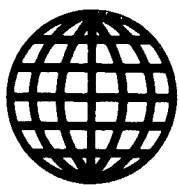


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10 JUNE 1987



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# ***JPRS Report***

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# **East Asia**

***Korea***

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Effective 1 June 1987 JPRS reports will have a new cover design and color, and some reports will have a different title and format. Some of the color changes may be implemented earlier if existing supplies of stock are depleted.

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The changes that are of interest to readers of this report are as follows:

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JPRS-KAR-87-037

10 JUNE 1987

EAST ASIA

KOREA

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/7310

INTER-KOREAN

INTERNATIONAL SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN 'BRISKLY' UNDER WAY

SK121012 Pyongyang KCNA in English 1000 GMT 12 May 87

[Text] Pyongyang, 12 May (KCNA)--An international signature campaign demanding peace and reunification of Korea is briskly going on worldwide. [A total of] 215,964,460 people of all strata in many countries have participated in the campaign in the past 3 months since it began.

The enlarged meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Liaison Committee for the Reunification and Peace of Korea held in Paris at the end of January decided to launch the international signature campaign demanding peace and reunification of Korea.

Participating in the campaign were Kenneth David Kaunda, president of the Republic of Zambia; Didier Ratsiraka, president, and Desire Rakotoarijaona, prime minister, of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar; Camelo Mifsud Bonnici, prime minister of the Republic of Malta; C. Rajeswara Rao, general secretary of the Communist Party of India; Werner Carobbio, general secretary of the Swiss Autonomous Socialist Party; Jeang Spielmann, general secretary of the Workers' Party of Switzerland; Gert Petersen, chairman of the Socialist People's Party of Denmark; Ole Sohn, chairman of the Communist Party of Denmark; Tomas Macgiolla, president of the Irish Workers' Party; Giordano Bruno Reffi, general secretary of the Socialist Party of San Marino, and party and state leaders of other countries.

Secretary General of the World Federation of Trade Unions Sandor Gaspar, members of many other international organizations and individual figures of various countries have participated in the campaign.

The political and public figures and individual personages of various countries who participated in the campaign signed their names, unanimously demanding the realization of the proposal for founding the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, the proposal for North-South high-level political and military talks, the proposal for tripartite talks involving the North and South of Korea and the United States and demanding the conversion of the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free, peace zone.

The international signature campaign which is gaining in scope and strength clearly proves the validity and vitality of the policy of national reunification put forward by the great leader President Kim Il-song.

/9604

CSO: 4110/142

KCNA TERMS 'TEAM SPIRIT' EXERCISE NUCLEAR WAR SCHEME

SK121526 Pyongyang KCNA in English 1508 GMT 12 May 87

[Text] Pyongyang, 12 May (KCNA)---The U.S. imperialists and the South Korean puppet clique staged aggressive and provocative "Team Spirit 87" joint military exercises largest in scale in history against the northern half of Korea for a long time from February.

Considering its nature, "Team Spirit 87" was, to all intents and purposes, an aggressive preliminary war presupposing a nuclear attack on the northern half of Korea. Nearly all the military equipment mobilized there was means of nuclear war.

The fact that the nuclear command plane "E-4B" which is called "aerial nuclear war headquarters" of the United States was let fly in the "Team Spirit 87" glaringly shows the aggressive and dangerous nature of the maneuvers.

Thrown into the joint landing operations staged everyday on the east coast of South Korea were main ships of the U.S. Seventh Fleet carrying nuclear bombs and nuclear depth bombs for carrier-based planes, and "Tomahawk" cruise missiles and the South Korean puppet naval ships.

During the joint rehearsals the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean puppet clique also held various exercises every day, such as the transfer of aggressive forces from the U.S. mainland and Pacific bases, river-crossing exercises, aerial mobile exercises, chemical warfare exercises, take-off and landing exercises on emergency airstrips and "Pangpae (shield) 87" in which puppet army and police and "civilian defence reserve force" and ordinary residents were mobilized. All these were provocative military exercises simulating a nuclear war against the northern half of Korea.

All facts clearly prove that the "Team Spirit 87" was not simple "defensive exercises" or an "annual event" but an adventurous and aggressive preliminary nuclear war which might be switched over any moment to a nuclear attack on the northern half of Korea.

/9604  
CSO: 4110/142



'TEAM SPIRIT' CALLED 'PRELIMINARY WAR' TO INVADE NORTH

SK130515 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0453 GMT 13 May 87

[Text] Pyongyang, 13 May (KCNA)--The "Team Spirit 87" joint military exercises which have been staged by the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean puppet clique for months since mid-February clearly showed its being an aggressive and dangerous preliminary war and a desperate test nuclear war to provoke a nuclear war on the Korean peninsula and escalate it to a world thermonuclear war.

NODONG SINMUN Wednesday says this in a signed article headlined "'Team Spirit 87,' a Preliminary War to Invade the North." It says:

The aggressive and provocative nature of the "Team Spirit 87" joint maneuvers lies in that it is an extremely dangerous and adventurous test nuclear war premising an allout nuclear attack.

It must be noted that even the "E-4B" nuclear commanding plane specially designed for the U.S. president and military brasshats to command a nuclear war in the air in case of the outbreak of an allout nuclear war was let fly to command the combat actions, mock nuclear attacks and other strategic operations of the ground, naval and air forces and the marines more than 200,000 strong. This was very ill-boding military movements.

The provocative and criminal nature of the joint military exercises as a test nuclear war to invade the North has been brought into a more salient relief by the successive exposure of the facts that the U.S. imperialists keep in South Korea "nuclear planning and operation units," each in charge of "planning and operation" of nuclear war, "storage of nuclear weapons" and "emergency action" in a nuclear war, and they had worked out the "joint operational plan 5027" for a "forestalling strike" at the North by nuclear weapons.

The joint maneuvers with the United States and Japan as the launching and supply bases, South Korea as the operational theater and the DPRK as the target of attack were, in actuality, a tripartite military rehearsal closely connected with the completion of United States-Japan-South Korea triangular military alliance and tripartite joint operational system. This is another point of the aggressive and grave nature of the joint maneuvers.

The "Team Spirit 87" maneuvers, a product of the U.S. imperialists' strategy of aggression towards Asia and Korea, were not simple military exercises to increase the combat capabilities of aggressor units but a preliminary war and a test nuclear war for dealing a "forestalling strike" at the front and rear of the North all at once and an attack on all fronts by swiftly hurling the aggression forces in the U.S. mainland and overseas bases on to the Korean front and totally mobilizing the South Korean puppet army, the local colonial mercenaries, and nuclear weapons, chemical weapons and means of electronic warfare.

The "Team Spirit 87" touched off a storm of resentment, protest and denunciation of the Korean people and the world peaceloving people as it was held at a time when the DPRK's new peace proposal had been put forward to ease the sharp political and military confrontation created on the Korean peninsula and make a breakthrough in national reunification by means of dialogue and negotiation and it enjoyed ever stronger support of broad public opinion at home and abroad.

If the U.S. imperialists and the Chon Tu-hwan group continue along the road of confrontation and war, turning their back on the people's aspiration for peace and peaceful reunification, they will be held entirely responsible for all the consequences arising therefrom, warns the article.

/9604

CSO: 4110/142

MEETING MARKS ANNIVERSARY OF KIM IL-SONG WORK ON REUNIFICATION

SK030856 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0831 GMT 3 May 87

[Text] Pyongyang 3 May (KCNA)--A meeting was held on 2 May in Pyongyang to mark the 15th anniversary of the publication of "on the three principles of national reunification," a historic work of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song.

Present at the meeting were Pak Song-chol, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and vice-president, and others and people of different strata.

Kye Ung-tae, alternate member of the Political Bureau, and secretary, of the WPK Central Committee, made a report at the meeting.

The reporter said the great leader Comrade Kim il-song, brilliantly applying the immortal chuche idea in the solution of the reunification question, clarified the historic three principles of national reunification and the matter of realizing collaboration between the North and the South on 3 May and 3 November 1972, when he received the delegates of the South Korean side who came to Pyongyang.

The reporter continued:

Comrade Kim Il-song clarified, first of all, the three principles--independence, great national unity and peaceful reunification--as the basic principle for the reunification of the country.

Comrade Kim Il-song said:

"I believe that our reunification question should on all accounts be settled independently without foreign interference and peacefully on the principle of promoting great national unity."

In the historic work, Comrade Kim Il-song explained next the need to realise collaboration between the North and the South.

By publishing the North-South joint statement carrying the three principles of national reunification and the policy of North-South collaboration clarified by Comrade Kim Il-song we strikingly demonstrated to the world's people the

the resourcefulness and unity of the Korean nation and its firm will to solve the reunification question by the efforts of the Korean people themselves.

The publication of the historic work by Comrade Kim Il-song put in the hands of the Korean people the sole common fighting programme of the nation on which they can firmly rely in the solution of the reunification question and a powerful weapon to successfully smash the "two Koreas" plot of the domestic and foreign splittists.

The reporter pointed out that our side repeatedly advanced reasonable and realistic proposals which would promote the independent and peaceful reunification of the country including the proposal to remove the military confrontation between the North and the South, improving North-South relations and providing preconditions favorable for peaceful reunification, the proposal to realize mansided collaboration and exchange between the North and the South in different fields, political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural, the proposal to convene a political consultative meeting attended by representatives of political parties and social organizations and individual of different circles in the North and the South and the proposal to institute a confederal system of the North and the South.

The South Korean side, however, followed the road of perfidy wantonly trampling underfoot the three principles of national reunification it pledged before the whole nation through the North-South joint statement.

The whole process of the dialogues between the North and the South over the past 15 years since the publication of the historic work of Comrade Kim Il-song "on the three principles of national reunification" has been a confrontation between the line of independence and that of dependence on foreign forces, the line of unity and that of showdown, the line of peace and that of war and, after all, a confrontation between the line of reunification and that of division.

He went on:

The reunification of the country must be realized, on all accounts, on the three principles of national reunification--independence, great national unity and peaceful reunification.

For the reunification of the country, the principle of independence must be applied, the U.S. imperialist aggression forces be withdrawn from South Korea, U.S. interference in the internal affairs of Korea be terminated and South Korean society be made independent.

The traitor Chon Tu-hwan must discard his brigandish ambition for long-term office and step down from "power" without delay, if he does not want to meet the miserable end of the former dictator.

If a lasting peace is to be ensured in Korea, tripartite talks involving the DPRK, the United States and South Korea must be held, a peace agreement be concluded between the DPRK and the United States and a non-aggression declaration be adopted between us and South Korea.

Although North-South high-level political and military talks to remove the acute political and military confrontation prevailing in Korea have not opened due to the South Korean puppet clique's stand negating the dialogue, we always keep the door of dialogues for detente and peace open, the reporter said, and stressed: we, however, have no idea of begging for dialogue.

We hold dialogue dear and want the relaxation of tension. But we do not have the least intention to beg for them.

The South Korean rulers should know clearly that they will be held entirely responsible for the consequences of their treacherous acts in racing along the road of confrontation and war, ignoring our sincere efforts for dialouge and detente and our tolerance.

He said the shortest cut to the surest reunification of the divided country on the basis of the three principles of national reunification, the nation's common program of reunification, lay in the realisation of the proposal for founding the democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo.

NODONG SINMUN Sunday runs an article titled "Let Us Accelerate Reunification on the Basis of the Three Principles of National Reunification."

/12232

CSO: 4100/186

KCNA REPORTS DPRK ADMINISTRATION COUNCIL PRESS CONFERENCE

SK241112 Pyongyang KCNA in English 1058 GMT 24 Apr 87

[Text] Pyongyang 24 April (KCNA)--The Administration Council of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea had a news conference with home and foreign reporters at the People's Palace of Culture Friday to make clear the principled stand of our side toward the wrong attitude of the South Korean side totally refusing North-South dialogue.

The news conference was addressed by Chong Mun-san, director of the secretariat of the DPRK Administration Council.

Stating that the DPRK Administration Council decided to clarify our principled stand toward the South Korean side's attitude of totally refusing dialogue, he read the full text of the statement of the spokesman of the Administration Council.

He answered questions put by reporters.

Declaring that it was our consistent stand to remove the acute political and military confrontation between the North and the South through dialogue, he said our proposal for talks would remain effective and we would continue to watch the attitude of the South Korean side.

Saying that it would entirely depend on the attitude of the South Korean side whether the North-South dialouge would open or not, he stated, we will always leave the door of dialogue open.

/12232

CSO: 4100/186

INTER-KOREAN

DAILY DENOUNCES ROK RED CROSS FOR TELEPHONE MESSAGE

SK140515 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0457 GMT 14 May 87

[Text] Pyongyang, 14 May (KCNA)--NODONG SINMUN and MINJU CHOSON Thursday denounce the South Korean puppets for persisting in their base plot to conceal the truth of the criminal espionage they committed by sending a spy ship deep into the territorial waters of the North.

A signed commentary of NODONG SINMUN says: The South Korean Red Cross side in its telephone message 12 May asserted that it was a "groundless labelling" to call "Tongjin No 27" a spy ship and demanded its "immediate return."

The "chief fisherman" and "skipper" of "Tongjin No 27" already confessed that it is a spy ship sent for the purpose of espionage against the North on the instructions of the puppet Security Planning Board and they committed espionage in the waters of the North side 21.2 miles northwest off Changsangot, West Sea.

Such being the case, what on earth is "labelling" and "inhumanitarian act?"

This only furnishes proof that the South Korean Red Cross is being directly involved in the acts of worsening the North-South relations, serving the fascist rulers as a waiting maid.

The South Korean Red Cross must have been sharply pricked by the puppet authorities, judging from the fact that it closes its eyes to and defends the adventurous anti-communist confrontation and war racket of the U.S. imperialists and the puppets and groundlessly slanders the North which has made every sincere effort for detente, peace and reunification.

Otherwise, how can it play first fiddle in the disgraceful anti-DPRK plot, reversing black and white? It is as clear as noonday that the South Korean Red Cross has been reduced to a subsidized organization of the fascist rulers, departing from the original stand and independence of the Red Cross.

No matter what false propaganda the Chon Tu-hwan group may conduct through its waiting maid, it cannot conceal the truth of the spying against the North.

MINJU CHOSON says the South Korean Red Cross revealed by itself its true color as a shock brigade of North-South confrontation by zealously defending the hostile espionage of the fascist rulers.

KCNA REPORT ON JOINT STATEMENT OF DPRK DELEGATIONS

SK160439 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0426 GMT 16 May 87

[Text] Pyongyang, 16 May (KCNA)--Delegations of the North side to North-South talks--the delegation of the Red Cross Society of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the delegation of the North side to the North-South economic talks and the delegation of the North side to the preliminary contact for North-South parliamentary talks--issued a joint statement on 15 May.

