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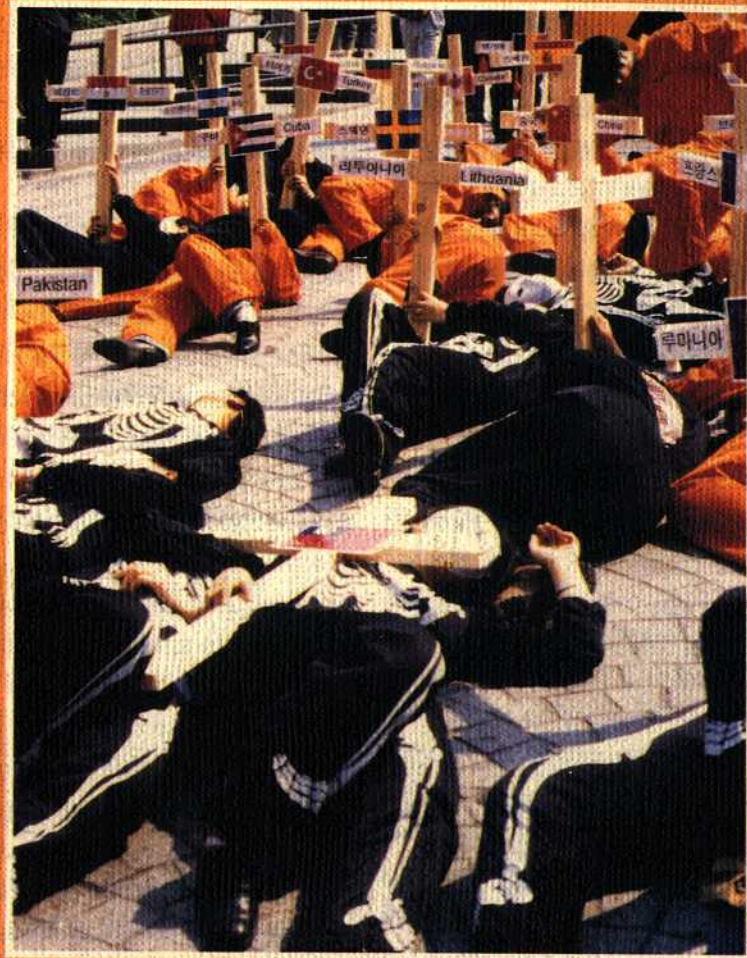
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1996년 12월 17일

대한민국

CherNObyl

인권 자료실		
이름	성명	국적



Demonstration in Seoul marked the 10th anniversary of the nuclear catastrophe

Green Korea 녹색연합

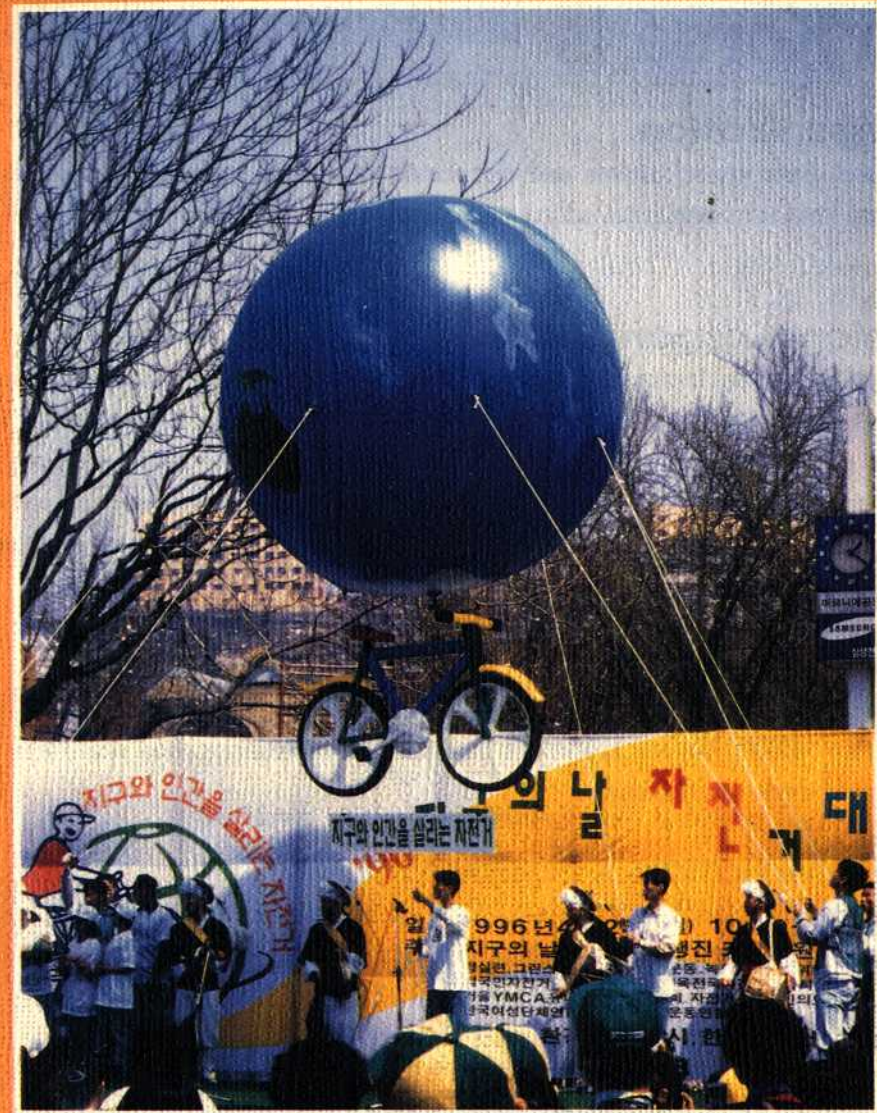
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GREEN KOREA REPORTS

Spring-Summer 1996

Volume 3, Number 1



Bicycles Make the Earth and Humans Live
 Sunday April 22: Earth Day bicycle march in Seoul, one of 20 held in Korean cities



Green Korea

is one of Korea's leading non-governmental environmental organizations, with 10 local chapters throughout the country. We are committed to building and maintaining an ecologically sound and sustainable Korean peninsula. We work both nationally and internationally on issues of concern to the Korean people.

Green Korea is

a civic organization

working to expand green consciousness and democratic principles nationwide by actively conducting local and national-level environmental education programs, air pollution monitoring and various campaign activities.

a professional organization

going beyond a critique of environmental problems to work positively and creatively to provide alternative solutions and visions for a sustainable society. We provide support to other civic and environmental organizations by conducting environmental impact assessments, giving advice on environmental curriculum development, lecturing, participating in discussions and forums, developing and implementing new pollution monitoring methods, encouraging the use of our reference library and distributing our publications and studies.

a research organization

gathering and analyzing data by our staff and subsidiary groups like the Korean Institute for a Sustainable Society (KISS). We are known for our research capabilities, and undertake research projects for public and private institutions.

active in international cooperation

Recognizing that the solutions to our problems have an international dimension, we support international campaigns and the work of environmental colleagues globally, and seek to serve as a communications link through our English language publication. We are part of several international networks and organize and participate in international seminars and conferences.

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Green Korea Reports

Spring-Summer 1996

Volume 3, Number 1

Green Korea seeks to restore the traditional harmony between the Korean people and the Korean peninsula's eco-systems. In accordance with our traditional philosophical system, Koreans believe that all life possesses a kind of life energy, KEE, which should be respected and valued. We do not seek to change the natural environment radically, but to live simply and respectfully within it.

Presidents : **Yunghee Rho, Munkyu Kang**

General Secretary: **Dr. Won Jang**

Editors: **Sangmin Nam, Anna Gyorgy**

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To Our Readers

On Going International, and into Cyberspace


This year, this season — and this issue of *Green Korea Reports* — demonstrate the increasing globalization of the environmental movement, and Korea's role in it. The 10th anniversary of the devastating explosion at the Chernobyl nuclear plant was remembered around the planet. Local opposition to nuclear development continues, in Korea as elsewhere. Earth Day saw positive activities world-wide pointing a way out of the polluted atmosphere of our cities. The recent meeting of the Atmosphere Action Network East Asia was another step towards effective regional action by NGOs on problems that are global in scope. We thank our guest editorialist Prof. Zhang Hai Bin for giving his perspectives on how these environmental problems are changing the world political scene.

Korea's participation in international environmental activities began in earnest at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. Green Korea and other environmental non-governmental organizations were young then and Korean democracy was too. Four years later we can take stock of the progress made, in national awareness of the severe environmental problems Korea faces, and also in the development of the social forces of a 'civil society' that have pushed ecological consciousness to the fore. Their participation in international events and coalitions are a reflection of their success and seriousness.

Still for Koreans, as all people, the struggle to conserve what is left of the natural world and to clean up what has gone so wrong begins at home. But here the entire Korean peninsula is the basic ecological "home". So it is a positive sign that amidst and despite the current tensions between the governments of North and South Korea, personal contact and discussion has taken place on environmental issues of shared concern. The reports in this issue describe these first steps and suggest future directions.

With the increase in NGO's environmental activities comes the greater need for networking and information-sharing regionally and beyond. Faster communication is now possible between the many groups that use e-mail and have access to the vast amount of information available on the World Wide Web. Many international and national environmental organizations as well as educational centers and media outlets offer information on ecological issues. This year Green Korea joined the Sustainable Transport Action Network for Asia & the Pacific (SUSTRAN), and receives their valuable "News Flashes" via e-mail (sustran@umpap.po.my). The U.S.-based "Rachel's Environment & Health Weekly" also comes to our e-mail box (free of charge, send the message *SUBSCRIBE* to *rachel-weekly-request@world.std.com*), and there is much more.

Now Green Korea will do its part for the cyberspace revolution, by being a main contributor to a new independently organized web site called EcoKorea. EcoKorea will take to the Net on another interna-

tional eco "holiday" — World Environment Day, June 5th. EcoKorea will offer information on ecological and related social issues on the Korean peninsula. The web site will have the current issue of *Green Korea Reports* and earlier articles listed by topic. Reviews of eco news in the Korean press will be added periodically, along with press releases, statements and articles of interest and contact information for other NGOs. Links will be provided to other sources of information on Korea, and we welcome contributions. We hope that groups and individuals that care about Korea, development and modernization issues, the environment and social movements in Asia will stop by EcoKorea. 

GUEST EDITORIAL

Environmental Concerns are Changing International Relations

Zhang Hai Bin, Professor, Dept. of International Politics, Beijing Univ., China

The post Cold-War era has seen quite a few drastic and far-reaching changes in international relations. One is that environmental problems, especially global environmental problems, have become global concerns and exert profound effects on international relations. The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio in 1992 was a convincing example. There are many factors contributing to the change. One of the most important is that the end of the Cold War implies the end of military hostility between East and West.

The possibility of world war has greatly decreased. Therefore the attention paid by the world community in the past to prevention of world war can be shifted to other challenging issues facing humankind. Another important factor is that it is commonly accepted by world leaders that the deteriorating state of the Earth's environment poses an immediate threat to the existence and development of human beings. For one, in their drives for modernization all countries have been perplexed and challenged by environmental problems such as air pollution. Secondly, there has been a globalization of environmental problems, which now endanger the security of the world. For example, nobody and no country can escape disaster if ozone depletion and global warming continue to increase. Thirdly, regional and global environmental problems have become potential sources of international conflict with negative effects on international peace and stability.

Since this development is a new phenomenon, it is worth going into some details about the repercussions of environmental problems on international relations.

The Environment as an International Political and Economic Issue

In the past environmental problems were considered to be technical and domestic issues. But they now

extend far beyond that, and have aroused widespread attention world-wide. It is safe to say that environmental problems have become important international political and economic issues. World political leaders place priority on environmental issues when they hold meetings. For example, environmental issues have been on the agenda at G-Seven meetings, EU conferences and meetings of the Non-Alignment Movement in recent years. Special mention should be made of UNCED in 1992 at which 103 heads of countries met to discuss fundamental solutions to environmental problems. Less publicized conferences are frequently held. It is reported that more than 500 international environmental meetings were held in 1992 alone.

It is universally acknowledged that environmental problems are closely related to the old irrational international political and economic order characterized by hegemony, power politics and inequity. The inequities in current international economic relations confronting developing countries have had serious consequences with regard to debt financing, trade and transfer of technology. There has been a further widening of the gap between North and South caused by a reverse flow of financial resources, the "braindrain" syndrome of experts leaving, and increasing backwardness in their scientific and technological capabilities. Given this situation, tensions and conflicts in international relations are inevitable. The situation is unfavorable and detrimental to the Earth's environment for a number of reasons. Tensions and conflicts lead to arms races and war, claiming huge sums of money, valuable natural resources, human energy and material resources, thus seriously hampering development and undermining the material basis for the protection of resources and the environment. In addition, war itself causes severe environmental destruction. The Gulf War in 1991 caused the worst environmental pollution since the Second World War.

Last but not least, poverty is a major cause of global environmental problems. As we know, there are two categories of environmental problems related to development. One is the result of improper development, referring mainly to environmental pollution as a result of lopsided industrial growth. The other is caused by lack of development which is challenging developing countries whose people are so poor that they have no alternatives but to sacrifice the environment for survival by way of aggressive exploitation of natural resources. What is worse, their capability to participate effectively in global environmental efforts has been seriously undermined. From the above analysis, we might as well say that the environment has now become one of the most important issues in international relations.

