 ex-high-ranking officials during December 12 incident including Jong Seung-hwa, ex-Army Chief of Staff indicted 34 leaders including ex-president Chon Doo-hwan, Roh Tae-woo.

July. 20

- DPRK and US reached an agreement in the third round of two step high-level talks. Both announced a joint statement. Us approved North Korea to convert nuclear reactors into light water reactors, NK agreed to negotiate with IAEA on inspection.

July. 24

- ROK and Taiwan signed a draft bill for the normalization of diplomatic relations.
- ROK and China foreign ministers agreed to exert for North Korea's reception of nuclear inspection.
- ROK and Russia foreign minister agreed on compensation affairs of KAL plane crash accident.
- Oh Byong-moon, Minister of Education announced on the reinstatement of Chonkyojo teachers. He proposed a selective reemployment on the condition of withdrawal from Chonkyojo. Chonkyojo rejected this proposal.
- 17 progressive Buddhist civil movement organizations declared a merger of them.
- Government decided not to allow grand commemoration for national reunification event of pan-national Youth Association and Pan-national rally at the public security related ministers committee. On the contrary, it determined to support South and North Human Chain rally sponsored by .

July. 26

- ROK and US foreign ministers discussed about keeping consortium system, agreed on the essential prerequisite of DPRK's nuclear inspection before the third DPRK-US talks.

July. 27

- BAI concluded that the alleged North's water attack from Keumkangsan Dam was exaggeratedly reported.
- Second division of criminal affairs, Prosecutor-General's Office sentenced guilty Kang Moon-chang, ex-Director General of the National Police Headquarters relating to an attempt to cover up and frame up Park Jong-chol's torture incident.

July. 28

- National Unification Board permitted Hanchongnyon to contact with North delegate in the "Peace Forum of Asian Youths" was to be held from August 2 in Hiroshima, Japan.

July. 30

- South head office for pan-national rally was established. It decided to hold the rally peacefully through negotiation with government.

August. 3

- USFK had reportedly strengthens war capacity by framing ATACMS(Advanced Tactical Missile System) in action in 1992 and planning to import 36 Apache attack helicopters by the end of 1993.
- South head office of Pan-national rally declared to hold a peaceful rally in spite of government's disapproval and not to steamroller heading to Panmunjom.

August. 4

- Government submitted a proposal on the reorganization of UN Security Council including maintenance of current standing members of the council, new establishment of the third council group, increase of non-standing members.

August. 7

- The fourth Pan-national rally opened

August. 9

- 815 dissidents including Park Hyon-seo, Lee Hyo-jae, Lee Haehak, Chang Imwon announced "the national statement of 815 people on the occasion of independence day" asking Japanese government to stop attempting to scale down and cover up comfort women matters.

August. 12

- Government launched the real name financial system.
- By-election of National Assembly was performed. Yoo Jong-soo, DLP candidate in Chunchon and Seo Hoon, an independent in Taegoo was elected.
- ROK, Japan, USA policy council discussed about cooperation for the resolution of North Korean nuclear issue.
- Government blocked up Yonsei University, the site of pan-national rally and searched South head office of the rally.
- National committee for labor union representatives determined at the fourth meeting to fight for the revision of baneful items of current labor laws like ban of the third intervention and multiple labor unions.

August. 13

- DP asserted that Kim Dae-joong was kidnapped to be killed by order of ex-president Park Jong-hee at the midterm report on "fact-finding on Kim Dae-joong kidnapping incident"
- Pan-national rally was held at Hanyang University.

August. 15

- President Kim announced South would strengthen economic cooperation if North make nuclear matter open.

August. 17

- BAI revealed NSPA intentionally manipulated information on North's Keumkangsan Dam.

August. 20

- Government chose French TGV as the high speed train.

August. 24

- Government put off revision of labor laws.

August. 27

- BAI send the second inquiry to ex-president Roh Tae-woo in relation to Yulkok case.

August. 30

- ROK and Japan trade ministers published 10 agreements including positive induction of Japanese investment towards ROK.
- Government declared suspension of economic cooperation with Russia.

August. 31

- National Assembly started parliamentary investigation in relation to December 12 incident, Yulkok program, Peace Dam.
- Government issued supplementary measure for real name financial system.

Sep. 2

- Defense committee of National Assembly disclosed Kim Jong-hwee, ex-secretary of diplomacy and security to the president, and ex-president Roh Tae-woo were involved on Yulkok program.
- Jong Hyon-keun, vice-president of Hanchongnyon was arrested on charge of having a talk on the line with North Korean delegate of Pan-national Youths Association.