Referring to the fact that recently the military bosses of the U.S. imperialists and South Korea held war confabs in Washington and decided to take a series of adventurous military measures including the step of massing large armed forces of aggression in South Korea and strengthening the "team spirit" joint military exercises under the pretext of "safe holding of the Olympic Games," the statement says:

The delegation of the Red Cross Society of the DPRK, the delegation of the North side to the North-South economic talks and the delegation of the North side to the preliminary contact for North-South parliamentary talks vehemently condemn the military confabs held by the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean rulers in Washington, considering them to be wreckage of dialogues, frontally negating the North-South dialogue and a criminal one aggravating the confrontation and increasing the danger of war on the Korean peninsula.

Even after advancing the proposal for holding North-South high-level political and military talks, our side has repeatedly put forward new flexible proposals containing concession and magnanimity from a broad-minded stand by taking even the assertions of the South side into consideration, and made efforts in various ways to resume the dialogues.

This notwithstanding, the South Korean side brought forward unreasonable pretexts acceptable to no one, doggedly opposing all the reasonable initiatives of our side and went so far as to refuse even the premiers talks proposed by itself, and thereby totally blocked the road of dialogue.

After having thus blocked even the road of dialogue put on the order of the day with much efforts the United States and the South Korean puppets openly announced this time that they would further expand the scope of the



"team spirit" joint military exercises in the future and sought in an undisguised way military confrontation with us. This is a criminal act laying a bigger stopper on the road of North-South dialogue.

The military confabs held recently in Washington clearly prove that the South Korean rulers' opposition to our proposal for political and military talks was in fact a premeditated and deliberate act perpetrated under the manipulation of the United States.

The delegations of the North side to North-South talks strongly hold that the United States and the South Korean authorities must be held wholly responsible for laying a grave obstacle in the way of dialogue for detente and peace, heightening tensions and endangering peace on the Korean peninsula.

/9604

CSO: 4100/199

## BRIEFS

NORTH'S DEFECTORS REJECT REQUEST--Seoul, 13 May (YONHAP)--A family of 11 who defected to South Korea Wednesday rejected a demand by Pyongyang that they be sent back to North Korea. In a news conference held at the South Korean National Red Cross, Kim Man-chol and his family said that Pyongyang's assertion that they were abducted by South Korea early this year while "traveling aboard a ship inside North Korean water and then drifting due to engine trouble" was "absurd." "Why would we have left North Korea if it is a land where family travel by ship is possible?" Kim asked, and emphasized that they defected to the south of their own free will. He requested Pyongyang not to further exploit their case for political purposes and vowed to "stand in the vanguard" to divulge false propaganda and deceitful practices perpetrated by the North Korean Communists. Kim, a ship doctor, and his family escaped North Korea by boat in January in an effort to defect to "a warm country in the south." Their vessel developed engine trouble before they drifted to Japan. They finally decided to resettle in South Korea. [Text] [Seoul YONHAP in English 0503 GMT 13 May 87] /9604

'MILITARY REHEARSAL' IN SOUTH--Pyongyang, 17 May (KCNA)--The Chon Tu-hwan military fascist clique staged one more round of military rehearsal called "civilian defence training" all over South Korea on 15 May, according to a report. The puppets sounded an air raid alarm and herded people into air-raid shelters and underground shelters in the daytime. The Chon Tu-hwan fascist clique stopped selling at markets and shops and drove customers into basements. Crying as if a fire broke out, the fascist clique mobilized "civilian defence corps members" and "reserve forces" to put out the fire. Blowing such anti-communist trumpet as infiltration "under the cover of thick foliage," the fascist clique drove the South Korean people out to "report" exercises against the North. This is part of the anti-communist war racket kicked up by the Chon Tu-hwan fascist clique to dampen the mounting anti-U.S., anti-"government" fighting spirit of South Korean students and people and divert their attention elsewhere by increasing the tensions and further fostering confrontation and distrust between the North and South. [Text] [Pyongyang KCNA in English 0800 GMT 17 May 87] /9604

CHON'S VISIT TO ARMY UNITS--Pyongyang, 18 May (KCNA)--The traitor Chon Tu-hwan went round puppet army units in the western sector of the front for 6 hours from the night of 15 May to the dawn of the next day to incite a war fever, according to a radio report from Seoul. His secret "inspection" of the frontline area at night is a fit of those frantic with the war provocation maneuvers against the North. His "inspection" of the frontline

area was aimed to check and inspect the war preparations of the puppet army units without notice and assumed a very dangerous character. Our people remember that the U.S. imperialists and the puppet army ignited the war of aggression against the northern half of the republic all at once at the dawn of 25 June 1950, when people were still asleep. The traitor's "inspection" of the frontline area for many hours under the cover of darkness pursues a very sinister purpose. This indicates that if the South Korean anti-national elements find themselves in a tight corner, they may recklessly light a train of powder to start a war of aggression against the North. Our people will never pardon the crimes of the Chon Tu-hwan military hooligans who are seeking a way out in provoking a war of aggression against the fellow countrymen, in reliance on the outside forces. [Text] [Pyongyang KCNA in English 0451 GMT 18 May 87] /9604

NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE SUPPORT--Pyongyang 29 April (KCNA)--A joint meeting of the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland and the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland [CPRF] was held this afternoon at the People's of Culture. The meeting discussed the question of staging a nationwide struggle against splittist forces at home and abroad which are rejecting the North-South dialogue and aggravating the tensions of the country. Chon Kum-chol, director of the CPRF secretariat, made a report. An appeal to the South Korean people and Korean's at home and abroad was adopted. [Text] [Pyongyang KCNA in English 1012 GMT 29 Apr 87 OW] /12232

CSO: 4100/186

## BRIEFS

SAMARANCH AWAITS DPRK REPLY--Istanbul, 12 May (KYODO)--North Korea's reply on the matter of free access for people to cross the 38th parallel for next year's Olympics will serve as a sounding board for Pyongyang's stance toward the games, the International Olympic Committee President Juan Antonio Samaranch said Tuesday. After winding up the 92nd IOC General Assembly here, Samaranch told reporters he hopes the Pyongyang side will accept a planned IOC fact-finding mission late this month. The mission, to be headed by former IOC Vice President Alexandru Siperco of Romania, is expected to inspect a Pyongyang-Panmunjom-Seoul route, and North Korea's sports facilities, which will be used for the Olympic sports events Pyongyang will stage should it co-host the games, according to sports sources. Samaranch said Pyongyang's formal reply to the visit is expected to come next week. Asked whether the IOC will still send the mission in case North Korea refuses to allow it to cross the Panmunjom, Samaranch said the mission will be sent no matter what. Samaranch swerved from his earlier stance that the Olympic co-hosting issue must be solved before 17 September, when the IOC will send invitation cards to each National Olympic Committee (NOC), and said there is no time limit for such negotiations. The fourth round of the sports talks among the IOC and the two Koreas will be held 14-15 July in Lausanne, Switzerland.

[Text] [Tokyo KYODO in English 0637 GMT 13 May 87] /9604

CSO: 4100/196

## U.S. 'INTERVENTION' IN CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUED VIEWED

Seoul SIN TONG-A in Korean Apr 87 pp 156-161

[Article by the Deputy Chief of the Political Desk, TONG -A ILBO, Kim Ch'ol. "Directions in Constitutional Revision Following Shultz' Korea Visit"]

[Text] The constitutional revision situation is increasingly whirling around with the visit to Korea on 6 March of U.S. Secretary of State Shultz. The prospects for agreement on constitutional revision were admittedly not great all along, but following Shultz' visit, there appeared on every hand signs that seemed to say there was even less room for an agreement on constitutional revision.

Foremost among these was the New Korea Democratic Party [NKDP], showing serious divisions over arguments concerning the reissued formulation of Yi Min-u.

Considering the fact that the Democratic Justice Party [DJP] had exercised no particular leadership capability over the political situation even when official relations between ruling and opposition parties were intact, it was, from the beginning, impossible to expect that a political relationship between the opposition and ruling parties would be established when the leadership power of the NKDP itself had become mired in an impossible situation. To that extent, it could be said that the constitutional revision situation essentially had been stagnant even before [Shultz' visit], although it is also possible to take the view that the situation had deteriorated following his visit. The "intervention" of the United States, which said it sought democratization, had the contrary effect of dividing the opposition and freezing the constitutional revision situation. This effect may be said to have been related in every respect to the basic U.S. position concerning the conflict over constitutional revision, which centered on the structure of power. Accordingly, the fundamental position of the United States needs to be analyzed in connection with this issue. Moreover, it is a fact that the situation following Shultz' Korea visit heightens interest in the attitude toward the United States likely to be taken henceforth by the opposition party in the process of promoting constitutional revision.

Normally, U.S. words and actions concerning any country in the throes of debate over democratization have the general result of strengthening the unity of that country's political opposition. However, U.S. words and

actions respecting the democratization of the fifth republic--or more precisely, respecting the issue of constitutional revision--have in general brought discouragement and seeds of division to the opposition, rather than encouragement or the slightest reassurance, creating a more or less exceptional pattern.

This pattern became more evident with Shultz' recent visit to Korea. However, if one thinks about it, suggestions of this began to be seen both at the time of Shultz' visit in May of last year, and at the time of the visit to the United States of New Korea Democratic Party President Yi Min-u. At the time of his 1986 visit to Korea, Shultz gave a relatively higher evaluation of the ruling government party's arguments than he did those of the opposition party, earning for himself the opposition's anger.

Thus Shultz emphasized political criticism with national security in mind, and recognized the ruling government party's intention peacefully to transfer power. Also, while expressing regret over the violence of the Inchon incident, where the opposition party had been in control when violence broke out, he stressed dialogue and compromise, thereby irritating the opposition. Moreover, one can say that his attitude of not wanting to recognize the pressure for the direct presidential election system being advocated by the opposition party was quite sufficient to disturb the opposition party.

Shultz, having breakfast with some important personages during his visit, stated "It is clear that Koreans themselves must design solutions for Korea's problems. However, I don't believe that a direct election system alone is the essential element for democracy, as exemplified by the fact that neither Great Britain nor Japan have direct presidential elections, and yet both function well as democracies."

The disappointment of the NKDP is also clearly seen in Kim Tae-chung's critique: "I was surprised at how great the gap was between Secretary Shultz' understanding of Korean problems and our understanding. Looking at the results of his visit to Korea, we were once again really aware that we will have to achieve our democracy through our own efforts." It also could be seen in Kim Yong-sam's statement that "Secretary Shultz' visit to Korea failed to contribute to Korea's democratization movement." Moreover, at the time of NKDP President Yi Min-u's visit to the United States, the United States did not agree with the NKDP's "singleminded faith" (yuil sinang) in the direct presidential election system, and urged resolution of the constitutional revision issue through dialogue and compromise, shocking party President Yi and his entourage.

#### "Innovative Idea"

Shultz' visit had the effect of conveying even more deeply the fundamental position of the United States in relation to the Korean constitutional revision issue than was expressed the year before.

Of course, one can say that Shultz references to the constitutional revision issue during this visit were relatively few compared with last year. Last

year, Shultz may have intended to increase Korean internal political stability as attention began to turn to the outside world following the change of government in the Philippines.

However, during this visit, since he was on the way home from visiting Communist China, one could say that his purpose was more strongly characterized by cooperation on security issues. In fact, just after Shultz' visit to Korea the U.S. policy of easing relations with North Korea became public, and such things as the North Korea visit of Chinese Communist Party external relations bureau chief Zhu Liang lent support to the conclusion that the central purpose of Shultz' visit to Korea should most reasonably be seen from a security standpoint.

Moreover, setting aside the major purpose for Shultz' Korea visit, there had already been the speech dealing principally with Korean domestic issues on 6 February by Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and Pacific Affairs Gaston Sigur, and Shultz seems to have taken into account Deputy Assistant Secretary of State William Clark's activities in Korea 2 days before his own visit. Accordingly, Shultz also went no further in his communique at the Blue House than reconfirming that the substance of Sigur's speech was the view of the United States and that (the United States) expected a resolution of Korean domestic political issues through dialogue and compromise. Moreover, in replying to reporters' questions, he interpreted the "innovative ideas" requested of the Korean Government and populace in Sigur's speech as "a process that works well in the United States; finding a solution through compromise and negotiation," thereby answering as if the United States itself did not have any specific proposals in terms of such ideas.

Accordingly, if one wanted to say that Shultz' Korea trip had an influence on the constitutional revision situation, it would be necessary to suppose that it was in combination with Clark's activities. This is because it looks as if Clark, notwithstanding Shultz' passive interpretation of "innovative ideas," strongly hinted that he saw the "Yi Min-u formulation"--which had already been nullified by the two Kims--as such an innovative idea, and thereby played a decisive role in revitalizing it.

#### Continued U.S. Interest in "Yi Min-u Formulation"

It is known that Clark continued to express interest in the Yi Min-u formulation in his contacts with high level politicians, and that in the same context he expressed his own views largely as follows: "Even before compromise comes about on constitutional revision, I hope that democratization measures--as distinct from constitutional revision--can come about quickly... the ruling and opposition parties should have dialogue concerning the Yi Min-u formulation, even if it is expressed in different language...concerning constitutional revision, it is good for the ruling and opposition parties to begin by solving matters on which it is easy to have dialogue. In the end Clark seems to have presented Yi Min-u's "democratization first" formulation as his own idea.

Taking this into account, one can say it is comparatively clear what Clark thought about the idea of a national referendum that would enable voters to choose between the two systems and the concept of dialogue between principals favored by the two Kim's. If we reconstruct part of the dialogue between Clark and Yi Min-u, this point becomes even clearer.

Clark: "How is the Korean situation currently developing? Please explain party President Yi's seven points for democratization, in particular."

Party President Yi: "The people strongly desire a direct presidential election system. I believe that the proper order would be to have a cabinet system after just implementing a direct presidential election system, even if only once. Out of the belief that democratization should come first, whatever the system, I have put forward the seven points for democratization. I don't believe that a cabinet system is an undemocratic system. However, the seven points for democratization must first be implemented in order to have a cabinet system."

Clark: "Party President Yi's seven points for democratization were also well received in Washington."

Party President Yi: "The seven points may not be changed or turned into a blank check. They have been endorsed by the enlarged directors' meeting of our party, even though Kim Tae-chung and Kim Yong-sam had noted their opposing views."

In this way party President Yi seems to have explained the original Yi Min-u formula--democratization first and then negotiations over a cabinet system--to the American side.

Of course it is true that the spirit of the Yi Min-u formula had existed before Clark's visit to Korea. However, the Yi Min-u formula--alone among opposition proposals to promote constitution revision--was confirmed as uniquely understood (ihae) by the United States on the occasion of Clark's visit, so one could at least say it began again to qualify for discussion. Accordingly, in spite of the official U.S. position (as taken, for example, in Shultz' statement during his 1986 visit to Korea) that it was not in the interest of the United States to support any side in internal debates in friendly countries, one would have to say that through Clark the United States did end up engaging in a kind of intervention in the Korean constitutional revision situation.

Of course, there may be two views as whether there was a definite motive to the intervention from the beginning, or whether it just ended up the way it did.