Opportunity and Challenge for South-North Relations

Environmental issues are playing an active part in the limited improvement of South-North relations in the 1990s. South-North relations were far from satisfactory in the 1980s because of the suspension of the South-North dialogue caused by the North's refusal to provide more assistance to the South. Faced with the unprecedented challenge posed by environmental problems in the 1990s, the South and the North have realized that the only way out is through cooperation. The two sides thus agreed to establish a new world partnership at UNCED in 1992. And the North promised to increase their official de-

velopment aid up to 0.7% of their GNP.

This marked the resumption of a long-suspended South-North dialogue and was a big step toward a new constructive South-North relationship. However, we must be fully aware that there is a long way to go in improving South-North relations substantially. The Northern countries still refuse to set a fixed time for reaching the UN target of 0.7% of GNP for aid and to provide preferential and non-commercial transfer of technology to developing countries. This is deeply disappointing and frustrating to developing countries. In this sense the environmental issue is challenging South-North relations.

A New Concept of Security

The pursuit of national security has always been a key part of international relations. Security originally referred to the protection of a country from military attack by an enemy state. After many decades' evolution, the concept of security mainly refers to political, military and economic security. However in recent years, global environmental concerns made it imperative to broaden the concept to include an environmental factor into the concept of security. In 1985 the United Nations Environment Program and the Stockholm International Peace Institute conducted the joint research program "Military Activities and the Human Environment." Its conclusion was that the concept of international security should be broadened: "After all, any concept of international security should be based on the relationship between man and the environment. This is a factor we cannot evade."

Today this viewpoint has been widely accepted. The broadening of the concept of security to include environmental security can be justified for the following reasons:

Firstly, environmental security is a most essential dimension of security. The natural support system on which human activities depend is the victim of environmental deterioration. This is particularly true with transnational global environmental problems such as global warming and ozone depletion which immediately threaten the security of all countries and all peoples. Hence, safeguarding the security of the global environment is a most fundamental security issue.

Secondly, environmental pressure could lead to political tension and military conflict, thus threatening world peace. As the Earth's natural resources become more scarce, countries fight hard for key environmental resources such as raw materials, energy resources, land, sea lanes and so on, sometimes even leading to violent conflicts. The dispute for water supplies among Egypt, the Sudan and Ethiopia, for example, has led Egypt's Foreign Minister to warn that "if war is to break out again in this region, it would be a scramble for the Nile instead of political reasons."


Thirdly, ecological deterioration and environmental destruction have hindered development and aggravated poverty, giving rise to social unrest and political instability and endangering national security. This is most conspicuously manifested in developing countries. Since the beginning of the 1980s, 30 million people in Chad, Mali, Mauritania and Nigeria have become environmental refugees as a result

of land erosion, soil degeneration and drought. The many environmental refugees who overwhelm cities or cross national borders have become a potent element leading to both social disorder and international disputes.

Environmental Concerns are Remolding the World Economy

The prominent position of environmental factors in the negotiation of the North America Free Trade Agreement, the founding of a special committee of the environment under the European Union, the special attention paid by the new World Trade Organization to environmental issues, and the convocation of UNCED vividly showed that some tangible changes have taken place in world economic and international trade:

- ▶ Sustainable development as a new development strategy put forward by the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987 has been accepted by the world as a guiding principle for the world economy. According to "Our Common Future," sustainable development means "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." This marked a watershed in world economic politics.
- ▶ As public environmental awareness increases, more and more companies, especially multinational corporations, are committed to developing environmentally sound products in an attempt to occupy a larger share of the world market.
- ▶ Environmental standards in international trade have been internationalized and are becoming stricter. Sometimes they go so far as to become a non-tariff trade barrier.
- ▶ The market for environmental goods and services is growing. Repairing environmental damage and managing pollution has led to the development of a burgeoning market in equipment and consulting services.
- ▶ Multilateral and bilateral lending patterns are also changing, and the days of lending for environmentally unfriendly development projects while ignoring the consequences are numbered. Pressure is increasing to have loans extended by the World Bank and individual nations subject to impact assessments.


The above-mentioned changes in international relations are in their initial stages. Looking towards the future, we have every reason to believe that environmental concerns will bring about greater changes in international relations because the world community will have to make as many adjustments as possible to meet the dire challenge of the environmental crisis. 

Notes from Green Korea

Happy Birthday

Green Korea celebrated its fifth anniversary on 27 April at Seoul's metropolitan municipal waste dumping site in Kimpo. This landfill is one of the world's largest, with 2,000 hectares (5,000 acres) for the waste of 25 million Seoul metropolitan area residents. In operation since 1991, it has been opposed by a strong local residents movement. Green Korea has been actively involved in controversies concerning the area, and conducted an independent environmental impact assessment over 7 months in 1992, in response to local residents' request to government for a new, independent EIA.

Green Korea will enter its sixth year with a new Korean name ("Green Federation", dropping "Baedal," an historic term for Korea, as was done in English last year). This change reflects the growing international work done by the organization, and an eco-politics that goes beyond national boundaries.

Another change is a new publication, *Small is Beautiful*, a popular monthly Korean magazine, black and white with no advertising, which will focus on perspectives for the future and ecological philosophy. As for English-language publications, *Green Korea Reports* will appear twice a year, with more frequent news reviews and background papers available though the new web site "EcoKorea" or via e-mail or as printed matter directly from Green Korea. 

Save the Flagship Species

In March Green Korea launched a "Save the Flagship Species Campaign" in cooperation with the Jungang daily newspaper. The concept of Flagship Species was proposed by the UN Environmental Program (UNEP): by protecting key species of indigenous flora and fauna, we can protect other species and their habitats as well. At the same time, people can learn and better appreciate the distinct historical, geological and cultural features of their local area.

The campaign is setting a new pattern for the eco-conservation movement. In September 1995 Green Korea held a first seminar to explain and discuss the "Save the Flagship Species Campaign." Members of the Ministry of Environment, experts, NGOs and many others took part. During the discussion participants noted that this campaign differs from other ecosystem conservation efforts, which focused strictly against development. With the start of local self-government in 1995, local administrators have tried to solve financial deficits through development in their local areas. So the biggest problems in these times are confrontations over development versus conservation.

Green Korea proposes that local officials pick a flagship species as their symbol of self-government, to encourage citizens' understanding of flagship species and the necessity of conservation. Through these campaigns local government can also profit by using their chosen species as a theme for souvenirs, stamps, postcards, etc. And

they can develop the habitat of the flagship species as an area attractive for eco-tourism. By conserving our eco-systems we can develop an eco-culture movement.

Uiwang City, a satellite city of Seoul (see interview with Uiwang's Mayor, this issue), chose the owl as the flagship species symbol of their city. They have plans to protect the owl by conserving its habitat, and will use the owl symbol on city officials' businesscards and publications.

The Yookong company has promised to help fund a campaign, part of which involves conservation awareness in schools: "Making a Green School Park." Already trees are being planted at elementary schools, and children are discussing: "why should we protect our environment?" Many people are participating in this program: teachers, students, parents, and officials of a landscape architecture company.

This program, along with eco-photo exhibitions and eco-cultural travel, are some of the many ways that local governments learn and teach methods of eco-system conservation.

자주달개비
꽃을
보내주세요

National Civilian Radioactive Monitoring Network

Last September during annual auditing of the National Assembly and ministries it was discovered that many radioac-



tive monitoring systems in the country were not functioning at all. Residents in the areas near nuclear facilities are concerned. This has led Green Korea to prepare a network for independent monitoring by citizens around nuclear plant sites. Starting this year, citizens committees of local residents at the four sites (with 11 reactors total) will check for radiation using small hand-held radiation detectors. They will also plant the radiation-sensitive plant, the spiderwort, around nuclear facilities. This plant is the one referred to in the brochure shown. The spiderwort *Tradescantia* is a plant native to North America. Mutations in the spiderwort are easily spotted, through examination of the stamen hairs of the plant, which turn from blue to pink if there is a mutation or other cell damage. In the 1970s experiments with the spiderwort conducted around the Hamaoka nuclear plant in Shizuoka Prefecture, Japan, showed radiation exposure levels many times more than what the electric company 'guaranteed'.

Green Seals

Recently Green Korea launched a set of colorful "Green Seals," stamps which symbolize conservation and care of the environment. Now we want to share these stamps with people and groups around world. Green Seals come as a sheet of glue-backed stamps, arranged in a puzzle pattern made up of four stamps, showing an elephant, a



dolphin, a bird and a cicada. When all four pieces are joined the 'puzzle' is solved: behind the wild creatures the beautiful planet earth emerges. This image expresses the recovery of a planetary eco-system being destroyed by human activities.

The pattern of the Green Seals will be changed each year. Funds from their sale will go towards the eco-system conservation movement, for the operation of an environmental information center and environmental research.

10 sets cost US\$6.50 airmail postage included, 35 for \$22.00 available from Green Korea.

Editor Honored

Last December Sangmin Nam was one of 26 recipients of the first annual "Korean Prize" presented by the national Center for Social Security to people who have made outstanding contributions in their areas of expertise: the environment (Mr. Nam), politics, women's issues, science, agriculture, etc.

In the News

CHERNOBYL REMEMBERED: YEAR 10

Korean activists honored the victims of the Chernobyl disaster with a series of demonstrations, a concert and publication of a book. Korea's leading TV station (MBC) did a two part series on the accident and its European-wide effects, with background material and contacts from Green Korea.

A month before the anniversary, Green Korea co-released a new report from the Safe Energy

Communication Council (SECC) based in Washington, DC. The report: "MYTHBusters #10: International Nuclear Power", reviews the present situation of atomic power a decade after the accident that should have put an end to this energy source forever. Among their findings was that only four countries around the world — France, Japan, India, and South Korea — were actively constructing more than two nuclear reactors. In 1995, no government or utility began construction of any new commercial reactors. Estimates of future production are way down and reactors' average lifetimes are less than half of the predicted 40 years.

The fact-filled report is available for US \$6 from SECC, 1717 Mass. Ave., N.W., Suite 805, Washington, D.C. 20036, USA
Tel: (202) 483-8491 Fax: (202) 234-9194
E-mail: secchb@aol.com

Unfortunately the Korean government hasn't seen the light from the Chernobyl explosion. The Long-term Energy Plan released in December 1995 anticipates that the country will have 27 operating nuclear reactors by 2010. There are currently 11 plants on-line, with 7 under construction. (The oldest reactor will be shut down.) All this atomic expansion and still no solution to the growing radioactive waste nightmare. Since early 1989 the government has tried to find a permanent nuclear dumping site, but has had to first delay and then withdraw their "final solutions" so there is still no place for the reactor complexes to send their waste, including highly-radioactive spent fuel rods.

ACTION ON WASTE

Since early 1995 a volume rate system has been in effect in Korea, with the goal of reducing the amount of waste and encouraging recycling.

The government reports that the new system has reduced the total amount of waste collected by around 35%. But there is still a problem with collection of recyclable waste and facilities for recycling, which are woefully inadequate. Meanwhile, to deal with the mountains of waste from Seoul's 11 million residents, the central city government is determined to build an incinerator in each of the city's 27 administrative districts ("ku's"). However this plan is opposed by local residents of all areas. Also environmental NGOs have pointed out the problems with large-scale incinerators. Green Korea has been active in this fight as an advisor to a municipal waste committee of Seoul City government and to smaller NGOs. Also last year we prepared a city government law to encourage the promotion of recycling that would promote collection and establish an incentive system for investment in recycling facilities. (The law has not yet been voted upon.)

To help the residents' movement and push Seoul's mayor towards a policy of more intensive recycling, Green Korea collected garbage bags just before Earth Day from the homes of the mayors of Seoul City, Koyang City and from the heads of two of the "ku's" who are the most enthusiastic supporters of the incinerator plan. Other collections took place at the homes of the presidents of two big incinerator construction companies.

Green Korea's expert analysis revealed that an average of 55% of the materials in the plastic bags was organic food waste (higher than the Seoul average of around 38%); recyclables represented around 17%. The bags from the homes of the incinerator firm presidents contained up to one-third recyclable materials. The newspapers found this all very interesting, and one headline

read: "City Leaders Produce too much Organic and Recyclable Waste!"

PRESIDENT'S SLUSH FUND AND THE ENVIRONMENT


Last year former president Rho Tae Woo was arrested and jailed on corruption charges. A very important figure in the 1980 coup d'etat, he was elected in 1987 following his friend Chun Do Hwan, the leader of the coup. Although Rho emphasized clean government during his presidency, it was discovered last year that he got around \$1 billion in bribes from large corporations. Many Korean people feel great shame and anger, however he has become a symbol of the great changes that has taken place in Korean politics. Old injustices are being confronted: Rho Tae Woo is now also under indictment for his role in the coup d'etat.

The former president's corruption also led to serious environmental destruction in Korea. Two examples illustrate how Roh traded Korea's often fragile natural resources for financial wealth.