Sep. 3

- Kim Dok, Chief of NSPA admitted NSPA falsified information on Peace Dam for the political purpose in the probe of Yulkok inspection.
- DLP opposed to call ex-presidents to witness in floor leader's meeting with DP.

Sep. 4

- Ex-president Roh refused again to answer to the questionnaire from BAI concerning Yulkok program.

Sep. 6

- Seoul Prosecutor's Office sentenced Lee Moon-ok, ex-inspector not guilty.

Sep. 7

- 1167 public officials disclosed their personal assets. The total amounted 1,600,000 million won, 1,40 million won for each person. 46% of officials possessed farmland worthy of 113,800 million won. 20% had uncultivated land worthy of 247,300 million won.
- Government declared it would not allow opening of rice in the Uruguay Round negotiation.

Sep. 8

- Government send North Korea a telegram message urging unconditional contact in relation to the working-level meeting for exchange of South-North special emissaries.

Sep. 10

- ROK and India summit conference was held. Both agreed on investment program.
- ROK and US policy council reaffirmed North-US talks would be impossible unless North Korea would not change his direction.
- 9 dissidents including Rev. Moon Ikhwan urged thorough investigation without any exception on corruptions of the fifth and sixth republic.

Sep. 14

- National Democratic Movement Association announced it decided to expel Kim Kwe-sang, chairman of central executive committee and standing co-chairman of southern Kyongki region, because he was known to have activated as an agent of NSPA for past 2 years.

Sep. 16

- DLP decided to manage representatives who were badly involved in inappropriate sum of assets. However, it decreased numbers of target of punishment and thus aroused a fairness problem.

Sep. 20

- A conference for development of Tooman River was held in Peking. ROK delivered delegates.

Sep. 21

- 3 ROK organizations including the group for the right of foreign workers, 8 Japanese organizations including refugees, foreigners, Christian bodies announced a joint statement after they had a conference for foreign workers.

Sep. 22

- Han Wansang, deputy prime minister proposed to North Korea a reunion meeting for the dispersed families at Choo-sok(the Harvest Moon Day).

Sep. 23

- 300 professors in 20 universities delivered a proposition to the government, asking unconditional reinstatement of dissident during the sixth republic and increase of educational finances.
- 300 members of National Association of labor union representatives marched to the National Assembly.
- 27 members of Hanchongnyon demonstrated asking abolition of National Security Law and disorganization of NSPA before the back gate of NSPA.

Sep. 24

- President Kim expressed "North is in a difficult economic situation, so if North's nuclear issue is resolved, we would provide economic aid, but if not North's ambition for nuclear development is stopped, it should face the international sanction." in an interview with Japanese Mainichi newspaper.
- 9 educational organizations including professor's council for Democracy, National Parents Association for true Education built a joint committee for educational reform.

Sep. 26

- Economic Planning Board forecasted hikes of public utility charges in the budget analysis for 1994.

Sep. 27

- President Kim offered ROK-China summit talks to the President Kang Taekmin who was supposed to join APEC summit conference in November.

Sep. 29

- The Supreme Court judged that it is unjust to punish an outsider who helped establishment of a labor union. Thus, the provision of ban of the third intervention became groundless.

Oct. 2

- Government decided to enforce a special law for promotion of inviting nongovernment capital to induce private capital for enlargement of the social overhead capital in 1994.

Oct. 3

- Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, Fishery forecasted rice production in 2001 will be reduced to 4,599,000 tons, 14.6 % less than 1992.

Oct. 4

- Office of Administrative Cooperation under Office of Prime Minister announced that it reshuffled 29 officials and gave a warning to 33 in relation with public unveiling of official's personal assets.

Oct. 5

- Public Administration committee of National Assembly set to the parliamentary inspection on Office of Prime Minister. It proved highhanded personnel administration still remained in the new government.
- Home Affairs Ministry was proved to have increased support of official government-side organizations more than at the 6th republic.
- South and North had a working-level contact for the exchange of special envoys.

Oct. 8

- Kim Si-joong, Minister of Science and Technology expressed that "the statement of denuclearization" needs to be modified.

Oct. 9

- Security-related ministers committee decided not to revise "the statement of denuclearization" and declared Both Koreas should not retain nuclear weapons.
- National Association for Democratic Movement held a rally urging National Assembly to approve the text of minute between South and North.

Oct. 12

- Korean Labor Institute forecasted unemployment problem would be the worst in 1994 since 1987.