#### Kim Tae-chung's Sense of Disappointment With the United States

At any rate, it is a fact that U.S. "intervention" played the role of a catalyst that again highlighted the Yi Min-u formula and brought about a favorable response from Democratic Justice Party representative No Tae-u



before being instrumental in the development of a new political situation-- the division of the opposition party when the NKDP mainstream signed a denunciation of party President Yi. This U.S. "intervention" may be seen as being significant in two respects in terms of opposition methods for promoting constitutional revision.

One is that it has caused the lessening, to a great extent, of an openness [on the part of the two Kims] which might have led, in the end, to negotiations for a parliamentary constitution, depending on the political situation and the results of constitutional revision negotiations.

The other is that there is a possibility that the two Kim's, and in particular Kim Tae-chung, may view U.S. policy as an obstacle to the promotion of a directly elected presidential system, and may rework the premises concerning methods for promoting constitutional revision. On 11 March Kim Tae-chung sharply criticized U.S. policy toward Korean constitutional revision at the Committee for the Promotion of Democracy (CPD), but earlier, at the time of Shultz' departure from Korea, he expressed his great disappointment, and his personal resolve in the following critique:

"I believe Secretary Shultz' statement displays a great advance over his attitude at the time of his visit to Korea last May. However, when evaluated in combination with Deputy Assistant Secretary [William] Clark's statements and activities, we can't say the U.S. Government has completely withdrawn support for this dictatorial regime, and it is difficult to say that the United States fully understands the proposal for direct presidential elections, which is the only way to achieve the earnest desire of the Korean people. At present in this country, no political change that ignores the will of the people can succeed. We hope to create a new U.S. understanding of our people, who combine a firm democratic resolve with a high level of maturity and to see an epochal transformation in U.S. policy toward Korea. Together with the people, we will continue henceforth to move forward with our struggle for democratization through nonviolent and reasonable (konjon han) methods."

It is not clear whether Mr Kim's sense of disappointment with the United States, which represents the opposition as a whole, is based on fragmentary statements by Shultz and Clark or on a comprehensive appraisal of U.S. policy toward Korea. In any case, it appears to be the case that the basic U.S. stance on the pending political issue in Korea--constitutioanl revision--is not especially advantageous to the Korean opposition as represented by the two Kims.

One might say that the thing that clearly showed this was the speech of Assistant Secretary of State [Gaston] Sigur to the Korean-American Society in New York this past February.

On the question of constitutional revision, Sigur's speech, to put it simply, set forth two standards.

The first was an emphasis on the future rather than the past as a standard for the orientation of constitutional revision. The second was an injunction to achieve constitutional revision through dialogue and compromise no matter what. Although these two standards may be said to be quite neutral in a formal logical sense, in fact they appear more or less to contain elements that legitimize the spirit of the opposition party.

In connection with the first and second criteria, Sigur said "constitutions emerge out of compromise and agreement among principal political forces, and not from abusive use of physical force or stubborn confrontation. Broad principles, such as free and fair elections in an open atmosphere, go into a lasting constitution. If there is agreement on these kinds of principles, people must abandon individual ambition and complaints and criticisms from the past and cooperate for the sake of the future."

It is true that in other parts of his speech Sigur spoke of general principles: "the question of whether a particular system or institutional device best suits the needs of one's country is for the Korean people to decide, not outsiders." And he quoted what Shultz had said: "There are often times when movement toward greater democracy is complicated and delicate and...it can only come about through methods that coincide with a given country's culture and political realities." However, the phrase "abandon individual ambition and complaints and criticisms from the past and cooperate for the sake of the future" may be said to be far removed from the basic position of an opposition that is in the midst of promoting a directly elected presidential system, based on a political historical perspective, in order to restore the people's right to choose their government, which disappeared with the Yusin [change in 1972]. Of course, this U.S. attitude could not be directly interpreted as support for a cabinet system, but at least it could be interpreted as not being in agreement with the view of the opposition party that a directly elected presidential system was synonymous with democratization. In particular, this part of the speech may be said to be an example of a collision between the historical approach of the opposition and the U.S.-style functional approach. This contrast also existed at the time of Shultz' visit in 1986. At that time, NKDP President Yi Min-u responded to Shultz' statement that direct elections and indirect elections were both just different forms of democracy by saying "the question whether to choose direct or indirect elections must be discussed after fully examining a country's actual situation; it is not an issue that can be explained on the basis of logic or common sense."

In different parts of his speech, Sigur also showed almost to interest in the simple logic of restoration of the right of the opposition party to become a part of the government, and instead stressed the future aim and creative task of constitutional revision. The following portion was in that category:

"Many elements of ROK society face new tensions; these tensions require a political system that can bring about agreement through discussion and compromise."

## United States Skeptical of Opposition Arguments

Noteworthy with respect to the second point is Sigur's understanding that President Chon Tu-hwan has moved forward in the direction of implementing changes in the Korean political system that are necessary to satisfy fully the needs of the next century. He said that the president's intentions, and his beginning the process of constitutional revision were worthy of praise. In contrast with this was his depiction of discussions on constitutional revision up to now. "I am concerned that up to now there has been more questioning than genuine discussion, and in terms of results, more fine-sounding phrases than fruitful results."

Of course, this does not place all the responsibility for the debates and fine-sounding phrases on the opposition party, but seen in terms of the overall tenor of the speech one may say that the speech hints that the opposition party's share of the responsibility is relatively large.

Looking at it from this point of view, one comes to the assessment that the United States has at least some skepticism toward opposition style methods for promoting constitutional revision up to now, even if the United States does not reveal an attitude of clear-cut support for any of the constitutional revision proposals that Korean leaders are respectively putting forward. Accordingly, it seems that the expressed interest of America in the Yi Min-u formula must be interpreted as an extension of the basic U.S. position.

However, the fact is that the public opinion necessary to realize the U.S. middle choice (the Yi Min-u formula) cannot be realized at the present time. Moreover, should this program be prolonged, the possibility cannot be completely dismissed that the United States, due to this middle choice, may permanently lose the leverage that might enable them to have any influence on Korea's constitutional revision.

The opposition party has serious internal divisions because of the Yi Min-u formula. The seriousness of this division may be said not to lie in transient gains or in shock effect, but rather in terms of how long-term constitutional revision will be concluded in the end. Accordingly, in the final analysis, the heart of the problem may be seen as lying in the question of whether there will be power to revise the constitution--and with who or what as the axis--with a minimum of residual aftereffects.

To that extent the question is not whether the Yi Min-u formula is reasonable or not, but rather whether it has the capacity to revise the constitution without aftereffects; and it can be seen that any other to revise the formulations that might emerge from negotiations between the ruling and opposition parties have the same problem. From this viewpoint, the question of whether the middle choice of the United States--the Yi Min-u formula--was correct or not is likely to become clear only after a little more time has past.

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## RECENT 'STONG' U.S. VOICE, VARIOUS REACTIONS

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[Article by TONG-A ILBO editorial staff Yi Kyong-chaee: "'Strong Talk' by U.S. Looking Toward 1988 and Its Ripple Effect"]

[Excerpts] Frantic Activity in Seoul and Washington

As the south wind began to blow, the frozen land also began to thaw. But there is not the slightest indication of any warming of the political situation on constitutional revision. Neither the ruling party nor the opposition party is making any movement in their confrontation with each other. In the midst of all of this, there is a third party, that is, the United States of America. In Seoul and as far away as in Washington, U.S. activity is frantic.

In Washington, Senators Edward Kennedy and Dennis DeConcini, who introduced a resolution for democratization in South Korea last year, introduced a resolution urging democratization in South Korea on 6 February. Alan Cranston, chairman of the Subcommittee for Asian and Pacific Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Stephen Solarz, chairman of the Subcommittee for East Asian and Pacific Affairs of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, seem prepared to introduce a joint resolution on the human rights issue in South Korea. Also, 35 representatives including Representative Feighan delivered a letter on human rights issues in South Korea to Secretary of State Shultz.

Such congressional activity has occurred often in the past and therefore is not particularly noteworthy. The noteworthy point is that Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Gaston Sigur representing the administration simultaneously made significant remarks on South Korean internal politics. In his speech at the U.S.-Korea Association meeting held in Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York on 6 February, Assistant Secretary Sigur sent a strong message to South Korea.

The U.S. Embassy in Seoul is also very busy. U.S. Ambassador to South Korea James Lilley met with President Yi Min-u of the NKDP on the afternoon of 9 February and later with Adviser Kim Yong-sam of the NKDP on the afternoon of 10 February. Ambassador Lilley is known to plan to meet with Mr Kim Tae-chung sooner or later.

This was the first time that a U.S. ambassador had met the two Kims since the spring of 1980. The fact that Ambassador Lilley had met (or plans to meet) with the two Kims, whom the South Korean Government and the ruling party have been treating like people to avoid, is in itself unusual and an indication of change.

Preceding these meetings, Ambassador Lilley met with the chief editors of university newspapers at the residence of U.S. Consul General Antippas on the evening of 15 January and he later invited the chief editors of various newspapers and exchanged opinions on 3 February. Ambassador Lilley made speeches at the U.S.-Korea Association on 23 January and the U.S.-Korean Economic Association on 5 February.

Preceding this, former U.S. Ambassador to South Korea Glysteen paid a visit to South Korea by arrangement of the State Department and held a press conference on 13 January and the Chief of Korean Desk of the State Department Blakemore visited South Korea during the period from 23 January to 28 January.

Such U.S. activities in Seoul and Washington are focusing on Secretary of State Shultz's visit to South Korea on 6 March. Though Secretary Shultz's visit will last only 5 hours on his return from the PRC in order to brief the South Korean Government on the results of his China visit, it is commonly believed that his visit to South Korea is in fact closely related to Korean internal politics.

If the only purpose of his visit to South Korea was to report on the results of his China visit, Secretary Shultz could have sent Assistant Secretary Sigur. As the political situation in South Korea reaches a critical phase, the secretary of state appears to be conveying the direct concern and advice of the U.S. Government. Some people speculate that the United States will assume an intermediary role going beyond the simple expression of concern and advice. This can be inferred from the fact that the content of the speech by Assistant Secretary Sigur and the content of the contacts by Ambassador Lilley were too detailed to be regarded as the simple expression of concern by another country.

#### Mr Sigur Made His Speech in the Indicative Mood

Assistant Secretary Sigur is in fact the top-ranking working level official within the U.S. Government in handling Korean affairs. Before he joined the State Department, he handled Korean affairs in the White House. When Assistant Secretary Sigur visited South Korea last November, he met not only with heads of government and the ruling party such as President Chon Tu-hwan, Prime Minister No Sin-yong, Minister of Foreign Affairs Choe Kwang-su, and DJP Chairman No Tae-u but also with NKDP President Yi Min-u and exchanged wide-ranging opinions with them.

Assistant Secretary Sigur delivered the U.S. message on South Korea when he met with government officials and officials from the ruling party. However, there was a feeling in Washington that the method of expressing the message

was highly diplomatic, so the message itself might not have been properly understood. That might have been the reason why Mr Sigur's speech this time appears to adopt a strong tone and an almost indicative mood, unprecedented for an official of one country describing the situation of another and even suggesting the solution.

First of all, he indicated that the internal situation in South Korea is tense, and pointed out the necessity for a new political system as an answer to that problem.

"South Korea is faced with new tensions in various social strata, and this demands a political system which can produce an agreement through dialogue and compromise. Economically, South Korea faces the challenge of a transition into high technology-oriented industry. It also should assume the responsibility of opening its market to take a proper role as a member of the international trading community. It should also fairly distribute the fruits of economic success to the public and deal with the difficult task of the rights of working people. It should determine the proper amount of national resources to be invested in social capital such as schools and medical facilities. A more open political system will be an integral part of the solution to these problems."

He also emphasized a need for a new political system not only to fulfill these socioeconomic needs but also for South Korean security which the government regards as its first priority.

"There is a fundamental connection between the political maturity of a nation and its overall security. These two elements are mutually dependent. South Korean security is as much dependent on a political system which can reflect the people's desires as on formidable military strength."

In this context, he pointed out that "democratization" in South Korean politics appears as a great task. That is, he emphasized that men of ability in all fields should lead the increasingly complex society and economy, and the military should devote themselves to their original military duty. In other words, he emphasizes the need for specialization due to the diversification of national society. That is an indication that one group no longer can manage and control all fields.

"The South Korean military has taken on a major role in the development of various areas in recent times. However, Seoul has now entered a new era. When a large part of the private sector was destroyed during the Korean war, the South Korean military was an important group which had experience in managing a large, modern organization. However, nowadays many Koreans are achieving success in various broad areas and Korean universities are graduating world-renowned scholars. On the other hand, due to the development of new technology, there is increasing complexity in the defense area. The military are living in an era when they need to regard national security as their main mission and devote themselves to the perfection of various techniques required to achieve their objectives."

Assistant Secretary Sigur proposed "democratization," but provided no more clarification of the ambiguity of this term. For example, the following questions can be raised: If we eliminate the system of conducting politics while wearing a military uniform, can this be considered a civilian government? Is the present government a civilian one or not? As a realistic matter, the question can be raised whether it can be regarded as military rule or not if power is gained by those who took leading roles during the 17 May incident, and are mentioned as possible successors to the present government, such as DJP Chairman No Tae-u or Minister of Internal Affairs Chong Ho-yong, even though it has been a long time since they took off their military uniforms.

While the opposition party regards such a situation as an extension of military rule, the ruling party retorts by saying "Can you call George Washington's or Eisenhower's administration military?" It seems to take a longer time to analyze Assistant Secretary Sigur's intention and his standard in emphasizing civilian government.

#### "Praising Complete Transfer of Power"

Assistant Secretary Sigur not only refers to the civilianization of politics but a peaceful method for transfer of power, and details concerning a one-term presidency for the incumbent president.

"When President Chon recognized these trends, he moved in the direction of completing the change in the South Korean political system which is necessary to satisfy the needs of the younger generation. He promised that he would transfer power peacefully at the end of his term in February 1988, thus terminating the historic vicious cycle in which every transfer of power was followed by instability and uncertainty.

"He said he would be the first president to step down peacefully in order to be a model for future leaders of South Korea. He will join the group of retired politicians which no longer engages in political activities, and whose advice and counsel will be a precious national resource. When President Chon keeps his promise, history will praise his service to his country."

Word that "President Chon will join the group of retired politicians which no longer engages in political activity" might be the message which the United States wanted to send. It is true that there is speculation that even if a peaceful transition of power is achieved in 1988 as a matter of form, the ruling power, in reality, would remain unchanged. One opposition leader puts it this way: "Isn't it true that Deng Xiaoping holds the real power in the PRC though he is neither president nor secretary of the party?"

It is the concern of the opposition party that President Chon intends to maintain his position as president of the DJP, thus securing continuous power through the DJP's parliamentary system. It appears the United States tried to advise us on the method of transfer of power with these concerns in mind.