There are now almost 200 golf courses in operation or planned, and these cause extensive ecological and community destruction. In 1989 Rho Tae Woo passed a new law allowing construction permits for golf courses as general sports facilities. This step turned the golfing industry from a very small exclusive business to a mass activity. It is believed that he got around W 2 billion (US\$ 2.5 million) for each golf course permit. In more than five years during his government, he allowed the licensing of 139 golf courses. This expansion has led to an active movement against golf courses as local citizens oppose the luxury developments that do not fit with their communi-

ty life. The damage to existing eco-systems and the extensive use of water and pesticides are among the ecological problems posed by golf courses.

Corruption was also evident in the choice of Yongjong Island as the site of the massive new Seoul-Inchon International Airport. The island is one of the most important regional stopping points for migratory birds, and is more suitable for a bird sanctuary and protected wetland than a major airport. And there are other problems with the site beyond environmental ones: safety, access, etc. It is believed that the Rho Tae Woo government chose this site over a more favorable one because the president received a lot of money from the island's owner, the Hanjin Group.

In Korea, as in Nigeria (the case of Ken Saro-Wiwa and the Ogoni people suffering from oil development), and many other countries, we have seen that governmental corruption has led to environmental destruction. Increased democracy here has given new impetus and voice to the environmental movement, which gives hope for the future. However irreversible damage has been done. 

NORTH AND SOUTH MEET IN BANGKOK

Environmental issues could serve as an avenue for future cooperation between the two Koreas.

by **Waldon Bello**, Professor, University of the Philippines and co-director of Focus on the Global South, Chulalongkorn Univ. in Bangkok, Thailand. This article first appeared in Thailand's *The Nation* on October 31, 1995.

The Korean peninsula is the one place in Asia that remains trapped in the glacial structures of the Cold War. Here hundreds of thousands of heavily armed troops face one another across the famous 38th Parallel, with the US Army Second Infantry Division positioned as a "tripwire" for a full-scale confrontation. Casting North Korea as the "main threat" to the region continues to be a favorite Pentagon tactic to justify its 100,000-troop presence in the Asia-Pacific, while railing against the "US imperialist devils", to use a standard phrase from Pyongyang Radio, continues to serve as an indispensable mechanism to strengthen social cohesion in North Korea. Yet some of the Cold War ice peeled off and melted last week in the tropical warmth of Bangkok.

For the first time, a delegation of North Koreans met a delegation of South Koreans at the NGO, people-to-people level. And, as the spontaneous camaraderie that can only emerge among long-separated kin revealed, North and South Koreans may belong to very different political systems, but they indisputably belong to the same nation. Significantly, the handshakes and greetings in Bangkok occurred even as tension escalated in Seoul and Pyongyang over the shooting by South Korean troops of a man depicted by the South Korean government as a "North Korean spy trying to infiltrate the South."

The meeting of the two Korea's took place in the context of a "Northeast Asia-Southeast Asia Consultation on Development and Environment" organized by Focus on the Global South, a program of the Chulalongkorn University's Social Research Institute (CUSRI).

The unprecedented meeting required a lot of diplomatic work and was carefully planned by Focus over a number of months with Yonsei University, Green Korea, other environmental NGOs in South Korea and with the Korean Anti-Nuclear Peace Committee (KANPC) in the North.

Ironically, the Koreans had to meet outside the Korean peninsula for the simple reason that South Koreans, while welcome in North Korea, can only go there under pain of imprisonment by the South Korean government, while North Koreans are banned from South Korea by Seoul unless, of course, they want to defect. As a site, both groups readily agreed to Bangkok, with its non-threatening, politically tolerant atmosphere, easy accessibility and cosmopolitan character.

In the discussions on Korea, the conference skirted the explosive controversy over North Korea's independent development of nuclear energy, which Washington seeks to prevent on grounds that it is allegedly a cover for the development of nuclear weapons. Instead, participants focused on environmental and development issues, with Dr. Jang Won, secretary-general of Green Korea calling attention to the common environmental problems faced by both Koreas. He described the peninsula as "a pollution colony," with South Korea "importing toxic wastes and polluting industries, allowing Japanese tankers to transfer oil on uncontaminated water of the Yosoo



coastland the US bases to dump all sorts of pollutants unchecked."

While not dwelling on the specifics of pollution in North Korea, Paek Yong-Ho, head of the North Korean delegation, said "Let's face it. We (all countries) are all polluted." Noting efforts by his government to improve the environmental situation, he nevertheless said "I'm not saying that everything (in North Korea) is fantastic, that everything is environmentally sound." The difference between Paek's honest, if guarded statements and the usual official North Korean propaganda depicting North Korea as a perfect society was not lost on the delegates. Both sides seemed to sense that the environment may provide an area where the people and organizations from the two Koreas could get beyond the Cold War stalemate and cooperate, thus helping melt the political and military barriers. Jang proposed, among other things, the creation of a "non-political, non-governmental channel of communication between North and South Korea" to be tentatively named the Korea Green Network. "Restoring the divided ecology and damaged environment," he asserted, "will also help restore the national identity and continuity, thus significantly easing the way towards reunification."

Paek, for his part, said, "We cannot live alone, and especially on the question of the environment, which goes beyond borders, we need to work cooperatively with different countries." He called on the South Korean NGOs and international environmental organizations to work together with the North in solving the problems created by Russia's dumping of nuclear waste in the Eastern Sea of Korea. Yet the meeting was less important for the concrete proposals tabled than for the fact that it took place at all, and with a relatively high degree of harmony among people from both sides of the militarily, politically, and ideologically divided peninsula.

This was mainly, to use Kissingerian parlance, a "confidence-building" meeting aimed at laying the grounds for future, more substantive meetings. From this perspective, both South Koreans and North Koreans called it a "breakthrough."

The meeting was not without its fireworks, as when Paek rejected what he felt was uncalled for questioning of the North Korean political and economic system. "Let me be very clear," he stated. "We have no plans to change our system. We have already chosen our system." But sharp words were the exception rather than the rule.

More typical were the words of Dr. Moon Chang-In of Yonsei University, senior member of the South Korean delegation, at the conclusion of the conference. After paying compliments to Paek in distinctly non-Cold War language as "the most flexible and open North Korean we have met, a man we all have a great degree of respect for," he expressed the wish that, "in the future, we Koreans will no longer need the mediation of Focus on the Global South in order to come to-

gether, and hopefully, we will no longer have to meet in Bangkok, but in Korea."

US President Dwight Eisenhower once said, "One of these days, people will want peace so much that governments better get out of their way." This breakthrough meeting between representatives of people's organizations in North and South Korea sent such a message to all the governments that have contributed to making the Northeast Asian region one of the world's most threatening spots over the last century — not least to the US government, which many Koreans, North and South, regard as the main obstacle to their conciliation and reunification of the Korean people.

TWO KOREAS, ONE PENINSULA

NGOs and Environmental Cooperation between North and South Korea

Sangmin Nam, an organizer and participant at the historic Bangkok meeting, presented this talk to a seminar on "Perspectives for Environmental Cooperation between North and South Korea" in May 1996.

Since the early 1990s many people have become aware of the importance of environmental cooperation between the two Koreas. On the governmental level, the Ministry of Environment had a plan called "The Environmental Community of the Korean Peninsula." And one of five important parts of President Kim's environmental welfare plan released this April called for environmental cooperation between North and South Korea.

Also on the non-governmental level there have been efforts to build towards a peninsula-wide ecological community. But these have been hampered by lack of data on the environmental situation in North Korea. Our estimates are based on observation of the situation in Eastern Europe and the former East Germany, with information from visitors to North Korea or from defectors from the North. Because of the lack of information, it is sometimes useful to look at the late Kim Il Sung's talks on environmental issues: at times he was very critical of environmental problems such as deforestation.

So although there is awareness of the importance of environmental cooperation between North and South, very little research has been conducted, and few agendas have been proposed. The issue is also a very sensitive one when dealing with socialistic countries that regard environmental problems as the necessary result of the structural problems of capitalism. Thus official thinking is that in their own countries they do not need special structures to deal with environmental problems. But North Korea does have a real environmental problem resulting from its focus on heavy industry and the lack of environmental management in production facilities. And now this problem is generally acknowledged there.

However environmental cooperation between North and South Korea should not focus strictly on environmental degradation in North Korea or that country's political-economic structure. Instead we should focus on common environmental problems and regional and global cooperation to address them. In this, the role of NGOs is very important because we can avoid divisive political issues.

Why environmental cooperation with the North became important in South Korea

South Koreans are aware of the environmental problems revealed following the reunification of Germany. The German government is investing a lot of money in the ecological recovery of eastern Germany, and many Koreans have considered what these costs might be for North Korea.

Another reason for the heightened awareness is that environmental cooperation could be a very important way for exchange and cooperation between North and South Korea. Also North Korea is a member of a regional environmental cooperation system, Northwest Pacific Action Plan, coordinated by UNEP.

Thirdly, cooperation between North and South Korea is important for Northeast Asian environmental issues, especially regarding transboundary air pollutants that cause acid rain. According to research conducted by RAINS-ASIA, North Korea is severely affected by airborne pollutants from China. Now China and South Korea are collaborating in research on this problem. This issue is the most important one for the Northeast Asian Environmental Cooperation Conference, an annual meeting of the five governments in the region (Russia, Mongolia, China, Japan, South Korea). At some point it is expected that North Korea will join this forum. As North and South have the same geographical situation, it will be easier for them to achieve some consensus on this problem.

Environmental cooperation is a symbol of reconciliation between the divided halves of a nation. The DMZ, an area 4 km wide and 155 miles long that has been off-limits to the public for more

than 40 years, is ecologically well-preserved. There have been many proposals by civic groups as well as government to make an eco-park wilderness area there. Environmental cooperation between North and South Korea to preserve this area would be a good step towards reconciliation between the two Koreas, as well as a key act in preserving biological diversity on the peninsula.

Finally, the movement of polluting factories from South Korea to North Korea as part of economic cooperation could increase following the South Korean government's recent removal of a previous ceiling on investment by southern companies in the north.

Already many Korean factories have moved their operations to China or southeast Asia, so a move of polluting factories to the North can also be expected. But North Korea made an environmental law in 1986, and several more in the 1990s to regulate environmental management of foreign companies. It is unlikely that North Korea could deal effectively with the potential pollution from new foreign factories, such as South Korean ones. Thus it is important that Korean NGOs and government departments act on this problem and make appropriate regulations to protect the environment and workers and prevent the negative aspects of economic cooperation.

Ten times over the last four years South Korean NGOs and environmental experts have tried to contact North Korea to hold joint meetings or conduct field research on environmental issues, but the North never responded. Finally there was a first meeting, a regional one for which representatives from North and South served as co-organizers (see "North and South Meet in Bangkok"). Just prior to this meeting there was

also contact between North and South Korean experts in Hokkaido, Japan, at the first Northeast Asia-West Pacific Forum attended by representatives from North Korea. The independent forum was established in 1992 for environmental experts in the region.

Most of the South Korean proposals to the North to meet focused on ecological conservation or field research, and North Korea refused these proposals. However the North has participated in several international meetings on ecological conservation. Thus South Korean NGOs should carefully consider the possible agendas with the North, and what kind of process we should undertake to contact North Korea. To develop an agenda for cooperation, we should take consideration of North Korea's position and interests. The most important thing is the political possibility that North Korea will normalize relations with the world community. Environmental meetings should help this process develop. Environmental cooperation should also help the North's current economic problems. Some of these are due to chronic inefficiency and waste of resources in their manufacturing and heavy industrial sectors: environmentally sound energy and resource management could improve their economic situation. This focus must thus be given a higher priority than other more traditional areas of environmental conservation.

Areas for possible cooperation:

Energy: North Korea's primary energy supply system is dominated by coal, supplying 85% of primary energy. Also, 73% of oil is used for transportation. This creates a very imbalanced and inefficient energy supply picture. Also, lack of energy is the most serious obstacle for North

Korea to keep their economy going. Many countries, including South Korea and the North, see increased energy supply as critical to the North's future and stability. That, as well as fear of nuclear weapons material proliferation, is part of the dynamic behind international support for the subsidized construction of two light-water reactors in the North.

However, according to recent research done by David Von Hippel and Peter Hayes of the US-based Nautilus Institute, the added capacity to be provided by the two reactors will represent just 11% of the North's electrical capacity. They estimate that an investment of around half of what it would cost to build the twin reactor project in a range of energy efficiency measures would result in a savings of some 25% in coal use and 29% in electricity. (*Nautilus Bulletin*, February 1996) Cooperation in the energy sector would achieve important objectives in both economic and environmental improvements. It would, for example, be possible to have a joint research project in the Tuman River Economic Development Area (in Russia, China and North Korea) administered by the UNDP.

Under their national slogan of 'self-reliance,' North Korea tried to develop domestic and renewable energy sources (biomass, small-scale hydro and wind power). However the projects have been too inefficient to produce positive results. Through international support and cooperation in this sector, it would be possible to help North Korea be more energy efficient and more environmentally sound.

Human resources: Northeast Asia has difficult environmental problems, compounded by a lack of specialists and researchers in environmental

areas. There should be a more systematic structure for environmental policy and models for sustainable development applicable to the different climates and social situations of Asian countries. A Northeast Asia Environmental Research, Information and Training Center is needed to provide such skills. Such a center would be very useful for North Korea and for cooperation in the Korean peninsula and regionally.