Oct. 13

- The pastor group for the realization of justice announced it would negotiate with North Korea via the National Unification Board to deliver delegates of pastors to Pyongyang.

Oct. 15

- Chonkyojo accepted the "reinstatement after withdrawal from Chonkyojo". It planned a collective reinstatement.

Oct. 16

- Unification-related ministers meeting agreed to reevaluate suspension of Team Spirit 94' and the exchange of special emissaries.

Oct. 18

- Han Wan-sang, Minister of Unification Board expressed policies against North Korea should not be deployed in the direction of isolating North Korea.

Oct. 19

- government decided not to dispatch combat troops to Somalia.
- Public Security Division of Prosecutor-General's Office decided to investigate most of 300 dissidents without physical detention.

Oct. 20

- Members of civil movement organization including the environmental movement association demonstrated in front of the Russian Embassy asking Russia to stop dumping nuclear wastes into the East Sea.

Oct. 21

- T. Laney, US ambassador to ROK arrived in Seoul.

Oct. 22

- National Assembly raised a suspicion on illegal wiretapping of NSPA that was revealed to have 5,000 exclusive lines for tapping.

Oct. 24

- President Kim expressed that there had been no actual progress in North's nuclear issue, and an economic sanction against North Korea is required.
- Defense Ministry reexamined Yulkok program and announced it would postpone import of 2 battalions of Apache helicopter(36) in an interview with the Washington Post.

Oct. 25

- Both Koreas had the third working-level talks. Chief delegates seriously discussed about suspension of Team Spirit. They came close to agree on special emissaries, but eventually failed.
- 25th collegiate division, Seoul criminal court sentenced Hwang Sok-young 8 years imprisonment and 8 years disqualification.

Oct. 26

- Ministry of Labor changed the direction of labor policy into manpower management policy like manpower development and supply.

Oct. 27

- Foreign Minister Han Seung-joo suggested a small-size security organization including ROK, US, Japan, China, Russia to adjust interests among 4 surrounding nations and Both Koreas.
- Government announced a business specialization program.
- Government delivered a negotiation scheme on tariff to UR-related counterparts.

Oct. 28

- Prosecutor's Office announced that Kim Seung-yon, president of Hanhwa group opened a secret bank accounts in the United States.

Oct. 29

- Prime Minister Hwang In-sung told peaceful development of nuclear technology would not be stopped in the question-answer round of the plenary session in National Assembly

Oct. 31

- National Association of Labor Union Representatives held the National Laborers' rally 1993'. They showed an objection on the revision of labor-related laws only guided by government.

Nov. 11

- 25th Collegiate Division of Seoul Criminal Court sentenced Chong Joo-young 3 years imprisonment on charge of violation of the presidential election law.
- Second step liberalization of interest rates was enforced.

Nov. 2

- Students of Namchongnyon(Jolla branch of Hanchongnyon) demonstrated against US in front of American Center in Kwangjoo ahead of ROK-US annual security committee.

Nov. 3

- Ministers of Justice, Home Affairs, Transportation had a joint press conference after the violent demonstration of Nanchongnyon. They reportedly decided to take a firm front against violent demonstration and strike afterwards.
- 25 college student associations had a rally for commemoration of Student's day.

Nov. 4

- ROK and US Defense Ministers decided to reserve the suspension of Team Spirit and reduction of USFK in the annual security conference.

Nov. 5

- Seoul Criminal Court sentenced Park Chol-un 2 years imprisonment and monetary penalty of 600 million won on charge of bribery.

Nov. 6

- ROK-Japan summit talk was held. Japanese Prime Minister Hosokawa deeply apologized for Japan's colonialism. However, compensation problem on comfort women and forced draftees were not solved.
- Namchongnyon apologized for demonstration with Molotov cocktail, but opposed to be defined as an organization benefiting the enemy.

Nov. 7

- Chonkyojo held a national teachers' rally for commemoration of joining EI and educational reform with 7,000 teachers and families.

Nov. 8

- DLP decided not to allow journalists to run elections in the unified election law.

Nov. 9

- ROK-Singapore summit talks was held. Discussed about joint ventures on the third countries and cooperation against North Korean nuclear issue.

Nov. 11

- Government decided to form a mechanized military corps in December.

Nov. 13

- Public Officials Ethics Committee performed investigation on real estates of 710 first-grade officials.
- National Democratic Movement Association held a national rally for the realization of democratic reform and cleansing of remains of military dictatorship in 15 cities asking abolition of bad laws and modification of new agricultural policy.
- 100 members of National Farmers Association demonstrated in front of the Unified Government Building calling for the revocation of decision on opening 14 agricultural products.