Assistant Secretary Sigur's remark on the U.S. defense commitment that "the U.S.-South Korean Combined Forces Command provides a tremendous shield to ensure the process of political change" is worth scrutinizing. The U.S. defense commitment may be primarily a deterrent to North Korea but could also be a commitment regarding the internal situation in South Korea. It can be interpreted as providing a shield against possible irregular actions using security as an excuse. It could also be an expression of confidence on the part of the United States in the safety system which provides such a shield. With these points in mind, Assistant Secretary Sigur seems to be trying to persuade the two sides to approach one another and seek a compromise.

"In order for a constitution to be consistent, it should prudently be established through a national consensus. Such a constitution cannot emerge from abuse of violence and physical force or stubborn confrontation, but from compromise and mutual agreement of the major factions."

#### Ambassador Lilley Contacts Opposition Party

Assistant Secretary Sigur pointed out that although the ruling and opposition party politicians were aware of the above facts, they were engaged in argument and fine phrases rather than practical discussion and actual realization. He further indicated that those politicians should abandon personal or factional ambition. This comment is in the same context as that made by Cardinal Kim Su-hwan in Rome. Cardinal Kim once advised that the two Kims, along with the president and the people around him, should abandon their political ambitions. Such a comment by Assistant Secretary Sigur gives the impression that he wanted to send the same message to the two Kims since he had already commented on the method of power transfer for those presently in power.

With this background, political circles are expecting "a revolutionary proposition" by which both the ruling and the opposition party can come to an open-hearted compromise and this has become the center of interest. It is not clear whether the United States has some plan in mind, or whether it is only asking the South Korean political factions to seek their own solution. The United States has so far stated a general principle but has not proposed or supported a specific idea.

"We do not and should not support a specific proposition by a specific political party. However, we will encourage reconciliation, compromise, and national agreement."

It seems that the United States will not simply stand by and watch the situation of both sides confronting each other. While actively contacting both sides as an intermediary, the United States may wish to initiate a joint revolutionary proposition. The specific attempt to do this can be observed from the way Ambassador Lilley is contacting both forces.

Moments after the speech of Assistant Secretary Sigur, Ambassador Lilley began to meet with the opposition leaders. On the afternoon of 9 February,



Ambassador Lilley invited NKDP President Yi Min-u for lunch at his residence in Chong-tong and conferred for 1 hour and 40 minutes. Former NKDP Spokesman Hong Sa-tok and Representative Chong Chae-mun also were present at the lunch.

On the afternoon of 10 February, Ambassador Lilley invited Adviser Kim Yong-sam for lunch and exchanged opinions for 2 hours and 10 minutes. No one from the NKDP was present other than Adviser Kim and even the translation was provided by the U.S. side. One can draw an interesting conclusion when comparing the formality which Ambassador Lilley observed in his respective meetings with President Yi and Adviser Kim. It could be interpreted that Ambassador Lilley attempted an unusual upgrade of President Yi's status, and at the same time have a substantial and practical discussion with Adviser Kim though on a level lower. As for Adviser Kim in particular, it was as he put it, "the first such occasion in 7 years since, in the capacity of NKDP president, I met Ambassador Glysteen in May 1980." It can indicate an important change in the U.S. policy toward South Korea. Some interpret this as the U.S. recognition of the actual opposition power as compared to former Ambassador Walker's exclusion of the two Kims from any dialogue.

It seems as though the U.S. Government had great expectations when "the Yi Min-u plan" was introduced at the end of last year. However, when the Yi Min-u plan was nullified overnight when the two Kims applied the brakes, it seemed that the United States felt all the more keenly the true power of the opposition. Such contacts with the opposition came about when the United States realized that without a dialogue with the opposition there could be no progress in the current political situation.

In addition, some feel that U.S. policy toward South Korea is currently shifting in the direction of recognizing the importance of the opposition party as compared to the party in power. Representative Ho Kyong-ku explains it this way saying, "In the past, the United States considered the importance of the opposition party in relation to the ruling party as 1 to 9 or 2 to 8. Now it is moving toward an assessment of about 4 to 6."

#### Ambassador Lilley's Appointment Itself Indicates Change of Policy

The change in U.S. policy toward South Korea can be perceived retroactively from the replacement of the U.S. ambassador to South Korea. Opposition circles avoided former U.S. Ambassador Walker since he was perceived to be a "pro-South Korean Government personality." Some people viewed the fact that he never met the two Kims as an indication of Ambassador Walker's conservative and pro-South Korean Government bias. Almost no one from the opposition party participated in the farewell reception for Ambassador Walker.

However, new Ambassador Lilley was regarded with trepidation by the ruling party, and expectation by the opposition party, even before his appointment. That may be due to his past experience.

### Circumstances of His Appointment Were Somewhat Unusual

On 9 September 1986, White House Spokesman Larry Speakes announced the news of the appointment of Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Lilley as ambassador to South Korea. Though the announcement was not surprising news, since his possible succession to Ambassador Walker had been rumored in Washington for a long time.

In 1978 Mr Lilley took a position as an adviser to the Hunt Oil Company in Texas with which Mr Bush had a connection and aided in this company's offshore oil exploration in the PRC. In 1980, when Mr Bush competed with Mr Reagan as the Republican presidential candidate, Mr Lilley worked on his campaign staff. After Mr Bush became vice president, Mr Lilley returned to government as an East Asia expert for the National Security Council which plays an advisory role to the White House. The incumbent Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Gaston Sigur was also a staff member of the National Security Council on the same level.

Mr Lilley later went to Taiwan and served as director of the American Institute (which is equivalent to being an ambassador) during the period from January 1982 to May 1984. Later he briefly took a position at the Otis Elevator Company as a Far East director and returned to the government as an adviser to the Bureau of International Security Affairs of the Defense Department. In May 1985, he was transferred to the State Department as deputy assistant under secretary for Asian and Pacific affairs under Assistant Secretary Sigur. Though Mr Lilley has not worked in South Korea, he is an expert on the Far East and taught Chinese economics at Johns Hopkins University for 3 years.

It is not hard to predict Mr Lilley's political line. In particular, based on the fact that he enjoys the confidence of Vice President Bush, he can be regarded as a moderate conservative. If President Reagan were unable to finish his term due to illness or Mr Bush were elected as president, it is rumored that Mr Lilley enjoys such confidence with Bush that he could be appointed to a leading White House staff position. Donald Gregg, the current international affairs adviser to Vice President Bush, was also recommended to Mr Bush by Mr Lilley. Ambassador Lilley seems to be quite influential in the execution of U.S. policy toward South Korea since he has a wide range of connections in the White House, the State Department, and the Defense Department.

### Moderate Conservative With Direct Bush Line

The issue is which line he will take concerning democratization in South Korea. Former Ambassador Walker who was known to be an ultra-conservative, suffered from strong criticism by opposition leaders in connection with the process of democratization in South Korea and his image was negatively reflected in political circles in Washington. Mr Lilley must be fully aware of this fact.

In his press conference in Washington with South Korean special correspondents last October before he took his new post, he said that one of the duties of the U.S. Embassy is to be acquainted with all political parties and organizations, and any decisions of the embassy should be made on such a basis. In his speech at the U.S.-South Korea Association on 23 January with the theme of "reflections on U.S.-South Korean relations," he discussed the role of the U.S. Embassy in South Korea.

"Today's Koreans ask persistent questions to Americans as to whether the U.S. Embassy is providing any significant benefit. Since the United States gives such importance to the peaceful transfer of power in South Korea, it repeatedly preaches dialogue and compromise between the opposing parties."

Such an emphatic statement of the role of the U.S. Embassy by the U.S. ambassador could give rise to the accusation of intervention in South Korea's internal affairs. However, compared to former Ambassador Walker, one can read in it his positive attitude and enthusiasm for democratization.

One high official at the U.S. Embassy reminds every Korean he meets, especially opposition party leaders, of the following fact.

"Ambassador Lilley's coming to South Korea is like bringing the gospel of democratization in South Korea."

There is nothing unusual about Ambassador Lilley's meetings with the true opposition forces such as the two Kims. What concerns us more is what kind of plan he has for the substance of democratization, rather than his outward activity.

#### Process of Collecting Basic Information for U.S. Policy Making

The following are the statements made by Adviser Kim after his meeting with Ambassador Lilley: Ambassador Lilley explained that first, the speech by Assistant Secretary Sigur sets forth the fundamental U.S. policy toward South Korea, second, the U.S. defense commitment to South Korea is firm, and third, the United States fully supports democratization in South Korea. Adviser Kim said that Ambassador Lilley explained meaningfully the fact that Assistant Secretary Sigur had discussed in detail issues regarding the establishment of permanent civilian politics in South Korea and the fact that the U.S. Combined Forces Command will assume responsibility for the South Korean security. He kept silent on the further contents of their discussion, citing the promise he made to the diplomat. It is known that the two sides participated equally in the conversation and it does not appear that Ambassador Lilley proposed a specific idea or urged compromise, rather than only elaborating on the content of Assistant Secretary Sigur's speech. It is conjectured that Ambassador Lilley listened carefully to Adviser Kim's ideas on settling the current political situation. What Adviser Kim had told Ambassador Lilley is not vastly different from the joint statement by the two Kims on 13 February. Such topics as a selective national referendum, a three-way meeting among Chon Tu-hwan, Kim Tae-chung, and Kim Yong-sam, and amnesty and reinstatement of Mr Kim Tae-chung might have been mentioned. It

seems that Adviser Kim emphasized his usual philosophy that an election is important, and the only way that the ruling and the opposition party can mutually survive is through a transfer of power by a national referendum.

Although it is not clear how Ambassador Lilley reacted to issues such as the idea of a national referendum, it seems that he will report the opposition forces' plans to visiting Secretary Shultz, and this report will become the basis for U.S. policy on South Korea.

It is highly likely that Ambassador Lilley's recommendation will be adopted as U.S. policy on South Korea. It seems that the secretary will be extremely careful in making any pro-South Korean Government statements, because he is very well aware of the strong criticism which resulted from his visit to South Korea last April.

Although it is not clear whether Secretary Shultz will meet with the true opposition forces, it appears he will avoid such a meeting with the excuse of his short stay of only 5 hours. Instead, Assistant Secretary Sigur is highly likely to have a meeting with the opposition forces. "A revolutionary proposition" might be proposed on this occasion.

At this moment, the new U.S. position advances the process of democratization one step further, and that in fact raises the expectations of the opposition forces. What is the reason for the U.S. movement toward democratization? The opposition forces interpret this movement in the context of the United States' attempt to reduce anti-American sentiment in South Korea, along with the change of the situation within the United States itself. Let us first take a look at the American movement in the context of dampening the anti-American sentiment in South Korea.

#### Aiming at Dampening Anti-U.S. Sentiment

With the Kwangju incident of 17 May 1980, an important change in attitude toward the United States occurred among pro-democratization forces and activist students. Of course, there had previously been fragmentary dissatisfaction with the United States, but the Kwangju incident was an important turning point. Such dissatisfaction led to incidents such as the arson at the American Cultural Centers in Kwangju in December 1980 and in Pusan in March 1982 respectively, and occupying incidents such as those at the American Cultural Center in Seoul in May 1985, the American Chamber of Commerce office, the American Cultural Center in Kwangju, the Korea-America Bank, and the attempts to occupy the U.S. Embassy.

At the beginning of the spring semester in 1986, printed materials containing extreme anti-American slogans and expressions were beginning to appear on the college campuses. With the demonstration against frontline training by college students in April, further slogans like "We desperately oppose going to the frontline so as not to be trained under Yankee tactics," were heard. And finally with the Inchon incident on 3 May, anti-American expressions began to be publicly exposed. The slogans were as disruptive and shocking as the following examples: "The United States is an inveterate

enemy of the people"; "Let's kick out the American bums"; "Movement for the liberation of the people against imperialism"; "Long live anti-American independence, antifascism, and struggle for democratization"; "Antiwar, antinuclear, Yankee go home"; "Team Spirit is a war game between American imperialism and the puppet regime."

South Korea was the only country which had not shouted slogans like "Yankee go home." Those slogans were so radical that one would expect to hear them only in anti-American propaganda from North Korea. This was quite unthinkable even some time ago to ordinary people who regarded the United States as indispensable for our security and prosperity. Hearing such slogans was quite shocking to the South Korean people who thought the United States was our only friendly ally which protected, sustained, and aided our country and which we will need in the future, too.

Although such anti-U.S. sentiments could be definitely shocking depending on how one looks at it, they did not result from an eruption of temporary emotion or excitement, but rather from the expression of a long internally felt sentiment. Some of these expressions surely are extreme and almost identical to North Korean propaganda broadcasts, which concerns us. However, there are some aspects of those statements by college students which cannot be simply discarded as being pro-communist or unpatriotic.

It seems that the fundamental logic behind their anti-Americanism is to express their dissatisfaction with the government. Such expression is an antigovernment gesture as well as a means of embarrassing the government. In other words, dissatisfaction with the present situation in our country lays an ideological foundation for anti-American sentiment. Among the sources of dissatisfaction with current realities, a discontent with the failure to distribute the fruits of rapid economic growth among the people such as farmers, workers, and poor urban people is particularly severe and is based on the idea that all these ills arise from the division of our nation.

Another kind of fundamental logic behind anti-Americanism seems to come from the idea that the United States aided in the Kwangju incident and assisted the dictatorial regime. The students regard the current South Korean regime as a military one without the support of the people and lacking in political legitimacy and see the support of the United States as the major prop of this administration. Consequently, they think the current government which depends on U.S. support shows its weakness to pressure from the United States to open import markets, thus falling into the role of a front man for an economic invasion.

However, anti-American demonstrations or rhetoric by the students or the opposition forces are another expression of their expectations. They might expect that such action may arouse and appeal to the conscience of the United States to withdraw from supporting the dictatorial regime, and to participate in the establishment of democratic government.

The fact that the United States, as mentioned above, not only shows an eager attitude toward democratization in South Korea but announces publicly it was not responsible for the Kwangju incident indicates that it is trying to dampen anti-American sentiment. Ambassador Lilley's consecutive meetings with the chief editors of university newspapers and staff members of news media and the press conference by former Ambassador Glysteen can be interpreted in this context.

#### "No Prior Knowledge of 12 December Incident"

The press conference of the former ambassador to South Korea held in the American Cultural Center in Seoul on 13 January was somewhat unusual. The press conference was set up as an intimate discussion, so that interviewing newsmen were allowed to ask questions freely without having to reveal their affiliations and names.

"You served as ambassador to South Korea during the period from July 1978 to June 1981, in which period the 5th Republic was created and many historic incidents occurred. We have many questions about these incidents. I would like to ask one question, among other things, about the role of the U.S. Embassy and its ambassador in the events of 12 December. What kind of action did you take as ambassador? What was your understanding of this incident? And what was your reaction to these events?"