Nature Conservation and Biodiversity: Ecological experts from North and South have met at international meetings. Since 1959, North Korea has selected 24 sites as nature conservation areas, and is proud of these protected areas. On the other hand, there very serious deforestation problems, because wood is still a common fuel source and areas are cleared for agriculture. Now North Korea wants to encourage foreign tourism, and sees their natural endowment as a major attraction. The desire for 'eco-tourists' should encourage better protection of remaining unspoiled areas.

Acid Rain and Transboundary Pollution: Last year the first workshop on long-distance moving air pollution in Northeast Asia took place at the governmental level. And the new NGO network (Atmospheric Action Network East Asia) was founded. According to experts, the amount of SOx will reach 300 million tons around the year 2020, with a 7-8% rise in China's GNP (and anticipated corresponding energy use). This means that acid rain will be a hot political issue in this region, with high economic and health costs. A regional treaty is needed to control transboundary air pollution, and region-wide monitoring will be necessary. To achieve these there will have to be negotiations and cooperation between North and South Korea.

Marine Pollution: The condition of the Yellow sea, bounded by China on the west and the Korean peninsula on the east, has so seriously deteriorated because of industrial and human effluents that if the situation is not rapidly changed, the sea may be irreversibly polluted. Also the East Sea (between Korean and Japan) is polluted by Russian nuclear waste dumping and coastal activities. With 32 nuclear power plants located on the coasts of South Korea and Japan, the sea suffers from contamination now and the threat of a major nuclear accident. Since 1991 the regional network Northwest Pacific Action Plan, which includes both Koreas, has been working on this problem, and North and South Korea should look towards taking cooperative action in the framework of this network.

Environmental Technology Transfer:

Environmental problems in North Korea have been caused by aging factories and inefficient energy production and use. Urban air pollution in the main industrial centers is an especially urgent issue. When you look at the relationship between GDP and the amount of air pollutants emitted in North and South Korea, the North emits more than 8 times as much SOx, and 7 times as much CO2 as the South does, to produce a proportional amount of GDP. The National Report of the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea to the UNCED Conference in Rio in 1992 emphasized the importance of technology transfer and international institutions in alleviating their serious pollution problems.

Now South Korean companies will take part in developing the social infrastructure in North Korea. This development should include environmental management and technical support for improvements in the North.

UNDP and Environmental Cooperation between North and South Korea: Since 1992 the Tuman Rivers Area Development Program has been developed with five national contracting parties: North and South Korea, China, Mongolia and Russia. This program and the Mekong River development plan are the UNDP's two major international development programs world-wide. In 1994 research on the environmental situation of the Tuman area was done by Chinese and Finnish institutions. In 1995 there was a "Memorandum of Understanding on Environmental Principles Governing the Tuman River Economic Development Area and Northeast Asia" signed by all five countries. It includes environmental assessment and environmental mitigation and management. This was the first such memorandum to be signed by those countries. The only problem is that there are no NGOs or local citizen groups in the affected area to reflect community voices and monitor adherence to the agreement. Thus Korean NGOs should consider getting involved in this development project as it progresses.

To make the Korean peninsula an ecologically harmonized community, many obstacles must be overcome. In this process, the role of NGOs is critical. More than environmental health is involved: cross-border cooperation will also bring hope for reconciliation and eventual reunification. The Korean government should not limit itself to political gestures on this issue. We must all use our will and work to make our dream a reality.



How an Environmental Activist Became the "Green Mayor"

Mr. Chang-Hyun Shin is the head administrator of Uiwang, a city of 110,000 in Kyonggi province, south-west of Seoul. The municipality is surrounded by scenic mountains, and bordered by busy new towns also focused on Seoul. Mr. Shin, formerly director of the independent Environmental Policy Research Institute, was elected Mayor of Uiwang during June 1995 local elections. Anna Gyorgy met the Mayor at Uiwang's impressive new city hall.

How Mr. Shin became involved in environmental issues and local politics:

"About eight years ago, I was not interested in environmental problems. I didn't know anything about the environment. But I worked as a specialist in the opposition party on a policy-making committee, in charge of the environment and social welfare. In the party's daily work we would get petitions from local residents about their special environmental problems.

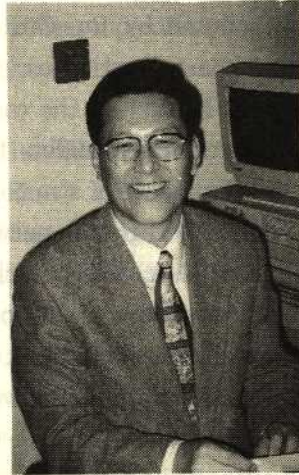
There were pollution problems in drinking reservoirs. A lot of gravel and sand were needed for building new towns, so the Ministry of Construction decided to supply that material from reservoirs, including Paegun Lake. And there were the nuclear power plant problems in South Cholla Province, at Yonggwang: reactors 3 and 4 were the issue at that time. The destruction in Dokyu Mountain National Park was another problem.

So I visited many places and met many residents at these sites and we had a chance to talk, to ask why this happened, and discuss how to solve the problems. And then I would report to National

Assembly members of my party and ask government — and criticize government. And sometimes I tried to revise the law, because the legal problems are serious in Korea. In that process, I became an activist. The more I met the local residents affected by environmental issues, the deeper I came to understand the problems with the environment in Korea."

In 1991 Mr. Shin left his party job

"After three years of working in the opposition party I felt a limitation in the National Assembly. You see in Korea people don't like politics. They hate politicians. And although I worked in an opposition party, it was still a political party. So they didn't want to see me, they didn't want to hear me. I couldn't wait anymore for recommendations and ideas on how to improve environmental pollution and degradation. So I left the National Assembly and formed a private environmental institute. It was a good chance for more cooperation and more contact with various specialists and activists. And for me, I felt freer than before. I was the director of a private environmental institute, and this institute was for the local residents, against the companies and the government."



Mr. Shin decides to run for Mayor

"I felt there were serious problems in environmental policy in our administration... and criticized the Ministry of Construction and the Ministry of Commerce many times, because the basic cause of environmental pollution is caused by these parts of government. I started to think about comprehensive administration, including both environmental administration and development administration. We cannot separate development and environment.

Then I became interested in the role of mayors, the heads of local administration. Especially after I finished a tour in the United States last year (sponsored by the U.S. American Environmental Partnerships). There I had a chance to visit Washington, DC, San Francisco, and Portland, Oregon. It was very impressive for me. Local autonomy is a very critical function for environmental improvement. And environmental policy must start from the grassroots, including the local administration. So I made up my mind, 'Okay, let's run for election as a local mayor!' I didn't expect to be elected, but I made up my mind to try. I was lucky.

The other candidate was 62 years old, the government party's candidate, and a native in this region. On the other hand I was 42, from the opposition party, and a stranger. I had only lived here for eight years, and I worked in Yoido, at the National Assembly. So early in the morning I went to my office and very late at night I came back home. I didn't know anybody in this city. So when I started to run for election, people said 'Who is Mr. Shin?' Nobody knew me!"

Q: So how did you run your campaign?

"'Young city, young mayor!' (laughs) Uiwang City has only been a city for seven years; before it was a rural county. Now the population of Uiwang City is 110,000. A small city. More than half the population are 'strangers' from outside. They were my supporters. My first issue was the construction of an environmental 'new city' and that was my platform. Construction of an ecological — green — city. Because we are surrounded by new town cities, with populations of 200,000, maybe 250,000. But they are all concrete forests of apartment buildings. I don't like it. They are environmentally unsound and unsustainable cities. So I told my constituents that although Uiwang was a new city, it must be different from the other ready-made, concrete forest cities. Green City Construction was the main platform in my campaign. But many friends, including environmental activists, advised me: 'Mr. Shin, please, hold it! After you become a mayor then you can do it, but right now in an election campaign it's not a good idea.' But I had a little different idea, because more than half our population is from outside, and young, in their 20s and 30s. I believed that they had no land in Uiwang City (which they might want to develop for profit), but wanted a more comfortable environment. I was right; they supported me. So I have to keep my word, and the Green City Construction platform."

Uiwang: Green Belt City

"Of our total area of 54 square km, 93 percent is Green Belt land. We cannot build buildings, we cannot do anything in the Green Belt. You see Korea is a capitalist and market country, but this is more than socialistic. The Green Belt system started in 1971, 25 years ago.

We cannot change it, it is impossible. It is strict and many people complain about it, but it is the system and we have to adjust ourselves in Uiwang to that system."

Q: If you have only 7 percent of the land available for all kinds of construction, then you must have very tall, massive housing?

"So we have to slow the increase of population in Uiwang City. I don't want to license new building construction because of environmental issues. If we cannot change the Green Belt system at present, then we have to use it. It is not a crisis, but an opportunity, I think. It's a green city. We have to utilize the 93 percent green belt land. We have four mountains and two lakes. Those are very important assets of Uiwang City. They are natural resources, and in the 21st century natural resources will determine the competitive power of cities."

Q: You said that you need to control population growth with a ban on new housing construction. Is that legal?

"Yes, I can do it legally. Now we are revising the landscape regulations. According to these we can regulate the number of stories. According to the region we can be flexible, but in some places the limit is three stories, in others there can be five or seven stories. And we have to protect the landscape of mountains. You see, the more population you have in a city the greater the problems are. For example: the cars, the solid waste, the

We have four mountains and two lakes.

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drinking water facilities. So I don't think it's desirable to increase the population in the cities. This is not development."

Green Policies for Uiwang

"I would like to explain how we can conserve the greenbelt. First we must know what kinds of natural resources we have in Green City Uiwang. We are now investigating what kinds of vegetation exist. We want to make a

book about vegetation in Uiwang City's greenbelt. An educational book for students, children and housewives. Another project is the migratory birds habitation project. We have two lakes, but we have no migratory birds. It's unnatural!

Then there is another project. In Uiwang City we have the lakes, 5 big streams and 24 small streams. We have to find out why water is polluted, whether from cattle, or from restaurants, for example, and we need to make a plan to prevent pollution. I also want to utilize these streams for the natural education of our students and children. And all these should be used for business, for example eco-tourism. You have seen that Uiwang City is very close to Seoul, so people can come out for the day. And we can make money, with greenbelt natural resources. The tourism market is changing. My conclusion from my experience in the United States was that they conserve everything — not only natural resources, but also war monuments and cannons, even very small cannons! They use them for education, for natural and civil history. And then they make

money from their resources. Many people visit these places, and eat and drink and buy things. It's a new type of tourism, eco-tourism. Golf courses, ski slopes and amusement parks are commercial tourism: environmentally unsound, unsustainable and destructive tourism."

Q: I understand that in some cases of corruption, greenbelt areas were used for golf courses. Has there been pressure for that in your area?

"It's impossible in green belts; nobody wants to do it. But there was a plan for development at Paegun Lake, with a cable car above the lake, and an amusement park and hotel. It was in the presidential platform of the 1992 campaign. But I worried about the effects of a commercial project around Paegun Lake. I thought about the best way to balance development and projects, and took a chance and we were lucky. We won our bid for the World Theater Festival in September 1997 from the Korean Theater Institute. It was a very good present.

So conservation will be possible. As the festival is a public project it is possible to have some buildings for it inside the greenbelt, but no housing. We will build for the theater festival only in cultivated areas: not in the forest or the mountains. And we want to clean up Paegun Lake. It is polluted year after year by the many restaurants around the lake without sewage systems. Because of the World Theater Festival we can build a sewage line, and let nature restore the lake."

Q: There are so many general urban problems: removal of wastes; sewage; providing enough water; air quality. What are the major



problems affecting Uiwang?

"We have all kinds of problems. There is the Wangsong reservoir for agriculture. Twenty-five thousand people live there with no sewage plant. This year we will start to build a sewage treatment plant there, treating 15,000 tons per day, with a subsidy from the Ministry of Environment. We have installed automatic air pollution monitoring systems near the highways. National Road Number One is infamous for pollution. Several days ago they reported that air pollution monitoring there showed the worst pollution in the country. Lots of dust — particulates. Number one. We have to know it and see it."

Q: What does this knowledge allow you to do, or ask for in the way of improvements?

"Unfortunately nothing. We cannot say: 'No more cars allowed in this place at this time, please go around to other places' — that is impossible in Korea at this time. But, in the case of Uiwang City, I want to install a signboard so first of all, all drivers passing through Uiwang City will see how serious the situation is. And then we will have air pollution guards who will give fines to people who are polluting. So at least inside

We ask the housewives: "What shall we do to solve the solid waste problem?"
And 9 out of 10 people say together: "We have to reduce it!"

Uiwang City they cannot pass through without observing the legal levels of emissions. At first they have to see how serious the situation is: air pollution is a serious problem, but they don't know how serious, because they cannot see, they cannot smell.

Q: And now you are also introducing environmental education in the schools and general community?"

"We are proud of the unique environmental education program we have in Uiwang. Every month we do on-the-job training environmental education. We have monthly gatherings of 45 volunteers, mainly housewives in Uiwang City. For one day they go and see for themselves.

One time it was the solid waste problem. They saw the collection site operated by city hall, and they went to the landfill site at Kimpo. I recommended to the group: 'Please go and smell yourselves, how terrible it is. You have to experience that together with the local residents. Why are they responsible for the bad smell of the solid waste? You wasted it!'