Nov. 14

- ROK and China had a secret contact at the request of China for settlement of North Korean nuclear issue.

Nov. 15

- Security section of Police Office decided not to open the result of public security case to the press.
- Agriculture, Forestry, Fishery Committee of the National Assembly made a resolution objecting the opening of 15 products including rice.

Nov. 16

- DP senior representative, Lee Boo-young revealed that Lee Dong-bok, ex-special aide to the chief of NSPA disregarded instruction of the president in the 8th South and North high-level talks.
- Foreign Minister Han Seung-joo decided to install an exclusive organization for nuclear issue. Kim Sanghoon was appointed as the ambassador of nuclear issue.

Nov. 17

- President Kim visited the United States to join APEC summit conference.

Nov. 18

- Government announced it would open 14 products of 15 NTC items except rice which the opening timing was not decided in Uruguay Round pact.

Nov. 20

- President Kim announced ROK and U.S.A. surely discussed on the North Korea's nuclear problem and he emphasized only Koreans should make a resolution.

Nov. 22

- Government decided to computerize all land transactions from 1994.

Nov. 23

- B.AI started investigation on "manipulation of presidential instruction"
- ROK and US president discussed about North Korean nuclear issue and UR pact.

Nov. 26

- President Kim accepted the resignation of Lee Dong-bok in relation with "manipulation of presidential instruction"
- Pan-national committee to keep domestic rice announced a statement asking "national referendum in the occasion that the opening of rice becomes an issue."

Nov. 29

- BAI started special investigation of Yongjong-do new airport construction program.

Nov. 30

- Prosecutor-General's Office arrested Kim Seung-yon, president of Hanhwa group on the violation of law on management of foreign currency holdings.
- The DLP and DP in political committee of the National Assembly agreed on the revision bill of political party law and the law on protection of communication.

Dec. 2

- DLP rushed to pass by surprise the budget bill (amounted 43,250 billion won) and its subordinate bills for 1994.

Dec. 7

- National Assembly was normalized. In the plenary session, revision of NSPA law, revised motion on government purchase of rice, budget bill for 1994 were passed.
- ROK and US presidents had a talk on the line.
- "Pan-national emergency committee to block opening of rice and basic agricultural products" held a pan-national rally to check the opening of rice and basic agricultural products with 30,000 students, farmers, and members of civil movement participated. They severely denounced government's opening policy.

Dec. 9

- President Kim made a public apology for opening of rice.

Dec. 10

- It was revealed that South and North Korea had a secret contact for the nuclear issue in Peking in the early of December.

Dec. 11

- Unification-related ministers committee reaffirmed the existing policy that the third US-DPRK talk is possible only if North accepts IAEA's temporary and normal inspection on the 7 nuclear facilities in North Korea and it sincerely answers to the inter-Korean dialogue.
- BAI announced the result of "manipulation of presidential instruction" case saying that "Lee Dong-bok reported the preparatory telegram message as an official instruction."
- 20,000 farmers, students, and citizens from 28 areas had a meeting, "the second national day to block opening of rice market" protesting government's opening of basic agricultural products.

Dec. 13

- ROK and US made an agreement on agricultural products.
- DP asked president Kim to disclose the truth on a rumor of secret agreement between ROK and US.
- 12 dissidents announced "the statement of 1168 people urging the motion of National Assembly on the South and North agreement and enforcement."

Dec. 14

- Defense ministry announced that it was swindled 55 billion won in a contract for weapons purchasing. The french dealer who closed a bargain in 1990 disappeared.

Dec. 15

- UR negotiation reached an agreement.

- Government established an agricultural policy for Uruguay Round.
- Defense Minister finally set out the reform measure for specialization and systematization of military industry.

Dec. 16

- President Kim appointed Lee Hoe-chang, Chief of BAI as the new prime minister.
- The 5th criminal affairs division of Seoul High Criminal Court sentenced 15 years imprisonment to Kenneth Michael, US soldier on charge of murder of Yoon Keumee lighter than the original life sentence in a hearing of appeal.

Dec. 17

- The law on punishment of sexual violence passed in the National Assembly.

Dec. 18

- Pan-national emergency committee to block opening of rice and basic agricultural products held the third pan-national practice rally denouncing the pressure of the United States on opening import markets and government's failure in agricultural policy.

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