"I have written a book, in which one chapter was devoted to this subject containing some of my opinions. The book is titled 'Human Rights Diplomacy' and was published by Georgetown University Press. I will briefly answer this question. We were very surprised by the 12 December incident. That was a very rare incident which caused a tremendous change in the internal power structure of the South Korean Army. We did not have any prior knowledge of that event. I was first informed of that incident while I was at the U.S. 8th Army base in Yongsan visiting 8th Army Commander Wickham. My first effort was to find out what exactly had happened. From the beginning, my speculation was correct but not definite. It took 3 to 4 hours to find out the exact situation. At that time, my first concern was to prevent a major conflict within the South Korean Army. In light of South Korea's situation confronting North Korea, I thought such an internal struggle would be dangerous. Such a conflict might have triggered interference or intervention by North Korea. The United States sent a warning message to North Korea that night.

"My second concern was to contact the authorities including the president and new Army authorities. That contact proved to be very difficult and time consuming. When we were finally able to contact them, we emphasized the importance of prevention of a war and the maintenance of constitutional order and the much-hoped-for democratic government. Some people ask 'Why didn't America try to wield its influence and reverse the situation within the Army?' I knew then that we did not have the power to do such things. That should have been done by the South Koreans themselves. What I have mentioned so far is the essence of what happened that evening. During the period from 13 December to 17 May of the following year when martial law was

declared, and for a couple of months after that, the United States could formulate its policy to some degree. We could not change the various decisions made by the South Korean Army itself. We could not decide what type of government the South Koreans would have. However, we tried to exert a moderating influence to prevent or deter extreme action. We made an effort to focus continuously on the necessity of positive political development in South Korea. I would say we succeeded to a certain extent and failed to a certain extent."

"No Information on Interference by Specific Individual in Kwangju Incident"

"It is still not so clear why the Kwangju incident occurred, and its detailed reasons are so far unknown. For example, some think a certain politician had arranged for the occurrence of this incident (editor's note: a certain politician indicates Mr Kim Tae-chung). As a former American ambassador to South Korea and a representative of the U.S. Government, have you ever obtained such information that a certain politician had arranged for that incident?"

"In a word, no."

"You said the United States is not responsible for the Kwangju incident. Could you elaborate specifically on the reasons why? Many South Korean students do not agree with that."

"First, we were not responsible because we did not know the incident had happened. The mobilized military unit which caused the incident was not under the control of the U.S. Combined Forces Command. That particular unit is not under the control of the U.S. Combined Forces Command at the present. That is the first reason.

"Secondly, from the beginning of that incident, the United States made all possible efforts to urge a peaceful settlement between the government authorities and rebel forces. One of the channels for such efforts was a Catholic church in Kwangju city and the other was by dialogue with the South Korean military mainly through the channel of the U.S. Armed Forces in South Korea. We conducted a secret dialogue, issued a statement, and made every possible effort in order to convey our opinion. That is the second reason.

"The third reason is the most difficult and controversial. I cannot remember the exact date, but the South Korean military then told us about the possible failure of negotiations. They said they would not have much choice but to recommit a military unit in order to reaffirm their authority in Kwangju city. When the South Korean military told us about that, we began to consult about the South Korean military's action plan and various suggestions were made to recommit the military unit to Kwangju city. One of the suggestions was to commit a certain unit to Kwangju city. I thought it would be a very dangerous idea. That unit was involved either with killing the first victim or related to the killing.

"Another idea was to move the South Korean 20th Division because they had much experience in handling civilians because they were enforcing martial law in the Seoul area, being stationed near the Seoul suburbs. Commander Wickham and I agreed to that idea. However, the idea of recommitting the military to Kwangju bothered me. After giving it considerable thought, I decided that it would be a sensible action for the South Korean Government to take. It was not possible to leave a city in a permanent state of disturbance. Therefore, we did not object to the idea of employing the 20th Division. When the 20th Division entered Kwangju city after negotiations fell through, most of the action was taken in a very humanitarian and prudent manner except in a small battle in the downtown area where most of the struggling rebel leaders were killed. Apart from that small battle, there were only two incidents of killing in connection with the commitment of the 20th Division. However, with that suppression, many Kwangju city residents, students, and government critics later blamed the United States for the Kwangju incident. But this was not correct, because most of the killing incidents and provocative actions had happened before we began to be involved with the decision to commit the 20th Division. I do not regret that decision. I think that decision was a flawless one. You may not agree with me, but that is what we did."

"Kwangju Incident Victims Amount to Fewer Than 1,000"

"According to the information available to the United States now and then, what was the exact number of casualties? I imagine you could tell us about the number of students and their ages."

"Because Americans do not have direct access to that information, my answer might make that question more complicated. I cannot remember the exact casualty numbers at the time of the initial report. I recall the South Korean Government announced the number of casualties as 200. Kwangju city residents claimed the number amounted to 2,000, 3,000, or 10,000. Many figures were rumored. A large number of investigation teams were dispatched to Kwangju, and we also dispatched many people. I think we did not come to a conclusion although we talked to many people. However, it appears certain that the number of casualties at that time did not exceed 1,000. The number may exceed 200 but less than 1,000. I left South Korea at that point."

"I think I should not comment on the events at that time because I did not acquire any new knowledge. My general impression from what I heard from newspapers and other people is that the number of casualties may have been at the lower end, like slightly more than 200. However, the number itself is not that important a matter. What is most important is the fact itself, that 200 people were killed."

"We have often heard that the rapidly increasing anti-American sentiment over the last 5 or 6 years among young South Koreans and various elements of society comes from the South Korean people's misunderstanding of Americans. However, in fact, these anti-American sentiments came into existence while you were ambassador to South Korea. Although Americans have made an effort



to decrease these anti-American sentiments, they are increasing all the more. What do you think is the reason for that, and do you feel any responsibility as a former ambassador to South Korea?"

"Not Responsible for Anti-American Sentiment"

"My impression of the reasons for anti-American sentiment is as follows. The United States had relationships with two governments which came to power by illegitimate methods. One is the government that came to power in 1961, and the other is the government which came to power between 1979 and 1980. Our relationships with these two governments were inevitable from the practical viewpoint. But, as a consequence, some South Korean people think that the United States had responsibility for the two governments, i.e., the first Pak Chong-hui government, and the second Chon Tu-hwan government. It is certain that this is one element of anti-American sentiment.

"Secondly, I think there exist certain social, economic, and psychological problems which have caused tension and pressure within South Korea. One result of these problems was to set up the United States as a false target. But the United States is not the real target.

"Thirdly, although they did not create anti-American sentiment, there were a couple of actions and statements by the United States which created an increased phenomenon of criticism of the United States. However, I must admit I was surprised to see that anti-American sentiment had increased to such a high degree among students.

"Although I find these developments very regrettable, I will not accept responsibility for them. I think we did not do anything wrong to be responsible for anti-American sentiment. However, a couple of correct things we did might have initiated anti-American sentiment. Today I have mentioned most of those correct things we did. I do not think the United States should be criticized for these actions."

"Don't you find that there exists a certain weakness in the command structure between the South Korean military and the U.S. Armed Forces in light of the fact that South Korean students believe that the United States is responsible for the Kwangju incident regardless of who is responsible for it? If you could change this command structure, what would be your proposal?"

"As I mentioned before, the United States has no responsibility for the Kwangju incident. However, when looking to the future, we need to deal with such tasks as right of command, whether in relation to events like the Kwangju incident or broader subjects concerning the relative strengths of the United States and South Korea. This is a very difficult task. Such efforts should be made in the overall direction of giving the South Korean people more authority and a better sense of reality.

"It is self-evident that the South Korean people should be given more authority. In practice, American commanders, that is, UN military commanders, have controlled the South Korean military in an effective or useful manner for

the sole purpose of defense. We call this kind of control in frontline terms the right of strategic control. So far, nothing so important has happened regarding strategic control. However, one aspect of the situation is that the South Korean military forces so far have played the major role in the overall security system of South Korea throughout South Korean history, and the other aspect of the situation is that they were used for political purposes on several occasions. South Korean people have thought that they should make independent decisions and have made such decisions. The reality is that the United States has never been consulted on those decisions. There is a need to adjust the right of command in order to take these two factors into consideration. As far as the right of command of U.S. Armed Forces is concerned, many complicated problems can arise, such as U.S. law which is applied to U.S. Armed Forces around the world, and the problem that the United States is the only signatory nation of the cease-fire agreement in its role with the UN military forces. But I think that process of adjustment will occur sooner or later. The amount of adjustment will be largely affected by conditions of North and South Korean relations, besides the problems mentioned above."

"What if anti-American sentiment does not subside in the future?"

"This question worries me very much. If anti-American sentiment vastly increases in South Korea, it will affect the U.S.-South Korean relationship. However, on the contrary, I am very optimistic about that. I think anti-American sentiment will eventually subside because it is deeply related to such issues of domestic politics as transfer of power."

Ambassador Glysteen's conclusion is very clear. He meant that if democratization is accomplished, then anti-American sentiment will subside. In other words, the United States will pursue a policy of advancing democratization in order to reduce anti-American sentiment.

"U.S. Democratic Party's Wish Is One Reason"

Another reason for the more active movement of the U.S. Government is the influence of the Democratic Party within the United States. As the Democratic-controlled Congress opened its session on 6 January, the White House's influence appeared to have noticeably decreased. President Reagan and his staff, whose voice had been reduced with the Iran scandal, are losing their ability to set the political agenda in Congress, and are being put on the defensive in conflicts with Congress regarding major bills. A typical example can be seen in the "clean water bill" for protection of rivers from contamination.

The first bill was introduced as soon as the congressional session opened, passed quickly by an overwhelming vote, and was sent to the White House. Even though President Reagan vetoed it for budgetary reasons, his veto was overturned in an overwhelming 2/3-vote by both houses of Congress. The analysis by the American mass media was that the Reagan era is over, based on this incident in which even the Republicans joined the Democrats. The influence of the Democratic Party has begun to a degree to restrict the

movement of the administration in the prosecution of U.S. policy toward South Korea. First of all, members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee which exerts direct or indirect influence on U.S. security and foreign affairs are watching the political situation in South Korea with concern. Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Alan Cranston, chairman of the Foreign Relations Subcommittee for Asian and Pacific Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Senate deputy floor leader of the Democratic Party, are heard to have expressed their concern about the torture incident and its political aftermath to visiting South Korean politicians in Washington.

Senators Edward Kennedy and Dennis DeConcini, who introduced a resolution for democratization in South Korea last year, introduced a five-article resolution urging democratization in South Korea on 6 February.

#### Torture and Killing Incident of Mr Pak Chong-chol Becomes a Point of Argument in U.S. Congress

The timing and contents of this resolution appear to have some connection with Assistant Secretary Sigur's speech and Ambassador Lilley's activity. In particular, this resolution shows a deep concern with human rights issue in connection with Mr Pak's torture death. Furthermore, a joint resolution on human rights being prepared for introduction by Senator Cranston and Stephen Solarz, chairman of the Subcommittee for East Asian and Pacific Affairs of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, is likely to be a collaboration among both Houses of Congress and the State Department, because Assistant Secretary Sigur has also been consulted on it.

On 10 February, 35 representatives including Representative Edward Feighan apparently delivered a letter on the torture incident in South Korea to Secretary of State Shultz.

The activity of the U.S. Congress has a close relationship with the reporting attitude of the U.S. mass media. The U.S. mass media were focusing on political issues in South Korea after the fall of the Marcos regime last year, citing South Korea as "the second Philippines." As the ruling and the opposition parties in South Korea showed a possibility of reaching a compromise on constitutional revision, they turned their interest to the trade issue between the United States and South Korea. For the last couple of months, the U.S. media dealt only with economic developments in South Korea, thus giving the impression that there were no political issues in South Korea. However, the torture incident has changed the situation. The U.S. mass media and the U.S. Congress began to put pressure on the U.S. Administration on the issues of democratization and human rights protection in South Korea.

Apart from these internal human rights issues, the U.S. Congress and media have also put strong pressure on the U.S. Administration to open the market in South Korea in regard to protectionism. This trade issue is not completely irrelevant to political issues, but it will not be discussed here.

The South Korean Government, unfortunately, cannot call on any Americans to defend it against criticism by the U.S. Congress or the U.S. mass media. Some regard the South Korean Government as being in a period such as the Yusin era. At that time, however, lobbyists like South Korean businessmen in the United States, Kim Han-cho, or Pak Tong-son could take advantage of pro-South Korean representatives. However, there exist no such channels nowadays. Former Secretary of State Haig who was active in pro-South Korea activities does not want to be too conspicuous on this issue. For the future the South Korean policy toward the United States appears to have this difficulty.

#### Limitations on U.S. in Pursuing Democratization

Along with the fact that the U.S. Congress and mass media are making an issue of South Korean internal problems, the Reagan administration is worried about the possibility of a political crisis reaching its climax at the time of the U.S. presidential election. The Reagan administration is already suffering from the Iranian scandal and Nicaraguan problems. In addition to these, if it mishandles the issue of South Korea, one of its important allies, the Republican candidate will suffer possible fatal damage. Along with this, the South Korean political agenda should be set by June at the latest. In South Korea, incidentally, this period coincides with the theory of March or April as a critical period in general.

The U.S. Government simply cannot take a bystander's attitude regarding the South Korean issue, as one who observes a fire on a distant shore. In this context, the United States is hastily initiating a series of dampening activities such as Assistant Secretary Sigur's speech, Ambassador Lilley's contacting opposition forces, and Secretary of State Shultz's visit to South Korea.

How democratization in South Korea will be completed is the main concern of the future. In view of the above-mentioned condition, it is reasonable to expect something from the opposition forces. Some opposition leaders interpret the recent U.S. moves in a self-centered way as the beginning of a move to support the NKDP [New Korea Democratic Party] in rising to power while departing from its previous attitude of supporting the DJP [Democratic Justice Party].

However, there is a limit in what the United States can do to promote democratization in South Korea. From a historic viewpoint, as one university professor has indicated, the American interest in South Korea is first, the military purpose of blockading the Soviet Union, second, economic interests and third, the U.S. interest in democratization in South Korea.

The priorities of these three U.S. interests will not change in the near future. Therefore, from the American viewpoint, it is necessary that a political force come to power in South Korea which can enable the United States to pursue its military and economic interests. In a rapidly changing political society such as South Korea nowadays, such a political force must be based on a social base of support.

What, in reality, could be such a political force between the DJP and the NKDP? It seems clear that the United States is not favorable to the DJP regime, but at the same time it is skeptical as to whether the NKDP, particularly the two Kims, can satisfy these conditions.

Che Yong-chol, deputy speaker of the National Assembly, a DJP member, pointed out this problem.

"It is true that pressure for democratization and human rights issues is increasing in the U.S. Congress with the control of Congress by the Democratic Party. However, the U.S. Congress also leans toward a conservative tendency which gives priority to American interests, that is, military and economic interests. There is a deep concern that if America mishandles South Korea, it might lose South Korea like Iran and Nicaragua. Even progressive people who are concerned about democratization in South Korea are skeptical as to what force can replace the incumbent power. Therefore, the United States sees almost no possibility that the opposition force can rise to power."

#### Critical Time for U.S. Policy on South Korea Is March or April

Though using different logic, Mr Kim Tae-chung also points out that the United States does not want to change the political force in power.