I don't propose any solution. This is education through experience. And then the incineration plant. You see many residents are opposing construction of incinerators. So they have to see what the problems with incineration are. And then see recycling facilities operated by private industry. Then we ask the housewives: "What shall we do to solve the solid waste problem?" And 9 out of 10 people say together: "We have to

reduce it!" We didn't propose any alternative solution to the housewives, but they themselves answered the city officials: we have to reduce the wastes. That is the best way.

So what do you do to reduce solid waste? We have to cut down on expenditures. We have to spend less than before. We have to eat less than before. (laughs) But it's very difficult. Every day about 90 tons of our waste goes to Kimpo. We have to reduce that by half. The streams are another environmental education course. And there is the clean air school and the nature school. So we have four kinds of environmental education programs."

Q: Is there regional coordination? Do you meet with mayors of greater Seoul, and is there a local voice in regional planning, in where and how development should happen?

"Not in a systematic way, for complaining, discussing and solving the problems. Not yet. Sometimes we have a meeting, but they are only complaining (laughs). You see the regional egoism is very sensitive.

Like the incineration plant. At first they tried to locate an incinerator in Kunpo, on the border of Uiwang City. Then Uiwang City residents went to the Kunpo city hall and said that no one wanted the incinerator plant. The Mayor of Kunpo appealed to me: 'Mr. Shin, why do your citizens come to my office?' And I said: 'Well, I'm sorry, but you had better take the opinion of my citizens into consideration.' Like this, they are

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very, very sensitive. You see, we are on the way to democratization. We are not democratized enough. Before we try to solve environmental problems we have to be trained to solve problems in a democratic way."

Q: What is your feeling about this "not in my backyard" or NIMBY syndrome?"

"NIMBY was my second subject when I visited the U. S. But my conclusion after two months there was that prevention of the NIMBY syndrome is more effective than any solution to NIMBY. Now how can we prevent NIMBY? It's a matter of time; we have to have three to five years, and we have to prepare. Then we can persuade citizens, residents. But usually in the Korean tradition, especially in the Korean administrative tradition, they didn't have time to persuade. Because of the military dictatorship: they made a decision and enforced it.

But now, it's impossible without the agreement of local residents. And we won't ask them to sacrifice: we have to compensate them.

Q: In the past a lot of environmental problems were simply not analyzed adequately. Maybe if there is more time there will be safer projects as well?


"The system in Korea is a paper tiger. We have good regulations and laws about EIA, but they aren't observed because there is no penalty for violation of that law. However the EIA process is a little better these days because public participa-

tion is now guaranteed by law.

The residents can appoint an attorney to represent them in the public hearing. Before, local residents were only opposing with demonstrations: sitting down in front of city hall or in front of the companies. They didn't know in detail what was wrong and what was right.

So they appealed through demonstrations, and then went home. This caused too much sacrifice on both sides: in administrative costs, and sacrifice by the local residents too. This was part of the democratization movement. But nowadays the residents are learning that they have to know in detail, specifically. So they invite a specialist, someone who can represent their opinion in public hearings."

Q: And is there some budget for research for the local residents?

"Yes, from their pockets! They collect money: ten thousand won every house, maybe ten million (US \$13,000), twenty million, thirty million won altogether, and they give it to the specialist from the university. The residents know in a sense what's wrong, but they cannot explain it scientifically. So they want the specialist to give a scientific explanation of why their opinions are right. Cooperation between residents and specialists — it's a development of the environmental movement in Korea." 

Action on Air : Atmosphere Action Network East Asia meets in Osaka

Inyong Park, Green Korea staff

The world's center of economic growth, Asia still remains in the "miracle" growth process tied to the rapid increase in energy demand. East Asia includes the mass energy consumers: Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Hongkong, and China. Their rising demand for energy has increased emissions of SO₂, NO₂, CO₂ and other gases, causing regional air pollution as well as international concern about increased acid rain and global warming. Global warming has especially serious adverse effects. Experts point out that if emissions of carbon dioxide increase continuously, destructive changes will occur in the early 21st century such as submergence of land as the sea level rises, frequent flooding, and declining food production from droughts. To minimize global warming it is essential that emissions of the so-called 'greenhouse gases', especially CO₂, are not just stabilized, but drastically reduced.

In March 1994, the first Meeting of the Conference of the Parties (COP) to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change took place and a decision known as the "Berlin Mandate" was adopted. The COP agreed to begin a process to strengthen the commitments of industrialized countries to reduce greenhouse gas emissions beyond the year 2000 through adoption of a protocol or other legal instrument. It is expected that a protocol including quantified emission limitations and reduction objectives within specified time frames will be adopted at the third COP meeting, to be held in Japan in 1997.

The Atmosphere Action Network East Asia

(AANE) was established in August 1995 at a meeting in Seoul by NGOs and active individuals from China, Hong Kong, Japan, Mongolia, Russia, Korea and Taiwan. The goals of the flexible network, funded by the Global Environmental Facility (GEF), are to exchange information, share experience, and take necessary cooperative action on regional and trans-boundary air pollution issues and global warming.

During the March 13-18 meeting in Osaka, around 60 participants presented and discussed country reports, addressed specifics of regional climate change and the role of NGOs, and toured a particularly polluted area around the Nishi-Yodo River.

Some highlights of the country reports included:

► **Hong Kong**: when the weather forecast is broadcast, an "air pollution index" is included, to help people better plan their activities.


► **Taiwan**: the amount of air pollutants emitted has increased steadily. To reduce air pollution they must promote energy efficiency and develop new energy sources.

► **Korea**: from 1993 to 1995, Korean NGOs have measured the air for Nitrogen oxides. Some 800 ~ 12,000 places are measured every six months by simple instruments, to help Koreans understand the seriousness of air pollution and to help make effective environmental policy based on knowing the difference in air quality in the different regions.

► **Japan**: the Japanese government developed a high technology automatic air quality monitoring

system. But the government does not use their system or announce data to the people.

► **Mongolia**: Most of the fuel used is wood. Climate change is now in progress, caused by a rise in temperature.

The AANE will hold its third meeting in Hong Kong in January, 1997. Before then the network will send a message to the 4th meeting of CSD (Committee Of Sustainable Development) in April, 1996, and the 2nd meeting of COP (Conference Of Parties) in June, 1996. Future activities of the network include holding an educational workshop in China on environmental problems, measuring air pollutants by NGOs in each country simultaneously, and regular exchange of information. 

Wetlands: Land of Harmony and Life

Taehwa Lee, Green Korea staff

The Korean peninsula is surrounded by sea, from which the Korean people harvest much of their food. Korea also has four main rivers, which traditionally had adequate pure water for the populations near their banks. In the old days many wetland areas by Korean shores and rivers were heavily visited by wildlife and sustained farming and fishing communities. Today most of these natural refuges and breeding grounds have been destroyed. Unfortunately, the Korean government thinks that development is more important than conservation of natural areas, and has no plans to halt further wetland destruction.

Korea has two kinds of wetlands: inland wetlands include swamp, marshland and peatbogs, while the shore wetlands consist of tidal flats and salt marshes. The tidal flats in South Korea occupy three percent of its total size (or 2,815 sq. km). Important shore wetlands include Chensoo Bay, the southern part of Kanghwa Island, Asan Bay, Namyang Bay and the Seamankum area, all located along the western coast. Many migratory birds stop and rest in these tidal flats, or stay for the season. For half the year, from October to March, waterfowl winter in the central westcoast, at Chensoo Bay. Tens of thousands of birds have been reported: wild geese, ducks and water-cock stop there for the winter. Especially important are the many Baikal Teal who winter there: an estimated third of the entire species. Thousands of wild geese, ducks and water-cock also winter in Asan Bay.

The tidal flats are important for people too. Before Korea industrialized, many people made their living there. The flats are famous for the great difference between their high and low tides, and there was profitable oyster culture and other sea harvesting.

Now most of the tidal flats have been reclaimed for use as industrial sites or ricefields.

Land reclamation has a long history in Korea, however our ancestors reclaimed only small areas. Large-scale landfilling began during the colonial period of Japanese rule (1910-1945). Japan reclaimed areas for agriculture, and the salt marshes disappeared. After independence from Japan, the Korean people saw reclamation as a good way to increase food production, and tidal flats were continuously destroyed.

In the 1970s there was a famous story about reclamation. The president of Hyundai enterprises had an abandoned ship used for making a sea dike, in order to reclaim large areas of tidal flats for a huge ricefield. Afterwards, many fishermen moved away, and the huge contained area prevented the natural exchange of coastal waters and the land and adjacent sea were polluted. Hyundai maintained that the ricefield was used as their president Mr. Jung's personal farm. But many people doubt that the president needed a big ricefield and think that the land will eventually be used as an industrial or other site. As this case illustrates, reclamation in Korea has been unfair and unjust.

Another example is the construction of the new international airport, now going on at Youngjong Island near Seoul. The tidal flat in front of the island was famous for its abundant wildlife. People think that the government's choice of the island for the airport is connected with the corruption scandal involving former president Rho Tae Woo (see "In the News" this issue). In any case, Youngjong Island is not a good location for an airport for many reasons:

(1) Numerous migratory birds including snipe pass through this small island area. Loss of the site for wildlife will greatly diminish their numbers. (2) The airport will destroy the ecosys-

tem of Youngjong Island and also adversely affect that of Kangwha Island to the north-west. Its coastal wetland is also a valuable habitat for shore birds. (3) Tidal waves accompanying typhoons or earthquakes could well destroy the dikes around the airport and sweep the facility away without warning. Other development projects on the west coast have already experienced many environmental and sociological problems.

In the old days, South Korea had some 100 inland swamps. Now only around 10 still exist. Most were used as trash dumps or industrial sites. Remaining natural wetlands include the Junam Reservoir, the Woopo swamp, and the estuaries of the Nakdong and Han Rivers. These are important ecosystems for migratory birds. For example, the Nakdong River estuary was the regular habitat for more than 50,000 water fowl. But now, because of the destruction of that estuary through pollution and landfills, most of the migratory birds have moved to Junam Reservoir.

Awareness of the ecological value of wetlands is low in Korea: people think that these areas are unimportant to human life and destroy them with little hesitation. South Korea is not a contracting party to the Ramsar Convention, the international effort for the conservation of wetlands. Instead, the government plans continued and extensive landfill projects. Some 1200 sq km of shore wetlands are to be filled by the year 2001, a total of 2300 sq km by the year 2011. If these plans are carried out, Korea will have lost almost all of its shore wetlands.

Much needs to be done. Korea has no real data about wetland ecosystems. The government must start monitoring these areas and learn and

educate about their importance. And the government should join the Ramsar Convention, as an important regional and international environmental effort.

Meanwhile, Green Korea and other environmental organizations are trying to conserve remaining wetland areas. We educate children about the importance of wetlands, and bring groups to tidal flats so that people can experience these endangered areas themselves. And we petition government to protect these natural areas. At the recent meeting of the Ramsar Convention held in Brisbane, Australia in March 1996, Korean NGOs present pressed the Korean government's team of observers on this country's participation. The delegation members replied that the government intended to sign on to the convention "this year."

Certainly a change of consciousness and policy is necessary. Korea's wetlands are part of a regional network of supporting habitats for wildlife species that have great importance in other countries. A break in the ecological chain — the loss of the Korean link, so to speak — would make Korea and the entire region poorer. Wetland protection is another example of local conservation action that sustains the global ecosystem.

POISONED PROSPERITY: Development, Modernization, and the Environment in SOUTH KOREA

Prof. Norman Eder's new book examines the environmental price of Korea's "economic miracle"



Norman Eder's year as a Senior Fulbright Scholar at Korea's Hanyang University was well-spent. That was 1994, and he used his time to research the issue that affects Koreans every day: the environmental costs of their rapid industrialization. In the first book in English to focus on this issue, Eder presents a compelling compilation of the costs of rapid development on humans and the environment, the history and structure of environmental administration in Korea, and problems with environmental law and management. Other sections look at the "forces for change" and non-governmental organizations, the international nature of the environmental problems here and the "prospects for progress."

What are the problems? "Unrestrained urban sprawl, massive traffic jams, toxic air and water laced with untreated municipal and industrial wastes, and bureaucratic gridlock are the environmental hallmarks of daily Korean life." The positive side is that "every element of Korean society has come to accept the necessity of addressing Korea's environmental problems." But change will not be easy.

We highly recommend this very informative, readable book to anyone interested in Asian development and environmental issues. Of course in the fast-moving Korean society there have been changes in government policy and NGO organization since the book was written. Still, *Poisoned Prosperity* is and will remain a basic reference work on Korea's ecological situation.

An East Gate Book, 1996. M.E. Sharpe, Armonk, New York/London, England (ISBN 1-56324-687-2, paperback) US \$21.95

Norman Eder is vice president of public affairs and associate professor of environmental science and engineering at Oregon Graduate Institute of Science and Technology in Portland. He also serves as an assistant professor at Pacific Northwest College of Art in Portland.