"The American intention can be interpreted such that they intend to support the DJP's remaining in power with the adoption of a parliamentary system, while realizing a partial practical democratization such as an electoral system for National Assemblymen through the principle of excluding political intervention by the incumbent president and the military. In other words, its intention is for partial democratization. Although that is the reality of U.S. intentions, it is not a firm policy. U.S. foreign policy has flexibility depending on the situation. Even though the United States had supported the Marcos regime at the beginning, it turned to support Mrs Aquino as the general trend was turning toward her through people power. The United States has two or three times in the past accepted military coups in South Korea as a fait accompli. Therefore, if we demonstrate the people power to them, they might change their opinion."

As for the ruling and the opposition parties which are well aware of such American characteristics, they will each try to draw the U.S. weight to their side in the balance by first showing the general trend as being in their favor.

The efforts made by the DJP to establish a parliamentary system as a fait accompli through legitimate constitutional revision, and the joint statement by the two Kims proposing a selective national referendum to be held around March or April can be interpreted in this context.

From the viewpoint of national independence, vigorous intervention by the United States can give rise to accusation of toadyism. However, both the ruling and the opposition parties wish the United States to stand on their

side. The United States' siding with one party does not guarantee everything. In other words, it is doubtful that the United States is the absolute determining factor in the process of democratization in South Korea. If either the ruling party or the opposition party has strong backing, the United States cannot exert great influence.

However, when their backing becomes weak, or the ruling and the opposition forces stay balanced, the importance of U.S. influence will increase. In that regard, the direction in which the U.S. weight leans in the political balance can change the quality of democratization. The political atmosphere in the spring of 1987 will decide the direction of the tilt of the U.S. weight in the political balance.

13269/6091  
CSO: 4107/138

## MEMBERS OF PRO-NORTH UNDERGROUND RING ARRESTED

SK010940 Seoul YONHAP in English 0753 GMT 1 May 87

[Text] Seoul, 1 May (YONHAP)--The Korean national police headquarters Friday announced the arrest of a 13-member pro-North Korean underground ring for attempting to overthrow the government by various subversive methods. Another 30 people were put on a wanted list for similar charges. The 43 people were charged with breaking the national law.

According to the announcement, the group, dubbed "National Liberation People's Democratic Revolution," was accused of trying to instigate a bolshevik revolution through the formation of a so-called "workers league" in the southern part of Seoul in order to overthrow the government under the revolutionary doctrine of Communist North Korea.

The police said that the NIPDR is a "vanguard organization set up for the establishment of proletarian revolution," which ultimately contributes to the formation of a so-ialist government by overthrowing South Korea's liberal democratic system.

Yu Yong-hwa, 26, a former student activist, and 12 other ring members were arrested on 26 April as they held a meeting in a mountain valley in eastern Seoul, according to the police.

Yu had been wanted by police on suspicion of leading leftist-leaning, anti-government activities among workers in an industrial complex here and distributing some 3,000 leaflets containing pro-communist ideologies and anti-U.S. and Japanese materials.

The group was also responsible for masterminding various street demonstrations involving university students since 26 October of last year, police said.

The pro-communist group, which was formed on 16 July 1985, by leftist-leaning student activists, was also charged with instigating a labor dispute through wage struggles after infiltrating workers' groups.

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CSO: 4100/188

## GOVERNMENT TO CRACK DOWN ON LEFTIST PUBLICATIONS

SK100204 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 10 May 87 p 2

[Text] The government will crack down on rumors and illegal publications sympathetic to leftist ideologies, said Minister of Home Affairs Chong Ho-yong yesterday.

Chong said his ministry will set up a task force to ferret out sources of malignant rumors, and will reward those who report rumormongers.

Testifying before the National Assembly's Home Affairs Committee, he said unauthorized publications on leftist ideologies will be clamped down on for reasons of national security.

The committee is one of 12 standing committees which started deliberations yesterday on government ministries' policy programs for this year following 3 days of cabinet interpellation in full session.

Touching on recent campus disturbances, Minister Chong said the government will deal sternly with violent group activities and try to crack down on leftist organizations.

He said his ministry will ban the apprehension of suspects without court-issued warrants and carry out various measures designed to protect human rights.

The committee began deliberations on the government-proposed bills on the implementation of local autonomy.

In the Education-Public Information Committee, Minister of Education Son Chae-sok said radical students are expected to intensify their anti-government activities by forming alliances with impure off-campus elements. He said 451 campus demonstrations were reported at 73 universities and colleges from March this year.

The education minister also reported that 1,002 professors, 10 percent of the nation's university faculty, have issued declarations calling for resumption of discussion on constitutional reform.



Ruling party lawmakers urged the government to work out comprehensive measures to root out violent student demonstrations.

Opposition members demanded that the government revoke its decision to suspend constitutional debate, saying that the declarations by university professors should be considered a manifestation of public opinion.

In the Economy-Sciences Committee, lawmakers called on Deputy Prime Minister Kim Man-che to disclose facts about the recent scandal involving the nation's largest shipping company.

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CSO: 4100/188

## ROK TO CARRY OUT POLITICAL AGENDA UNDER PRESENT CONSTITUTION

SK040551 Seoul YONHAP in English 0537 GMT 4 May 87

[Text] Seoul, 4 May (YONHAP)--Prime Minister No Sin-yong said Monday that his government would follow through with its political agenda under the existing constitution and would do its utmost to ensure that the presidential election, slated for late this year, is held in a "fair and free" atmosphere.

He also repeated a warning that the government would resolutely cope with any effort to create social chaos through illegal activities and violence in connection with the banned debate on constitutional revision in order to maintain law and order and the stability of popular livelihood.

The prime minister made the remarks in a report to the National Assembly on overall state affairs, explaining that the suspension of the debate on constitutional revision is unavoidable until after next year's Seoul Olympic Games.

On 13 April, President Chon Tu-hwan declared his decision to suspend "counterproductive" debate on constitutional reform, which he said would only split public opinion and waste national energies. He pointed out that there is not enough time left for Korea to carry out the related political agenda.

Accordingly, his successor will be elected under the current basic law. Chon is scheduled to step down on 24 February in Korea's first peaceful transfer of power.

No said that concern about further confrontations and division of public opinion could impede the task of transferring power, which led to the halt in debate over constitutional revision.

No said that preparations are fully under way to effect a local autonomy system while Chon is still in office. The autonomy system, he said, would broaden popular participation in politics and contribute substantially to the development of democracy.

To promote the renovation of the Korean press, the prime minister said, the government will set up "consultative machinery" comprising representatives of the media, legal and academic circles. The panel will act on the revision of the basic press law and other issues related to the press, he said.

## DAILY VIEWS ISSUES AT EXTRA ASSEMBLY SESSION

SK050052 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 5 May 87 p 8

[Editorial: "Four-Party Assembly"]

[Text] The National Assembly's current extraordinary session, which opened yesterday, invites particular public attention as it marks the first business sitting since the national debate over constitutional amendment was suspended 3 weeks ago by the government until after the staging of the Seoul Olympics in fall next year.

What is more, a new major opposition party committed to a tough stance against the ruling camp has just been inaugurated to complicate the already precarious political situation, presaging a yet sharper confrontation between the rival camps.

In terms of the lineup of contending parties on the floor, the Assembly now highlights the rare phenomenon of four-party interaction between the ruling Democratic Justice Party and three opposition parties--the newly-born Reunification Democratic Party and moderate minor groups of the New Korea Democratic and Korean National Parties.

Prime Minister No Sin-yong, in a policy statement delivered at the opening session, expounded the government's position on a broad spectrum of pending issues, and its plan to put into force democratization programs including a local autonomy system adopted by a joint meeting of the administration and the ruling party earlier yesterday.

Then, he emphasized the government's resolute stand to sternly deal with all illegal and violent acts related to the suspended constitutional debate for the sake of sustaining social stability, apparently serving a notice to radicals and hardline oppositionists.

Indeed, the tense political climate was further strained over the past weekend when the government party took issue with "dubious" points in the new opposition party's platform and its president's inaugural speech, with reference to the forthcoming presidential election by an electoral college, the Seoul Olympics and national unification.

On the other hand, an increasing number of college professors, literati and clergymen of both Roman Catholic and Protestant churches have either issued statements or staged hunger protests against the moratorium placed on constitutional debate.

In addition, there are a number of controversial issues ranging from the recent Pan Ocean scandal and trade friction with the United States to the violence that marred district chapter rallies preceding the RDP inauguration.

What should be stressed at this juncture is the overriding need for both the government and opposition parties to deal with these and other pending problems on the Assembly floor in a productive manner for the cause of keeping parliamentarism in practice, while averting a potentially disastrous confrontation that the people most abhor.

This mandate in turn requires redoubled efforts by political players to engage in the search for compromise through mutual dialogue which, however frustrating it may seem at the present, is the cardinal way to tide over the prevailing political impasse.

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## PARTY OFFICIALS, CLERGY DEMAND CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION

## Member on Plans To Achieve Revision Talks

SK010059 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 1 May 87 p 3

[Text] Rep Kim Hyon-kyu, the "floor control tower" of the new opposition Reunification Democratic Party, said yesterday that the primary goal of the RPD's parliamentary struggle is to resume the talks for constitutional revision between rival camps.

"The government's 13 April step to postpone discussion on the constitutional amendment is an act running counter to the call of the times," he said criticizing the ruling camp's decision.

He went on, "Therefore, our party will concentrate all of our energies on the resumption of the constitutional revision debate during the upcoming special session of the National Assembly (in early May)."

Kim, 50, former whip of the New Korea Democratic Party will be appointed as floor leader of the RDP upon its inauguration.

Asked about how he will induce the ruling party to sit together again to revise the basic law, he replied, "First of all, we will point out the irrationality of the 13 April step through our interpellations at the Assembly."

Kim became a member of the parliament 9 years ago, elected from the Kumi-sonsan-chilgok-kunui constituency, Kyongsang-pukto, as an independent.

In 1980, he was re-elected from the constituency on the ticket of the then major opposition Democratic Korea Party. He served as the chief policy-maker of the DKP.

Shortly before the 12 February general elections in 1985, Kim, along with six other DKP lawmakers, bolted from the party and joined the new opposition NDP. But he could not run for the elections on the ticket of the NDP because of what he called "external pressure." He ran successfully for it as an independent candidate and again joined the NDP after he was elected.

Asked if the DJP would continue to reject the RDP's demand to resume the talks for the constitutional revision, he said, "The DJP should behave as the ruling party. It has to take the attitude of turning its ears to the opinions of the minority."

"It is nothing but a narrow-mindedness for the DJP if it rejects our demand on the ground that our opinion does not comply with that of the ruling party," he stressed.

#### Fasting Ministers Assail Prime Minister

SK100230 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 10 May 87 p 3

[Text] A group of 40 hunger striking Protestant ministers yesterday issued a statement, blasting the remarks of Prime Minister No Sin-yong on a series of recent statements issued by university professors and hunger striking Catholic priests.

No warned last Wednesday before lawmakers at the National Assembly that the government will take "appropriate measures" against professors and Catholic priests who call for the resumption of free debate on constitutional revision.

In the statement, the Protestant ministers requested No to prove how statements and hunger strikes violate current laws.

Two of the 40 hunger striking Protestant ministers were admitted to a hospital last Friday evening as their health worsened according to police.

The Protestant ministers began their hunger strike early last week at the Presbyterian missionary hall in Chungjong-ro in Seoul and shaved their hair to protest the suspension of debate on constitutional amendment.

Meanwhile, 35 Catholic priests of the Taejon Diocese ended their 5-day unger strike last Fruday in a mass held at a cathedral in Taejon.

#### NKDP Demands Withdrawal of Debate Decision

SK100208 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 10 May 87 p 2

[Text] The New Korea Democratic Party yesterday demanded that the 13 April presidential decision to shelve the constitutional revision be withdrawn immediately because it "runs counter to the people's desire for democratic reform."

All 28 lawmakers of the once-largest opposition group led by Yi Min-u filed a motion to that effect with National Assembly yesterday.

The major opposition Reunification Democratic Party [RDP] filed a similar motion Friday.

The NKDP also presented to the Assembly a resolution recommending the resignation of Deputy Premier Economic Planning Minister Kim Man-che, Finance Minister Chong In-yong and Transportation Minister Cha Kyu-hon, claiming they should assume responsibility for the financial scandal involving the Pan Ocean Shipping Co.

A similar motion was filed Friday by the opposition Korea National Party.

The NKDP further proposed a resolution calling for the formation of a special Assembly panel to investigate the shipping firm scandal. Three lawmakers of the splinter Democratic Korea Party joined the 28 NKDP lawmakers in presenting the motion.

The presentation of the NKDP's resolution followed that of the RDP filed Friday.

#### KNP Calls for Resignation of 3 Ministers

SK090122 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 9 May 87 p 2

[Text] The third opposition Korea National Party yesterday demanded that Deputy Premier-Economic Planning Minister Kim Man-che and two other ministers resign, assuming responsibility for the financial scandal of the Pan Ocean Shipping Co.

Twenty-one Assemblymen of the party filed a motion to that effect with the National Assembly.

The two other ministers are Finance Minister Chong In-yong and Transportation Minister Cha Kyu-hon.

In the motion, the party lawmakers claimed that the shipping firm's scandal stemmed from "a structural economic irregularity, causing the people to distrust the government and harbor suspicion."

"Cabinet members concerned should resign as a matter of course, thus realizing responsible administration," they said.

#### NKDP Urges Withdrawal of Decision

SK120033 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 12 May 87 p 2

[Text] The second opposition New Korea Democratic Party yesterday urged the government and the ruling party to withdraw the 13 April decision to shelve the revision of the Constitution "before it is too late."

Issuing a statement, party spokesman Rep Chong Chae-won said, "The government and the ruling party are required to set the right direction for the political situation with a firm resolution to return to democracy by scrapping the 13 April decision."

The NKDP will make every effort to help break through the deadlock situation by holding a plebiscite to choose the next form of government and substantial democratic reforms," he said.

#### Film Personnel Demand Debate Resumption

SK120515 Seoul YONHAP in English 0507 GMT 12 May 87

[Text] Seoul, 12 May (YONHAP)--Ninety-seven Koreans involved in the film making industry Tuesday issued a joint statement calling for the resumption of the suspended debate on constitutional revision.

In the statement, the film personnel said that the government should deal sincerely with the people's demand for talks on constitutional revision, following President Chon Tu-hwan's 13 April decision to delay debate on the matter.

"Debate on constitutional revision should be resumed," they said, "and constitutional revision, without fail, should be attained through national consensus."

The statement is one of many made to protest Chon's "momentous decision" last month to freeze debate until after the scheduled 1988 Seoul Summer Olympics. On 13 April, Chon officially put a damper on the "counter-productive" debate on the revision of the basic law, as government and opposition camps failed to reach an agreement on the issue after spending nearly a year both sides sticking to their conflicting position on the form of the government.