Norman Eder was in Seoul recently and we asked him why he wrote "Poisoned Prosperity":

"Most people in the west have absolutely no understanding of what is going on in Asia. And although there is an emerging interest in the environmental consequences of rapid development in Asia, it's something that most foreigners haven't paid very much attention to. So I wanted to write a book that would inform people outside Korea about what was going on across the horizon of environmental activity: from NGOs, to govern-

ment regulation, to law, to provide an understanding of Korean environmental issues, but in the context of Korean society. I sought to write a book that was not just about the environment but was about Korean society as well.

I also wrote it for my Korean friends. Because it has also been my observation that many Koreans, until very recently, have thought about the environment too narrowly. They have thought about the environment as a technical issue or as a development issue, or even more narrowly, as a problem of just water, or air. But the environment is a cultural and political problem, and most Koreans still to this day don't understand that. And I wanted to write a book that put environmental problems into that cultural and political framework."

In the book you mention the reaction of "selective environmentalism," where people focus on small individual actions as a way to better the environmental situation. And also the 'repair syndrome' — where people hope that the damage done over 30 years can be 'fixed.' After all your research you end the book on an up-beat but cautious note, that it could go either way. But do you think that achieving an ecological balance here is even possible? Or has the destruction gone too far?

"Well, nature is an enormously resilient entity, and I think that in the last year there have been clear signs of a stabilization going on here. And I mean that in the broadest sense. Not just a stabilization of environmental conditions as you might measure them — air and water — that are already terrible. They may not be getting much worse, they are also not getting much better. But more importantly what I mean by stabilization is

that the political and economic and social recognition of the environment has spread widely in Korea. You are now finding a lot of pressure in and around Korean society to improve the environment and to address environmental problems. And in the last year you've seen in the local elections and also the recent national elections that the environment becomes something that politicians talk about because they think it's important to get votes. And I think that although that is frustrating, and you have to be very suspicious of that, it also is a recognition that it has entered into the mainstream of Korean thought. And that's an important and substantial difference from the past."


In your book you had examples of problems caused by large corporations here, and also some examples of their first steps towards better environmental practices. But what are these companies doing abroad?

"You've really asked two questions. One is what are their environmental practices abroad vis-a-vis manufacturing and other things. And companies like Samsung are rapidly coming to the international environmental standard in manufacturing and other kinds of activities which have in the past been harmful to the environment. The big companies are. So there is the production end.

And then there is the "But what are they doing?" end of the question. And there are (Korean) companies that are logging rainforests in Indonesia, or the Philippines, an activity approved by a foreign government. So it is a legal, but nonetheless wanton, environmental problem. But it is of a different nature from the company operations.

Because in this case they are doing something entirely legal which is supported by the foreign government. So do you blame the Korean company for doing that? Let's say logging rainforest? You may say "yes." But it seems to me that the blame really should fall on the foreign government that is giving them the contract."

What about the overall role of Korea in Asia?

"Much of the rest of Asia, certainly the rapidly developing parts of Asia — Indonesia and Thailand, Malaysia — in one form or another have studied the Korean development model, and they're all following it. With some variation. But they are all paying attention to it, and they think of it as a goal. The things that have been accomplished in this country are in many ways amazing. But they also recognize the environmental costs that Koreans have paid for their rapid industrialization. And they are not just trying to emulate the Korean model, but they are looking to see if Korea can now fix its environmental problems, because they know that 20 years from now they will be in exactly the same environmental circumstances that Korea is today. And there are people in those countries who are looking for ways to alter their development paths, not necessarily to sustainable development, but to alter the development path based on heavy industry and the Korean model in a way that will not leave such a toxic legacy as here. But they are also looking to see whether or not they are condemned to an environmental nightmare. Because if Korea can't fix the problem that has been created, then they are also doomed. And I think that is what they are watching." 

Remembrance and Renewal

Reflections on social movements in Korean and the Philippines

Edicio dela Torre

Institute for Popular Democracy

First of all, my apologies to our Korean hosts for not sending my written speech on schedule, and special sympathies to those who have to translate it in a rush!

I do find it difficult to write a speech before delivering it, and this one is particularly difficult. When Francis and Catherine met with me in Copenhagen last March, I thought my speech would be mainly a follow-up of my comparisons between social movements in Korea and the Philippines. When I received the proposal to broaden the scope to all of Asia, I felt I felt quite inadequate. After trying to include what little I know of social movements in other countries, I finally decided to stick to my original scope and discuss mainly what I know from and two countries. Hopefully, my reflections can stimulate responses from other participants from Southeast Asia and Northeast Asia.

1) Since we are meeting just a month before the 50th anniversary and jubilee activities in Korea, I thought of starting precisely with the key issues of 50 years ago. For us in the Philippines, the symbolic year is next year, 1996, which is the 50th year after formal political independence was granted by the government of the United States of America. It is also 100 years after the start of the Philippine revolution against Spanish colonialism.

For both of our countries, as well as for practically all countries in Asia and the South, the key issue 50 years ago was national independence, particularly political independence. It is worth reminding ourselves of this perspective. 50 years is not yet very old in Asian terms.

In fact, the acronym NIC (for newly-industrializing country) meant something else in the 1950s. Then it meant "newly independent country". Unlike the situation in dominant Northern and colonizing countries, nationalism in most of Asian and in the South had a very positive resonance. It was not expansionist nationalism, seeking to conquer territories and people beyond national orders. It was a struggle to claim sovereignty against colonialism.

How shall we view the role of nationalism today in our social movements?

Because nationalism and nationalist movements were broad-based projects, they have ambiguous meanings today. We can usefully distinguish between elite nationalism and popular nationalism, and also between conservative nationalism and radical nationalism. We may even add authoritarian (fascist) nationalism versus democratic

nationalism.

In the 1970s, the phrase "national democracy" sought to capture the three strands of popular, democratic, and radical nationalism. While gaining more weight to democratic and social issues, the national democratic project was heir to the nationalist tradition of seeking to establish an independent and sovereign state that would protect the national territory and population.

In both Korea and the Philippines, the most obvious indicators of the unfinished nationalist struggle are the military bases of the United States of America, especially since they operate under treaties that guarantee extra-territorial rights. Of course the partition of Korea and the project of unification is a specific and powerful nationalist issue for Korea.

If reunification is specific to Korea, the Philippines has its own specific issue related to nationalism that it shares with many Asian countries - our ethnic diversity. Unlike the Korean people who are relatively homogeneous, the people of the Philippines belong to at least 51 ethno-linguistic communities, according to the official study of the Cultural Center of the Philippines. Although it is the issue of Muslim filipinos and the Cordillera people which is most sharply projected, that does not represent all of the problem. We have, adopting Benedict Anderson's phrase, to 're-imagine' the Philippine nation so that it is more inclusive of our ethnic diversity.

Even as we continue to address the issue of national sovereignty vis-a-vis outside political powers, we also have to consider the relationship between the central state and local government and communities. The local government code in the Philippines and the recent local government elections in Korea are not only related to questions of democracy; they are integral to our search for more appropriate arrangements and structures of national and popular sovereignty.

Even at the beginning of political independence, there were critical voices that talked about neocolonialism and the lack of economic sovereignty. In many ways, the shift in meaning of NIC from 'newly independent country' to 'newly industrializing country' reflects the efforts to address the economic basis of national independence.

But events have overtaken the unfinished nationalist projects of the last 50 years. The dominant discourse is now about globalization, open economies and regional integration. In addition to investment and trade, debt has become a key issue.

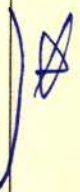
The relative hegemony of neo-liberal ideology, with its downplaying of the state, has made it difficult to re-examine and revitalize nationalism as a progressive ideology. But we must. We cannot be caught in a false bind of either reasserting an inadequate nationalist project or dropping the category of "national" and restricting our scales of action to "global" and "local".

The Institute for Popular Democracy is planning a series of discussions in 1996 on "deconstructing and reconstructing nationalism". I think that this is a shared concern of social movements in the South, whether we have anniversaries to commemorate or not. In fact even countries in the North have to address it, although from a different and

more advantageous starting point. Korea, which I like to position as "between North and South" has the special situation and challenge of experiencing and addressing the issue from both angles.

- 민족문제에 해의와 서양

There is at least one conclusion. I'd like to draw as I end this first section of my paper. Much more than in the past, social movements in our respective countries need to link our discussions and actions across borders. we need to engage in re-imagining and re-constructing arrangements and structures beyond national borders. Walden Bello argues convincingly that from the point of view of the South, the main story in the past decade is not 1989 and the collapse of the wall between East and West. Rather, the main story is the roll back by the North of the momentum and gains of the 70s, when there was a strong and internationally legitimized call for a new international economic order (NIEO), and when the non-aligned movement could exploit the East-West conflict expand the South's space for maneuver. In this sense, 1989 was also significant for the South, but only as part of a mere significant story which is now continuing to play itself out.



Perhaps it is more useful, instead of talking about nationalism, to talk of self-determination at many levels - for local communities and ethnic communities that do not experience adequate participation and representation at the central level or for central governments that feel the pressure of other government's interests as they negotiate unequal terms. For us, the new distinct challenge of self-determination is regional and to some extent across of of the South. How do we engage our already limited energies and resources in an Asian agenda that will not simply be exploited by Japan in its triangular rivalry with North America and Western Europe?

Because of uneven and unequal capacities also in the South, there is a special responsibility here for social movements in NICs like Korea, in alliance with whatever section of their elite. Just as China tried to position itself with the "third world" vis-a-vis North West and North East, perhaps this is the specific international issue that social movements in Korea need to discuss.

- 민족주의 정의를 라고 // 'Develop' => CIVIL SOCIETY

2) Let me jump from 50 years back to around halfway - 25 years ago. For social movements in Korea and the Philippines, it is safe to say that the key issue and key word which leaped to the base was democracy. Of course this was embedded in the wider discourse on human rights.

The outright dismantling of democratic structures and processes (even though these were themselves inadequate) and the installation of militaristic rule sharpened our consciousness about democracy and defined much of our formative strategies. Most probably all of us in this workshop can trace our political roots to this period, either directly or through our mentors.

The growth of what is now called traditional social movements is marked by the resistance struggle against dictatorship, for democracy. The international projection and

solidarity relations forged by our respective movements rested mainly on the issue of democracy and human rights.

But instead of remaining narrowly political, our understanding of democracy and human rights broadened and deepened under the dictatorships as they pursued what we call "developmental authoritarianism." The class and sectoral movements, especially the democratic and progressive trade union movements developed in the midst of the broad democratic movement.

However, we must acknowledge that there was a tendency to focuss democratic energies on resistance, up to perspectives of subverting and overthrowing the state. There was not enough effort devoted to conceptualizing and practicing other democratic practices and alternatives.

Hence, when "managed transitions" to formal democracy happened, the social movements' weaknesses revealed themselves. Debates on the nature of the new government never got resolved and opportunities for using the new democratic spaces were missed. Instead of benefitting from the gains of democracy, sections of the social movements were marginalized, sometimes with their own unwitting cooperation.

Others, however, chose to engage the conservative elite on the terrain of democracy. It is from this section of the social movement that the discourse on "participatory democracy" and "popular democracy" have flourished.

This has not been without problems. After all, the disorientations, debates and divisions have diminished the total energies and capacities of social movements. And yet there are multiple arenas that they have to engage in : elections for government offices, building up of non-government structure of popular power, engaging government in policy debates and keeping watch over its activities and abuses.

All these demand not just a lot of time, energy and resources, but also new skills which ere not learned during resistance : Debates, negotiations, policy alternatives, coalition policies, the use of media and not just warm bodies on the streets. Those who managed to adapt and learn emerged from these testing times as more mature social activists. Others lost their bearing or decided to remain at more primitive levels of opposition politics.

It is important to share our observations of trends not just among social movements but among the conservative and even liberal elite. There is a shift from conceptions of a developmental state to a neo-liberal retreat of the state. This is often intertwined with talk of democratizing the state.

For social movements that have been used to focus on the state, the shift of dominant elite power to unaccountable corporate structure calls for another cycle of learning and adjustment. In addition to political literacy we need to engage in economic literacy or, more broadly, development literacy campaigns.

And while this is happening, we also have to take into account the new vigorous discourse about "civil society".

I am personally quite curious at this new round of interest in civil society, having

tried to discuss it around 1986 in the Philippines and not getting too much interest. I have the impression that there is a similar upsurge in literature and discussion on civil society in Korea.

Although it is not without ambiguity, I think we should welcome this as a challenge and opportunity to renew our thinking on democracy and development, and to tap new energies that may not be open to traditional forms of progressive political involvement.

However, I think we must watch out that we don't fall into the depoliticized version of civil society, or worse, into an anti-state position that is either anarchist or neo-liberal. That is why it is crucial that efforts to elect progressives and democrats should continue, including projects of forming alternative political parties. Otherwise, we may narrowly theorize our practice and put all our hope in non-governmental and non-party organizations and initiatives.

There is a potential of the discourse on civil society that I'd like to emphasize and pursue. It is the potential to rediscover and recognize the importance of communities in relation to democracy and development.

Our main social movements have tended to emphasize the building up of national sectoral federations, movements and networks. Local units and chapters are to find their full usefulness as part of national activities and campaigns. The integration of social movement people in wider community of people and in defined areas of life has been given less, except in cases of urban poor communities and some rural communities.

But if we are to take account of environmental issues not just as topics for campaigns but as integral to alternative conceptions of development, we need to give communities the importance they deserve in our strategy. Of course, there are a variety of communities - some traditional and more organic, others international. Community also has to be understood on a variety of scales, from primary villages to larger units, including concepts like bio-regions and even market districts. There are a number of theoretical and practical initiatives on this topic.

If we take communities, in their diversity, as a key concern, we will have to recover our appreciation for culture, religion and other crucial components of shared identity.

3) Let me use the discussion on community as take-off point for my third and last section. I invite you to take a look into the future and its challenges.

One of my recent readings which I quote a lot is Global Dreams. Its hypothesis is that the main contradiction we'll have to deal with is between the forces of globalization (especially finance and telecommunications) and communities at various levels. The book tends to emphasize local, organic communities. I would still include national communities, even if they are fragile and half-formed.

Our workshop is an indication of what we need to work towards. We have to

exchange our readings of regional and global trends, and also exchange our efforts to maintain whatever communities we have, at whatever level. This, I think, is a key element in our shared vision

This calls for a renewal of our politics, and requires a close link between our understanding and practice of politics and there interrelated concerns : ecumenical, ecological and economic.

There is no doubt that some form of faster and great economic integration along capitalistic lines is happening and will continue to happen especially in East Asia, both North and South. We will, of course, have countervailing local and national initiatives. But we would be short sighted if we did not also exert efforts at conceiving and implementing alternative forms of close cooperation and complementation among our movements and communities.

I do not have time to cite initiatives and possibilities, but we can exchange information and ideas during this workshop. Although our focus is on Asia, especially East Asia, we can not avoid addressing also Asia's relation to the rest of the world, both South and North.

This seems contradictory and almost crazy. We are so few and with limited resources, and yet we need to expand our area of concern and activities! But as Megatrends points out, as the connections become more and more global, the potential of small units increases. What we need to do is to share our vision and focus our energies and resources on a few key areas where we can work together.

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منظمة العفو الدولية

國際特赦組織

AI INDEX: ASA 25/18/96
20 AUGUST 1996 -- FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

News Service 151/96

REPUBLIC OF KOREA (SOUTH KOREA): GOVERNMENT SHOULD ENSURE THAT STUDENTS ARE NOT ILL-TREATED IN DETENTION

Following the arrests today of more than 3,000 students at the campus of Yonsei University in Seoul, Amnesty International expressed its concern that riot police beat students as they were being detained.

"The violence at Yonsei University should not be used as a pretext for the government to allow the police to beat up demonstrators," Amnesty International said. "The South Korean authorities should ensure that all detained students are protected from further ill-treatment. They should also be given access to their families and legal counsel and appropriate medical attention."

In South Korea detainees are routinely deprived of sleep, sometimes beaten during police interrogation and denied prompt access to families and lawyers. The organization fears that as a result of the violent clashes, the students in detention could be subjected to this pattern of abuse.

Violence between police and students erupted when government authorities banned a student festival at Yonsei University, apparently on the grounds that it was pro-North Korean. On 14 August the authorities sent thousands of riot police to break it up. Several hundred students and policemen were subsequently injured, and police cut off supplies of food and medicine to the students. On 20 August riot police stormed the campus, and the total number of arrests has risen above 5,000.

While Amnesty International does not condone the use of violence by the students, it is concerned that all detainees are protected in accordance with international standards and that those who did not use violence should be released.

ENDS./

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20-AUG-1996 16:06

P.02

이재동 박사기념

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ENDS..

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URGENT ACTION

EXTERNAL

AI Index: ASA 25/19/96

EXTRA 134/96

Mass arrests / fear of ill-treatment

20 August 1996

REPUBLIC OF KOREA
(SOUTH KOREA)

Over 3000 students

Over 3000 students were arrested by riot police on 20 August following several days of violence on the campus of Yonsei University in Seoul. Amnesty International is concerned at reports that riot policemen beat students as they were being arrested and driven away in police vans. There are also fears that the students may face further ill-treatment during police questioning. The organization is appealing to the authorities to ensure that all detained students are protected from further police ill-treatment and that they are given access to families, legal counsel and, where necessary, appropriate medical attention.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Violence between police and students erupted when government authorities banned a student festival at Yonsei University, apparently on the grounds that it was pro-North Korean. The festival had been organized by *Hanchongyon* (the national federation of student councils) to mark the 15 August anniversary of Korea's liberation from Japanese rule. Similar student events are held each year in August and are sometimes banned by the government because the students' demands are similar to those made by North Korea. The students were demanding reunification with the North, the abolition of the National Security Law and the withdrawal of 37,000 US troops from South Korea. On 14 August, the authorities sent thousands of riot policemen to break up the rally. Several hundred students and policemen were injured in days of violence, as police cut off supplies of food and medicine to the students. On 20 August, riot policemen stormed the campus and arrested thousands of students. A total of 5,600 students have been arrested since the disturbances began.

Amnesty International does not condone the use of violence by student demonstrators during several days of rioting at Yonsei University. The organization's main concern is that the rights of detainees should now be protected, in accordance with international human rights standards. It is also concerned at reports that unarmed students were ill-treated in the course of arrest.

Amnesty International believes that the authorities' decision to ban the demonstration was politically motivated and may have caused the increased tension which led to the violence.

Detainees in South Korea are routinely deprived of sleep and sometimes beaten during police interrogation. They are sometimes denied prompt access to families and lawyers.

RECOMMENDED ACTION: Please send telegrams/faxes/express or airmail letters in English, Korean or your own language:

- expressing concern at reports that students were kicked and beaten by police as they were arrested on 20 August;
- urging the authorities to ensure that all those detained are protected from police ill-treatment and that they are given regular access to families, legal counsel and any necessary medical attention;
- urging the authorities to release any students held for the non-violent exercise of their rights to freedom of expression and association.

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APPEALS TO:

1) President Kim Young-sam

The Blue House
1 Sejong-ro
Chongno-gu, Seoul, Republic of Korea
Faxes: +822 770 0253
Telegrams: President Kim Young-sam, Seoul, Republic of Korea
Salutation: Dear President

2) Minister of Justice

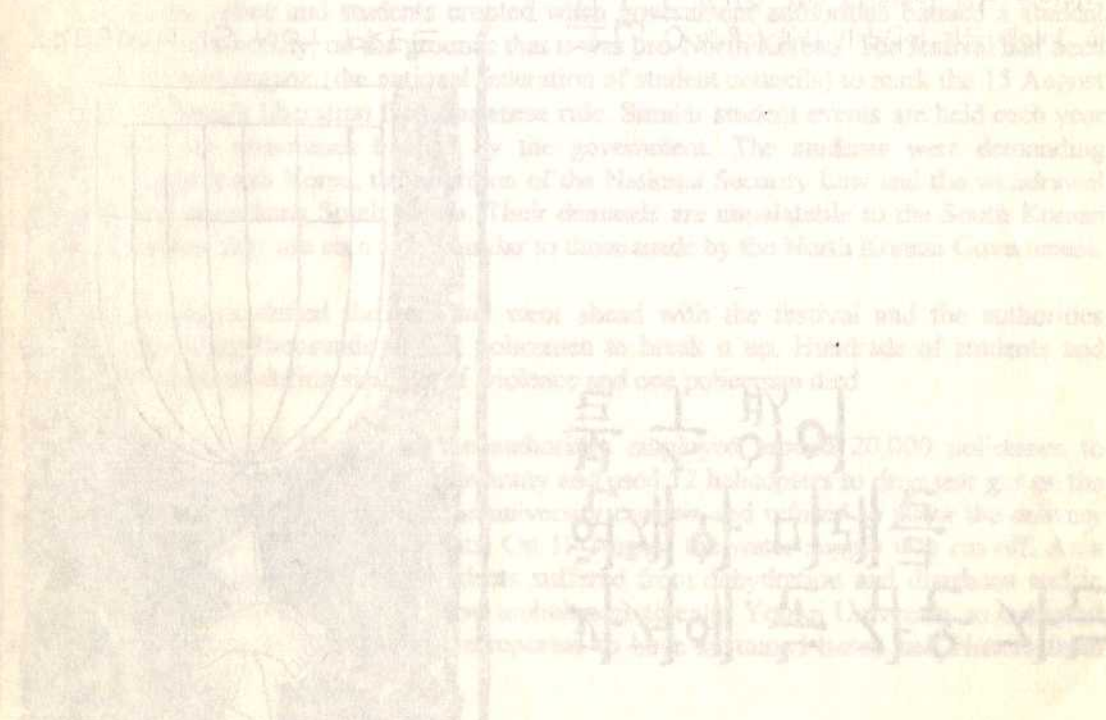
Mr Ahn Woo-man
1 Chungang-dong
Kwachon-myon
Shihung-gun
Kyonggi-do, Republic of Korea
Faxes: +822 504 3337
Telegrams: Justice Minister Ahn, Shihung-gun, Kyonggi Province, South Korea
Salutation: Dear Minister

3) Park Il-yong, Director

National Police Administration
209 Mi Kun-dong, Sudaemoon-gu
Chongno-gu, Seoul, Republic of Korea
Faxes: +822 720 2686 (via Minister of Foreign Affairs)

COPIES TO: diplomatic representatives of the Republic of Korea (South Korea) accredited to your country.

PLEASE SEND APPEALS IMMEDIATELY. Check with the International Secretariat, or your section office, if sending appeals after 17 September 1996.



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REPUBLIC OF KOREA (South Korea)

reported ill-treatment of students

3 September 1996

AI INDEX: ASA 25/23/96
DISTR: SC/CO/GR

Over 5800 South Korean students were arrested between 12 and 22 August following a violent confrontation with riot police on the campus of Yonsei University in Seoul. On 20 August alone over 3000 students were arrested. While not condoning the use of violence by students, Amnesty International is concerned about numerous reports of human rights violations committed by the police during a surprisingly harsh crackdown. These included beatings, threats and sexual intimidation in the course of arrest and police interrogation. Amnesty International is also concerned that the crackdown may entail further arrests for non-violent political activities since the government has declared its determination to root out "pro-North Korean" and "leftist" elements in student and labour groups.

Background information

Violence between police and students erupted when government authorities banned a student festival at Yonsei University, on the grounds that it was pro-North Korean. The festival had been organized by *Hanchongyon* (the national federation of student councils) to mark the 15 August anniversary of Korea's liberation from Japanese rule. Similar student events are held each year in August and are sometimes banned by the government. The students were demanding reunification with North Korea, the abolition of the National Security Law and the withdrawal of 37,000 US troops from South Korea. Their demands are unpalatable to the South Korean authorities because they are seen to be similar to those made by the North Korean Government.

The students defied the ban and went ahead with the festival and the authorities responded by sending thousands of riot policemen to break it up. Hundreds of students and policemen were injured during six days of violence and one policeman died.

Between 12 and 20 August the authorities employed around 20,000 policemen to suppress the demonstration at Yonsei University and used 12 helicopters to drop tear gas on the students. They blocked all exits from the university campus and refused to allow the delivery of food and medicine for injured students. On 19 August the water supply was cut off. As a consequence of this blockade many students suffered from dehydration and diarrhoea and in some cases the authorities refused to allow ambulances to enter Yonsei University to transport injured students. Over 1000 students are reported to have sustained burns and blisters from exposure to tear gas.

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On 20 August riot policemen stormed the campus and arrested thousands of students. While many of those arrested have now been released, over 400 have been indicted on charges of violence and illegal demonstration. Several dozen have also been charged under the National Security Law which punishes pro-North Korean activities. Others are still under investigation and arrests continued during the last week of August.

Ill-treatment during arrest and interrogation

Amnesty International received numerous reports that students were beaten during arrest. Reports of ill-treatment were received from eye-witnesses and victims and police brutality was filmed by news reporters on the scene.

Amnesty International emphasizes that it does not condone the use of violence by student protesters. However, the organization is concerned about the reported ill-treatment of unarmed students in the course of arrest and further ill-treatment during interrogation. It is concerned that ill-treatment is likely to continue if there are further arrests.

Some of those detained had no apparent connection with the demonstration. On 16 August Lee Seung-joon, a student of Kyonghee University, was detained by a group of policemen as he was returning home from a part-time job. He said to have been beaten on the head as he was transported to Sudaemoon Police Station. He was released without charge two days later. On 18 August, Myoung-hyo, a student of Hanshin University, was detained and beaten as he was waiting for a subway train near to Yonsei University. During police interrogation a police officer is alleged to have hit him again, urging him to confess that he had participated in the demonstration. He was also released without charge on 20 August. Two unnamed female students were detained close to Yonsei University as they were walking in the street. As they climbed into the police bus, policeman are reported to have shouted sexual insults and touched their breasts.

In dozens of cases unarmed students were beaten with police batons and kicked as they were being detained on 20 and 21 August. Some said they had been forced to crawl over pieces of broken glass. Some female students reported being forced to stand in a line with their hands above their heads as riot policemen shouted sexual insults, touched their breasts and slapped their faces. One student reported hearing policemen shout insults and threaten to rape the students.

Yang Han-seung, a student of Dongkuk University, said that he was beaten by about 10 policemen as he was arrested on 20 August. Cho Hyoung-kyu, a student of Seoul National University, said that his teeth were broken as he was kicked in the face by policemen. Several others reported being kicked and hit with batons as they were arrested, some requiring hospital treatment.