So far, some 2,000 persons, including university professors, artists, Catholic priests and opposition figures have issued statements demanding the withdrawal of 13 April decision.

In a special session of the National Assembly, Prime Minister No Sin-yong said that the government has no intention to withdraw its decision.

#### Catholic Priests Begin Hunger Strike

SK020201 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 2 May 87 p 3

[Text] Thirty-six Catholic priests of Incheon Diocese launched a prayer-fast Thursday night at the Catholic Hall in the western port city, demanding a "democratic" constitutional revision.

Beginning the hunger protest, they issued a statement urging the government to voluntarily step down in humble repentance and for the democratization of the country. They said that they actively support the struggle for setting up a "self-reliant democratic government."



Meanwhile, 54 fasting priests of Seoul Archdiocese held a mass for democratization along with 700 nuns and 1,000 laymen at Myongdong Cathedral Thursday night. The nuns prayed all through the night in a show of solidarity with the fasting priests.

In Chonju, 23 Catholic fathers continued a prayer-fast for the 8th consecutive day yesterday at the Catholic Center.

Four priests, including Fr So Kwang-sok of Namwon Cathedral in Chollapukto, received a brief treatment for their poor health at a nearby hospital. After the treatment, they rejoined the protest.

In Kwangju, 21 Protestant pastors kept on fasting for the 5th consecutive day at the YWCA auditorium.

#### Number of Fasting Clergymen Rises to 189

SK030132 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 3 May 87 p 3

[Text] A total of 189 Catholic priests and Protestant pastors have been conducting hunger protests against the government decision to shelve the constitutional debate as of yesterday at eight cathedrals and churches across the nation, according to a police tally.

The number of fasting priests at Myongdong Cathedral in Seoul increased to 60 as Fr Yi Chol-ho of Tongduchon Catholic Cathedral and another priest joined in prayer-fast yesterday.

Eleven Catholic fathers of Masan Diocese began the prayer-fast at the diocese office Friday night, demanding that the government resume the debate for making a more "democratic" Constitution.

Fifteen priests at the Chunchon Diocese also launched a hunger protest after issuing a statement calling for the democratization at Imdong Cathedral in Kangnung, Kangwon-do.

Meanwhile, a total of 232 poets, novelists, playwrights and literary critics participated in the signature campaign for democratization through the constitutional revision, a dissident writers' organization announced yesterday.

The Writers Council for Freedom and Praxis headed by novelist Yi Ho-chol also issued a statement urging the government to stop persecuting writers who have signed their names in support of democratization.

## Protestant Ministers End 'Hunger Prayer'

SK112350 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 12 May 87 p 3

[Text] A group of 30 Protestant ministers ended their "hunger prayer" yesterday morning.

They started the fast last Monday at a Presbyterian missionary hall in Chungjong-ro, Sodaemun-gu, with their hair shaved as a gesture of their protest against the government's decision to suspend debate on constitutional reform until after the Olympics next year.

In a statement they issued while ending the prayer, the ministers revealed they will start a nationwide campaign to collect signatures to help press for constitutional reform at the earliest date possible.

In a related development, about 300 ministers and laymen, led by the dissident Rev Pak Hyong-kyu, held a "street prayer" for the withdrawal of the government's decision in front of the hall Sunday afternoon.

They attempted to enter the hall to join the ministers staging the fast around 3 pm but they were stopped by policemen positioned around the building. The Christians, instead, held a street prayer for 2 hours.

Meanwhile, 28 Catholic priests in Pusan wound up their 8-day hunger prayer Sunday afternoon after officiating at a joint mass at the main hall of the Pusan diocese.

They held the fast at the Catholic Center in Taechong-dong in the southern port city, demanding the democratic reform of the Constitution.

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## PROFESSORS DEMAND CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION

## 122 SNU Professors Issue Statement

SK030117 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 3 May 87 p 3

[Text] One hundred and twenty-two professors at Seoul National University yesterday issued a statement calling for the democratization of the nation through constitutional amendment.

In the statement, the state-run university professors said, "Without the constitutional change, our country cannot realise democracy and develop into an advanced state."

The professors, representing about one-tenth of the 1,200-member SNU faculty, said, "Last year, a national consensus was made that the current Constitution should be rewritten into a more 'democratic' one so that we can choose our government freely and live in a society where human rights are fully respected.

"This is because the realization of the democracy is not a dream of some idealists or a matter on which parochial interest of political parties is at stake, but is the only way that can get rid of the structural ills and contradictions of our society.

"Therefore, the government's decision to suspend the discussion on the constitutional revision under the excuse of internal strife of the opposition party greatly disappointed the general public who have been eager to see the constitutional change for the past 1 year."

They expressed their worry that the government decision is likely to lead the precarious political scene into a catastrophe because the reason for the decision can hardly be accepted by the people.

"The government and the ruling Democratic Justice Party themselves have admitted the undemocratic nature of the current Constitution and have repeatedly expressed their willingness to revise it," they noted, adding "the sooner the Constitution is rewritten, the better."

"The peaceful transfer of power should be carried out under the new 'democratic' Constitution and in accordance with the fair election laws," the professors added.

The statement was signed by Profs Kwon Tae-ok, Kim Hyong-kuk, Kum Chang-tae, Na Chong-il, Pak Nak-chong, Pyon Hyong-yun, Yang Yun-chae, Yi In-ho, Chon Kyong-su, Han Wan-sang and 112 colleagues.

The professors' signature campaign for the democratization through constitutional change was launched first by 30 Korea University professors early last week. Since then, professors at Sogang, Songgyungwan Universities and Catholic College made similar statements.

At Korea University, student reporters and graduate school students issued statements supporting the professors' action.

Seoul National University President Pak Pong-sik expressed regret over the statement by 122 professors, saying that it is untoward for the professors to resort to group acts to involve themselves in political matters.

Such a statement by a group of professors at the state-run university is likely to create social unrest, Pak said after an emergency faculty meeting.

He said he was shocked by the fact the number of professors who put their signatures to the statement is larger than expected.

#### 217 Professors Issue Statements

SK090136 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 9 May 87 p 3

[Text] Two-hundred seventeen professors of seven universities issued statements in connection with the current political situation and the 13 April presidential announcement to postpone the constitutional debate until after the '88 Olympic Games.

Of the professors, 65 were from Yongnam University, 45 from Wongsang University, 28 from Saint Heart Women's University, 19 from Chonju University, 14 from Tongguk University, 11 from Kangnung and 35 from Kyongnam University.

Preceding them, 57 professors of Kyongbuk National University and 14 from Toksong Women's University issued similar statements Thursday.

As of yesterday morning, a total of 964 professors at 267 universities across the country had reportedly signed statements calling for resumption of the constitutional debates.

The number has already far exceeded the figure last year when 779 professors from 29 universities made statements making known their positions on various political issues.

Calling on the government to withdraw the 13 April decision, professors warned that it may give rise to a serious political and social crisis.

#### University Presidents Urge Restraint

SK100228 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 10 May 87 p 3

[Text] The council of presidents and deans of 4-year higher learning institutions across the nation yesterday issued a statement in which they urged professors refrain from issuing statements concerning the issue of constitutional revision.

The Korean Council for University Education, headed by Kim Che-son, president of Sungsil University, said that collective action by professors is not desirable in consideration of the side-effects on students.

The council also expressed profound regret over the arson and violence committed against professors by radical students at Hanyang University's Ansan campus and Chosun University Wednesday.

The presidents and deans asked professors, school officials and students to do everything possible to safeguard their schools from "senseless" violence committed by a "handful" of radical activists.

The council said, "Impure ideological struggle, violent acts destroying school facilities and beating up of professors on campuses are anti-social crimes which go beyond the limit of educational guidance and require stern disciplinary measures."

The presidents and deans also pledged to do their best to prevent similar violent protests from occurring again on university campuses, while asking for active support from parents and the society as a whole for the guidance of problem students.

#### Over 1,000 Professors Support Revision

SK100223 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 10 May 87 p 3

[Text] The total number of professors who signed their names in support of "democratic" constitutional revision exceeded 1,000 as of yesterday as 177 professors from six universities issued statements yesterday.

A total of 1,142 professors from 32 universities and colleges across the nation have taken part in issuing political statements calling for the government to revoke its decision to shelve constitutional revision until after the '88 Olympics.

The professors' action calling for the democratization was sparked by 30 Korea University professors who issued a statement to that effect for the first time about 3 weeks ago.

Forty professors at Yonsei University, including Profs Yu In-hui, Yun Chin and Yi Sin-hang, yesterday issued a statement in which they criticized the government for breaking its promise for the constitutional revision made 1 year ago.

They said in the statement, "Nobody will regard the government change under the current Constitution as a democratic and peaceful power transfer."

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## REPORTAGE ON STUDENT VIOLENCE, ARSON AT UNIVERSITIES

## Students Stage Violent Demonstrations

SK070105 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 7 May 87 p 1

[Text] Students of two universities, the Ansan Campus of Hanyang University and Chosun University in Kwangju, Cholla namdo, staged violent demonstrations yesterday, setting fire to the main campus building and cars of faculty members.

During the violent protests, the main campus building in Ansan, Kyonggi-do, was set on fire, completely destroying the president's office.

The office of the chairman of the school's foundation and the office housing the documents related to students' academic performance were also gutted.

As many as eight rooms at the four story building on the branch campus of Haynang University were severely damaged. Meanwhile, six professors' cars at Chosun University were destroyed in fire caused by incendiary bottles hurled by students. Seven other cars were completely damaged in the wild rampage by students demanding the resignation of the president of the private university in the provincial capital.

During the rampage, as many as 19 faculty members suffered injuries.

The two higher learning institutions requested police assistance in quenching students' demonstrations which went out of hand.

After the rioting students were broken up with the help of police troopers, who came to the aid of university authorities, the school officials convened an emergency meeting to discuss the aftermath.

A batch of students made their way into the office of the president of the Hanyang University campus in Ansan in the heat of student demonstration on the campus at about 2:30 pm. They gathered inflammable documents and set them on fire. As the windows were broken in the earlier demonstrations, the fire spread quickly to other inflammables' helped by the wind. The fire immediately swallowed the office of the chairman of the school's foundation and the offices on the second and third floor. About one third of the headquarter building was gutted in the fire.

Faculty members and other students tried to put out the fire but to no avail. They only managed to prevent the fire from spreading to other rooms where important documents are kept. Fire engines were summoned and the fire was brought under control at around 3:50 pm.

About 500 students of the Ansan branch of the private university staged a sit-in from 11 am yesterday in front of the student hall, demanding that the school authorities take disciplinary action against several student activists. At around 11:30 am, the number of protesting students increased to about 2,000.

As the demonstration grew wilder, the school authorities called the police onto the campus. The police dispersed the students by firing tear gas bombs at around 12:50 pm.

About 200 students went up to the rooftop of a school building and threw petrol bombs at the tear-gas firing riot police while about 100 students engaged in a stone fight with police.

The students re-assembled in front of the school's main building at around 2 pm and intruded the building.

The students have been staging oncampus demonstrations since 27 April, demanding more democracy in the management of school affairs.

In the daily demonstrations in which an estimated 500-2,500 students usually took part, students seized school offices including the president's office and destroyed school facilities.

About 28 students were led away by the police in connection with the campus disturbances. Later, 23 were set free and five are still under police custody.

The school authorities expelled five students and suspended six others from school in a recent disciplinary action.

After the fire broke out, about 50 school officials and students tried to put out the fire using fire extinguishers, but the fire quickly spread to other offices. School officials hurriedly took important documents including academic records out of the school offices before they were engulfed in flames.

The school authorities estimated the property damage caused by the fire at about 40 million won.

Meanwhile, police are seeking students who committed arson upon a tip by school officials that they saw several students entering the president's office, carrying a box of thinner and incendiary bottles.

Police apprehended six students including Chong In-chaе, president of the student council, for interrogation.



## Arrest Warrants Sought for 13 Activists

SK080105 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 8 May 87 p 3

[Text] Ansan, Kyonggi-do (YONHAP)--Police investigating Wednesday's Panwol campus here Thursday sought warrants to arrest 13 student activists, a police officer said.

The students are accused of violating the Law Governing Assemblies and Demonstrations, he said. A charge of arson will be presented against the students if they are found to have set fire to the main school building, he said.

Police are also searching for six other student radicals in connection with the violence.

The demonstrations at Hanyang's Panwol campus appear to have been well-planned, according to investigators.

They said the students first gathered at Pagoda Park in downtown Seoul last 3 May. They allegedly held the second meeting in the dormitory of Hansin College in Hwasong-gun, Kyonggi-do, and mapped out a blueprint for violent on-campus rallies.

At 3 pm on Children's Day, police said the students met and made a number of "demonstration items" including placards at Inha University in Incheon. Some 70 students, meanwhile, continued to demonstrate on the campus of the Panwol.

They claimed that the fire at the Administration Building was not triggered by students, but "outside figures who intended to drive a wedge between the student leadership and students."

They demanded release of students detained by police for questioning.

Among the students under probe is Chong In-chae, 22, leader of the student council. He has been expelled for his role in a spat of recent on-campus rallies.

The students held the rallies, demanding expansion of school facilities, improvement of student welfare establishments and scrapping of the academic sanctions taken against 11 students who were taken to police while holding a sit-in in the main building last Friday.

Police said the students were reported to have planned to burn an effigy of the university president during Wednesday's rally. But, there was no effigy burning and investigators believe the students must have changed the plan and instead started a fire in the university president's office.

After examining the damaged office and listening to testimony by some of the school officials, the investigators have concluded that a group of five students charged into the office, gathered chairs, sofas and other furniture, poured volatile thinner on them and set them ablaze around 2:40 pm.

The five students were among about 150 students who rushed into the building following outdoor rallies.

The investigators quoted Kang U-il, 47, manager of school buildings, as testifying that the fire broke out in the president's office soon after a student yelled to other students to leave the building.

Another eyewitness, Kim Yong-ho, a 19-year-old assistant to the driver of a school bus, told the police that "five students dashed out of the building shortly after the fire was started." Kim, who was on the plaza in front of the building at the time of the fire, also said three of them ran away toward the northern rear gate while two others dashed toward the hill behind the dormitory.

Another eyewitness, Ko Yun-sok, 32, a clerk of the school's general affairs department, said he entered the office soon after "four or five students" ran out of the office.

"I saw the fire and smoke beneath the president's desk. It spread quickly through the carpet. I tried to put it out with a small fire extinguisher installed in the corridor, but I had to leave the office because of bad smell and heavy smoke," he told the police.

The investigators, based on testimony by Kim and other eyewitnesses, presumed that the five included Choe O-chin, 23, leader of the school's radical student group called "Hakmintu," Kim Hwi-tong, 23, an assistant to Choe and Sok Chin-hui, 23, who is in charge of publicity affairs in the council.

The investigators said the students, including student council leader Chong, who have been under questioning, have denied their involvement in the fire.

In the fire, about half of the first three floors were damaged while the fourth floor was covered with soot.