The students arrested on 20 August were initially detained in two girls' schools and then taken to over 30 police stations throughout Seoul. All were reportedly denied access to their families until arrest warrants were issued on 22 August. Many reported that they were beaten as a means of making them confess that they had used violence. Two students said that they had been forced to pose for a photograph, wielding a metal pipe. One female student said that police had threatened to strip her unless she confessed to using violence.

Fear of further arrest and ill-treatment

Since the mass arrests on 20 August police have arrested hundreds of students at universities throughout the country and have reportedly confiscated steel pipes and fire bombs. They also confiscated leaflets and other printed material deemed to support North Korea. Amnesty

International is concerned that some students may have been detained under the National Security Law merely for belonging to *Hanchongnyon*, which has now been outlawed as a pro-North Korean body. It is also concerned that a number of recent government statements point to a new crackdown on freedom of expression and association, which may be extended to other groups of activists and workers. President Kim Young-sam is reported to have defined the activities of *Hanchongnyon* as a "pro-North Korean guerilla operation". Officials are reported to have said that "leftist forces" had infiltrated labour groups, thereby suggesting that they may also be included in the current crackdown.

Hundreds of people have been detained under the National Security Law during 1996, mostly for non-violent offences deemed to "praise" and "benefit" North Korea. For many years Amnesty International has called for an amendment to the law so that the rights to freedom of expression and association are protected. The organization also has long-standing concerns about police ill-treatment of detainees - including beatings and sleep deprivation. It has urged the authorities to enforce practical measures to ensure that all detainees are protected from ill-treatment.

RECOMMENDED ACTION: Please send letters and faxes:

- *expressing concern at reports that students were kicked and beaten by police as they were arrested and during interrogation;*
- *urging the authorities to ensure that all detainees are protected from ill-treatment in accordance with international standards;*
- *Calling for the release of those held for non-violent activities under the National Security Law.*

APPEALS TO:

1) President Kim Young-sam,

The Blue House, 1 Sejong-no, Chongno-gu,
Seoul, Republic of Korea, Fax: +82 2 770 0253

2) Mr Ahn Woo-man, Minister of Justice

Ministry of Justice, 1 Chungang-dong, Kwachon-myon,
Shihung-gun, Kyonggi Province, Republic of Korea
Fax: +82 2 504 3337

3) Mr Park Il-vong, Director

National Police Administration
209 Mi Kum-dong, Sudaemoon-gu
Choongno-gu, Seoul, Republic of Korea
Fax: +82 2 720 2686 (via Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

-diplomatic representatives of the Republic of Korea (South Korea) in your country.

- *This appeal has been sent to KOTARAN Coordinators for quick action by groups.*

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT, 1 EASTON STREET, LONDON WC1X 8DJ, UNITED KINGDOM

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REPUBLIC OF KOREA

The Republic of Korea is governed by a directly elected president and a unicameral legislature selected by both direct and proportional voting. The judiciary operates independently of the executive branch. The Government held legislative elections in April and continued to reform the political system, creating a special legislative committee composed of assembly members from ruling and opposition parties to revise election laws and investigate campaign irregularities.

Responsibility for maintaining internal security lies with the National Security Planning Agency (NSP), the Korean National Police (KNP), and the Defense Security Command (DSC). Legislation passed in 1993 restricted the NSP from interfering in domestic politics; and gave it investigative authority only in cases involving terrorism, espionage, and international crime organizations. In December the Government revised this law to allow the NSP to investigate domestic organizations that are viewed as supporting the North Korean Government. There continued to be credible reports of some infringements of suspects' rights by NSP officials during the interrogation process.

After a period of sustained economic growth averaging about 9 percent per year, the economy has slowed somewhat, with 1996 economic growth projected at 7 percent. This slowdown in the rate of growth is attributable to dampened demand for key exports, declining terms of trade, and lower investment growth. While economic growth is still robust, Korea continues to face issues of declining competitiveness, a labor shortage, an inefficient agricultural sector, and inadequate infrastructure.

The Government generally respects the human rights of its citizens; however, there were problems in some areas. The use or threatened use of the National Security Law (NSL) continued to infringe upon citizens civil liberties, including the right to free expression. There was no progress toward reform of the NSL, although judges appointed since the onset of democratic government demonstrated their independence in several cases in which they refused to authorize prosecution of dissidents under the NSL or acquitted defendants charged under its provisions. The Ministry of Justice continued to implement guidelines requiring that suspects be told at the time of arrest of their right to remain silent and their right to a lawyer. Nevertheless, there continued to be credible reports that, in some instances, police deprived suspects of

timely access to counsel or subjected detainees to verbal threats, physical abuse, and sleep deprivation. Some human rights groups alleged that police used excessive violence in confrontations with student demonstrators. Women continued to face legal and societal discrimination. Violence against women and physical abuse remain serious problems. There is still insufficient

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legal redress for these problems. Ethnic minorities face legal and societal discrimination. In December labor statutes were amended in an effort to meet international standards for worker rights and to increase labor flexibility. However, key worker rights provisions were either delayed or deleted from the final legislation, while promanagement labor market changes are to become effective March 1997. The labor bill encountered strong opposition from Korean labor organizations, which launched demonstrations and strikes to protest its passage. After opposition legislators physically prevented a vote on this bill, it, as well as the revised NSP statute, was passed in a secretive, predawn National Assembly session with no opposition legislators present.

The Government continued its surveillance of some released political prisoners and continued to require released political prisoners to make regular reports to the police under the Social Surveillance Law. However, the Government still has not authorized independent investigations of the cases of some prisoners who received sentences on charges believed to have been fabricated by previous governments. Some of these prisoners reportedly were subjected to torture to extract confessions and to trials that did not meet international standards of fairness.

RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Section 1 Respect for the Integrity of the Person, Including Freedom from:

a. Political and Other Extrajudicial Killing

There were no reports of political or extrajudicial killings by the police or military. One student and a policeman died during demonstrations. No Su Sok, a student at Seoul's Yonsei University who participated in a demonstration during the spring near the campus, was stricken by heart failure while fleeing from police. Activists maintained that bruises on No's body suggested that the heart attack may have been induced by police violence. However, medical authorities who examined the body attributed No's death to a heart attack. A policeman trying to control a demonstration at Yonsei University in August died after rocks thrown by students struck him in the head (see Section 2.b.).

On September 18, a North Korean submarine attempting to infiltrate an armed reconnaissance team into South Korean territory ran aground off the South Korean coast. The 26 North Korean personnel onboard abandoned the vessel. Eleven crew members were apparently killed by the submarine's complement of highly trained infiltrators in order to prevent their capture. Of the surviving infiltrators, 13 were killed in encounters with South Korean security forces, 1 was captured alive, and 1 remains unaccounted for. Nine members of the South Korean military and a police officer were killed in the search for the infiltrators. Three civilian bystanders were murdered by the infiltrators. One civilian was killed accidentally by South Korean military personnel.

b. Disappearance

There were no reports of politically motivated disappearances.

c. Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

The Government has ordered investigating authorities to protect the human rights of suspects, and allegations of abuse by authorities of those in custody for questioning continued to decline. Nonetheless, prosecutors continued to place much emphasis on securing convictions through confessions. In spite of government directives discouraging sleep deprivation as a technique for obtaining confessions, there continued to be reports of police questioning suspects through the night and, reportedly in some cases, verbally or physically abusing suspects, including beatings, threats, and sexual intimidation in the course of arrest and police interrogation.

Some human rights groups alleged that police used excessive violence in quelling disturbances that resulted from student demonstrations in August (see Section 2.b.).

The Government continued to consider cases in which former detainees argued that they deserved redress for torture suffered in the past. However, the Government has failed to provide an effective mechanism for redress, such as an independent body to investigate complaints of past human rights violations. It remained relatively rare for officials accused of abuse or harassment of suspects to be prosecuted.

Prison conditions are Spartan. Prison diets are adequate, but the prisons offer little protection against cold in winter and heat in the summer. Consequently, some prisoners claim that the conditions have damaged their health. There have been a few claims that prison guards have used excessive force or have needlessly put prisoners in manacles and that medical care for prisoners has been inadequate. Prisoner access to reading materials and television broadcasts has improved significantly in recent years. There is little independent monitoring of prison conditions, although representatives of human rights groups may visit certain prisoners at the discretion of the prison warden.

d. Arbitrary Arrest, Detention, or Exile

Korean law is often vague, and prosecutors have wide latitude to interpret the law. The NSL defines espionage in broad terms, and permits the authorities to detain and arrest persons who commit acts viewed as supportive of North Korea and therefore dangerous to the Republic of Korea. Authorities arrested persons not only spying on behalf of North Korea but also those who praised North Korea, its former leader Kim Il Sung, or the DPRK's self-reliance ("juche") political philosophy. The United Nations Human Rights Committee has termed the NSL "a major obstacle to the full realization of the rights enshrined in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights." The Government arrested over 200 dissidents under the NSL during the year, accusing most of them of trying to undermine democracy by aiding North Korea.

Article 7 of the NSL permits the imprisonment for up to 7 years of anyone who "with the knowledge that he might endanger the existence or security of the State or the basic order of free democracy, praised, encouraged, propagandized for, or sided with

the activities of an antistate organization." The legal standard for knowing what might endanger the existence of the State is vague. Consequently, a number of Koreans have been arrested for what appeared to be peaceful expression of opposing views. For example, in February singer Lee Run Jin and publisher Won Yong Ho were arrested for publishing a songbook that allegedly praised North Korea.

The Government's rationale for retaining the NSL is that North Korea is actively trying to subvert the Government and society and that special circumstances call for limiting some forms of expression to block the greater danger to freedom and democracy posed by totalitarianism. The effect sometimes is to relieve the Government of the burden of proof in a court of law that any particular speech or action does, in fact, threaten the nation's security. Citizens continued to be prosecuted for unauthorized travel to North Korea (see Section 2.d.).

The Criminal Code requires warrants to be issued by judges in cases of arrest, detention, seizure, or search, except if the person is apprehended while committing a criminal act, or if a judge is not available and the authorities believe that the suspect may destroy evidence or escape capture if not quickly arrested. In such emergency cases, judges must issue arrest warrants within 48 hours after apprehension, or, if a court is not located in the county, in 72 hours. Police may detain suspects who voluntarily come in for questioning for up to 6 hours but must notify the suspects' families. The police generally respected these legal requirements.

Upon issuance of an arrest warrant, the security services normally must release suspects after 30 days unless an indictment is issued. Hence, detainees are a relatively small percentage of the total prison population.

The Constitution specifically provides for the right to representation by an attorney, but attorneys are not allowed to be present during a police interrogation. The Government began in 1993 to permit suspects to consult with "duty lawyers" during breaks in the interrogation. The Justice Ministry also issued guidelines last year requiring police to inform suspects at the time of arrest about their right to be represented by a lawyer. However, there continued to be complaints that access to a lawyer was restricted during this phase. There is a functioning system of bail, but human rights lawyers say that bail is generally not granted in cases involving serious offenses, and, even when the offense is relatively minor, bail often will not be granted unless the victim of the alleged crime agrees to the bail request.

The Government does not use forced exile.

e. Denial of Fair Public Trial

The Constitution provides for an independent judiciary. The President appoints the Chief Justice and most justices of the Constitutional Court. Although judges do not receive life appointments, in recent years the judiciary has shown increasing independence. Judges cannot be fired or transferred for political reasons. In a notable instance of judicial

rights are generally observed. Trials are open to the public, but the judge may restrict attendance if he believes spectators may seek to disrupt the proceedings.

Judges generally allow considerable scope for examination of witnesses by both the prosecution and defense. Cases involving national security and criminal cases are tried by the same courts. Although convictions are rarely overturned, appeals often result in reduced sentences. Death sentences are automatically appealed.

Human rights groups believe that many dissidents tried under past military governments were sentenced to long prison terms during the 1970's and 1980's on trumped up charges of spying for North Korea. Furthermore, these persons, dozens of whom are still in jail, reportedly had been held incommunicado for up to 60 days after their arrest, subjected to extreme forms of torture, forced to make "confessions," and convicted after trials that did not conform to international standards for a fair trial. Political prisoners have been denied early parole because they refused to renounce real or alleged communist beliefs. Some released political prisoners were required to report their activities regularly to the police.

In a landmark decision this year, former presidents Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo and several of their close associates were convicted for their roles in the military takeover of the Government in 1979 and 1980. Chun, who argued that the court proceedings were unconstitutional because the statute of limitations had expired for these offenses, was sentenced to death. Roh was sentenced to a prison term of more than 20 years. These sentences were subsequently reduced to life in prison and 17 years respectively.

It is difficult to estimate the number of political prisoners, because it is not clear whether particular persons were arrested for merely exercising the rights of free speech or association or were detained for committing acts of violence or espionage. Some human rights monitors estimate the number of political prisoners at over 400. However, these monitors' definition of political prisoner often includes all persons imprisoned for acts that were politically motivated, without distinction as to whether the acts themselves included violence or other criminal behavior. The number of political prisoners and detainees as defined by international standards appears to number under 200.

f. Arbitrary Interference with Privacy, Family, Home, or Correspondence

In general the Government honors the integrity of the home and family. In the past, the security services

conducted varying degrees of surveillance, including wiretaps, of political

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