#### Student Confesses Arson Premeditated

SK090144 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 9 May 87 p 3

[Text] The prosecution and police said yesterday that the arson at the Ansan campus of Hanyang University was elaborately premeditated by activist soldiers. They said one of the 16 students who were led away for the arson admitted to having set fire to the sofa in the office of the president in the main building of the campus.

No Hyong-chin, 23, of the metallic material department, confessed to having set fire to the president's office together with Choe O-chin after barging into it on the afternoon of 6 May.

Choe, who is chairman of a committee for the struggle toward campus democracy, is at large.

Of the 16 students who were taken by police after the violent protests, 14 were formally arrested on court warrants last night.

Meanwhile, 12 students from Chosun University and Chonnam National University, both in Kwangju, Cholla-namdo, were formally arrested for their involvement in setting fire to vehicles on the Chosun campus on the same day of 6 May.

Six cars were destroyed by the fire and seven others were damaged by the rioting students. The club-brandishing students assaulted teaching staffers of Chosun University when they tried to stop them.

Prosecution and police, now investigating the violent protests on the two campuses, are exerting their efforts to ferret out masterminds as well as their supporters.

The police investigation has revealed that the violent demonstration of Hanyang University students at the Ansan campus was caused by the school's disciplinary measures against 11 students who led an on-campus rally, demanding campus development as originally planned.

The school authority reportedly expelled five students involved in the rally on 4 May.

On the other hand, the police said the arson case on the Chosun University campus originated from the students' dissatisfaction with the school presidents running of the school.

However, the immediate cause of the eruption is learned to be the alleged violence worked against some students in downtown Kwangju by university staffers.

Police estimated property damages at some 40 million won on the Ansan campus of Hanyang and 3.40 million won at Chosun University.

Investigators said that in the case of Hanyang University, seven students including student council chairman Chong In-chae, 23, had conspired on three occasions earlier this month to set fire to the campus main building.

The seven also moved placards and fire bombs from the office of Inha University Students' Council to their school on 5 May, police said.

Police Arrest Two Students for Arson

SK112353 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 12 May 87 p 3

[Text] Ansan, Kyonggi-do (YONHAP)--Police yesterday apprehended two students of Hanyang University's Panwol campus who had been wanted for their suspected leading roles in the arson at the school's main campus last Wednesday.

The two are Choe On-chin, 23, a senior who heads the school's student activists' group called "Hakmintu," and Miss Sok Chin-hui, 23, a member of the group.

They were caught around 4 pm by a group of police officers who raided the campus on information that the two had entered the campus earlier in the day.

Meanwhile, police conducted an on-the-spot inspection of the burnt building for about 15 minutes.

In the spot investigation, No Hong-chin, 22, one of the two suspected arsonists, reenacted the scene that together with Choe Ho-chin, 23, spread thinner on a sofa in the school president's office and set fire on it.

No, a metallurgical and materials major, was arrested on charges of violating the law governing assemblies and demonstrations and arson while Choe is at large.

Wearing white-colored jumper and a pair of beige-colored trousers, No reenacted the alleged arson in a comparatively calm manner.

After the reenactment, police investigators confirmed that the two student activists set the office on fire and fled the main building after changing clothes in a student club room.

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## DAILY CONDEMNS STUDENT VIOLENCE ON CAMPUS

SK080057 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 8 May 87 p 4

[Editorial: "Students' Anarchic Violence"]

[Text] Rioting students and anarchic violence on the Panwol campus of Hanyang University in Ansan and Chosun University in Kwangju Wednesday shocked the nation.

The students clubbed and stoned 19 faculty members, sending nine of them to hospital with serious injuries. At least 30 cars were set on fire or destroyed. At Hanyang University, the 500-pyong main administrative building and office of the university president were gutted by fire. Lost in the flames were many priceless university documents. Estimated building damage at Hanyang University alone amounts to over 50 million won.

Such financial damage is the lesser of the rioters' crimes that concern the general public. The nation's paramount concern is that the violence occurred in the ivory towers of academia, the mecca of intellectuals and sanctuary of rational conduct and respect for others' rights.

Yet, Wednesday's riots demonstrated beyond any shadow of doubt that those students cannot possibly be considered intellectuals hungry for truth, freedom and justice. What is unmistakably clear is that their rabble-rousing demands no longer merit the public's serious attention.

Indeed, the nation must now decide whether it can still afford to show such leniency to anarchic campus demonstrations as it has in the past; or whether it should take stern measures to deal with these law-breakers in order to protect the rights of the majority of students eager to learn.

No matter how noble or lofty a cause one may have, resorting to illegal means, let alone criminal destruction, cannot be allowed, especially when such causes are in fact self-serving, radical ideologies.

Thus, such stern and stiff penalties as the law requires should be meted out to Wednesday's rioting students and to any future instigators of such campus unrest. National outcries and deep sighs of disgust seem to crystallize the national sentiment.

What is most called for is rational re-examination of radical students' demands and the mustering of the public will to totally discredit them. Along with resolute measures, strengthened education in traditional morals and virtues will certainly help reorient their misguided values and behavior toward better ends.

## REPORTAGE ON INAUGURATION OF RDP

## RDP To Elect Kim Yong-sam as President

SK010111 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 1 May 87 p 2

[Text] The "Reunification Democratic Party" will be formally created as a new major opposition party in an inaugural convention at the Hungsadan, Tongsung-dong, Chongno 5-ga, at 10 am this morning.

In the inaugural meeting, opposition leader Kim Yong-sam will be elected president of the party. Seven vice presidents of the party will be appointed by Kim.

Meanwhile, key figures of the RDP yesterday discussed ways of protecting the meeting from possible violent attack aimed at impeding it. They decided to mobilize 100 to 200 young party members from each of the 21 local chapters in Seoul and Kyonggi-do to ward off any attempts at disrupting the convention.

The party has requested Home Minister Chong Ho-yong to provide police protection for its meeting. Some 1,500 police are expected to stand vigil around the convention site.

A meeting of the key figures of the RDP, presided over by Kim Yong-sam at the Council for the Promotion of Democracy, agreed on a text for the party charter.

The party charter awaits the approval at the inaugural convention today.

According to the charter, the RDP will be led by the president who will make decisions through "consultation" with vice presidents.

The central party will have eight key posts, seven special committees and 11 departments.

The seven committees will be in charge of education, finance, reunification, diplomacy and defence, youth, judiciary and the press affairs.

The top decision making organ will be the Executive Council made up of 35 members--17 from Kim Yong-sam's faction and another 17 from Kim Tae-chung's group plus the chairman, a post which will be automatically held by the president.

Two vice chairmen of the council will be appointed by the party president among vice presidents of the RDP on a rotation basis.

The party charter also stipulates that the council will nominate the candidates for Assemblymen, mayors of special cities, provincial governors and other public posts to be elected under the local autonomy system.

#### Kim Yong-sam Calls for Dialogue

SK020147 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 2 May 87 p 1

[Text] The opposition party led by Kim Yong-sam was inaugurated yesterday with calls for direct presidential elections and a "civilianized government."

Kim was elected president of the Reunification Democratic Party [RDP] by a unanimous vote of about 700 delegates, including 66 lawmakers, in an inaugural convention held at the Hungsadan auditorium in Seoul.

Accepting the party presidency, Kim said the RDP will stage a nonviolent, democratic struggle to persuade the government and the ruling party to revoke their decision to suspend constitutional debate until after the 1988 Olympics. "Our party will stage clear-cut, strong, democratic struggles and seek substantial dialogue" with the ruling camp, he said in his inaugural speech.

"The 13 April decision to postpone constitutional reform will bring misfortune not only to the present government but also to the entire nation. I strongly urge that the decision be rescinded and substantial talks begin immediately to resolve current political difficulties," he added.

Kim appointed seven vice presidents--Yi Chung-chae, Yang Sun-chik, No Song-hwan, Yi Yong-hui, Choe Hyong-u, Pak Yong-man and Kim Tong-yong.

The RDP was launched 23 days after Kim and another opposition leader, Kim Tae-chung, began to form a new party with some 70 lawmakers who broke away from the then main opposition New Korea Democratic Party.

Kim Tae-chung is expected to be recommended as standing adviser of the party.

"Should the current government carry out its political timetable based on the 13 April decision, we will have no choice but to start struggles to negate it," said Kim.

He made clear that his party will not participate in a presidential election under the present electoral college system, saying that it will launch a nonviolent, nationwide campaign to boycott such an election.

"The current electoral college system denies the people their right to freely choose the government. Under the system, the people play only accessory roles," he added.

Kim continued, "Our party will endeavor to restore direct presidential elections in an effort to realize a genuine democracy." He then urged the government and the ruling party to accept the proposal for what he calls substantial dialogue to resolve the constitutional and other political issues.

Kim indicated that the new opposition party will launch democratic struggles both in and out of the National Assembly. "When the rules for play are unfair, we cannot afford to remain in the arena set up by the ruling camp forever," he said.

Kim demanded that some 2,000 "prisoners of conscience," be released immediately. He also called for amnesty and restoration of civil rights for Kim Tae-chung. "I firmly request that the government restore rights to those who suffer only because they demanded democratization," he said.

He also urged the government to stop employing violent political maneuvers and guarantee freedom of the press.

The convention delegates pledged to "civilianize" politics and restore direct presidential elections.

They also adopted an eight-point resolution calling for the withdrawal of the decision to postpone constitutional reform, the abolition of the Basic Press Law and the release of political detainees.

The 2-hour inaugural convention was held at the Hungsadan auditorium in Chongno 5-ga, Seoul, with about 3,000 policemen deployed around the building.

Kim Tae-chung, who has been under house arrest since 8 April, did not attend the rally.

#### Editorial Urges Dialogue, Compromise

SK020154 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 2 May 87 p 8

[Editorial: "New Opposition Party"]

[Text] With the inauguration of the new opposition Reunification Democratic Party (RDP) yesterday, national politics has now entered a stage of four-party politicking, for the first time in the nation's constitutional history.

Headed by Rep Kim Yong-sam, advisor to the former main opposition New Korea Democratic Party (NDP), the newly activated major opposition party is expected to push through its policy by upholding the image of a "clear-cut opposition force," thus foretelling a stiffened political climate in confrontation with the ruling camp.



Public sentiment has thus far been low-key out of confusion about the former main opposition party hardliners' severing their partisan affiliations to form the new opposition group, leaving the NDP long tattered by factional strife to break up and consequently create a division within the opposition camp.

The new opposition party upon activation confirmed its primary goal of a "parliamentary struggle" to resume debate for constitutional amendment between the rival camps.

The RDP's position as such is considered a blatant challenge to the ruling Democratic Justice Party which has vowed not to tolerate any attempt of the opposition force to revive talks on constitutional revision, shelved by the government until after the Seoul Olympics next year.

Furthermore, the ruling camp has made public its position to hold dialogue only with moderate opposition force, obviously excluding hardliners led by the two Kims--Kim Yong-sam, the new party head, and Kim Tae-chung, standing advisor to the RDP--unless they give up "schemes to create social confusion on the pretext of calling for constitutional debate."

Undeniably in need is firm leadership by the ruling camp in steering state affairs, particularly in face of the projected peaceful change in government power and the staging of the World Olympics. Equally desirous, however, is the integrity of a viable and dependable opposition to play a role in the maintenance of checks and balances vis-a-vis the government camp.

It is admittedly feared that the fiery confrontation between the rival parties may develop into uncontrollable havoc, gravely threatening the nation's hard-won sociopolitical and economic stability.

Accordingly, political players of the ruling and opposition forces are each requested to retreat one step backward from their intransigent positions, in the course of seeking dialogue and compromise within a reasonable formula.

Unless this is done, both of the opposing political parties will be subject to censure by the people for their disregard of the public's wishes to see sound and productive national politics restored before it is too late.

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## REPORTAGE ON REACTION TO KIM YONG-SAM REMARKS

## Prosecution Books Kim Over Remarks

SK090150 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 9 May 87 p 3

[Text] The prosecution yesterday booked Kim Yong-sam in connection with his controversial remarks after the Korea Anti-Communist League and the Korea Wounded Veteran's Association filed charges against Kim.

The newly-found Reunification Democratic Party president is suspected of having made statements that profane the state. Kim said in his inaugural speech as the president of his party that the Seoul Olympics next year can be compared to the Berlin Olympics under the Nazi rule if it is held under the current political system. He also compared the current electoral system with that of the Communist North Korea.

The prosecution intends to demand Kim's appearance in court accusation made against him has "some basis." [Sentence as published]

The two right wing organizations claimed that Kim's words clearly constitute a crime profaning the state. The prosecution reportedly has intentions to investigate the accusation against Kim along with two other similar cases.

Kim Song-pae, 70, of Anam-dong in northern Seoul, filed a complaint with the prosecution last July, claiming that Kim offended the status of the military when he uttered a "possible coup d'etat."

He also made an issue of Kim's words which defended student activists who had staged a massive seizure-protest at Konguk University.

## Lawmakers Argue

SK120007 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 12 May 87 p 1

[Text] Heated argument arose in some National Assembly standing committees yesterday over the prosecution's plan to investigate Kim Yong-sam, president of the first opposition party, for his recent remarks suspected of constituting "contempt of the state."

The Legislation-Judiciary Committee was the center of the stormy discussion with the opposing members harshly denouncing each other.

Lawmakers from the ruling Democratic Justice Party argued that Kim's comparison of the current presidential election system with the black-and-white formula in North Korea is an act profaning the state as well as damaging the dignity of the Constitution.

"Contempt of the state" in the Criminal Code carries a sentence of up to 7 years in jail.

The opposition asked Justice Minister Kim Song-ki to clarify the view of the government on the allegation.

Ruling DJP members also claimed that it is not proper to compare the Seoul Olympics to the 1936 Berlin games, asking if such a comparison is against the national interest.

In particular, Rep Yi Chi-ho criticized the RDP's decision to boycott the electoral college election. He said that it is the denial of constitutional order for a public political party "to boycott an election to be conducted under the Constitution."

Then, he criticized the government for "stationing hundreds of policemen around the house of Kim Tae-chung." "Instead," he claimed, "Kim should be jailed again if justification for the suspension of his imprisonment no longer exists."

He also demanded that the prosecution investigate Kim Tae-chung in connection with his "violation of the Political Party Law."

The lawmakers from the first opposition Reunification Democratic Party responded with the explanation that Kim Yong-sam had only stressed in his speech that democratic reforms are essential to making the Seoul Olympics as world people's festival.

They argued that the government and the ruling party are taking issue with Kim's statement after "cutting the head and tail" from the remarks.

Rep Mok Yo-sang insisted, "Anyone who reads the text of My Kim's speech can find that no part of the inaugural speech of Kim violates any law.

"They are trying to brand RDP President Kim as a criminal by quoting his remarks out of context. Is such a move aimed at oppressing Kim and the new party (RDP)?" he asked.

Rep Chang Ki-u asked whether the prosecution decided to question Kim simply because a few organizations filed complaints against him.

"If so, would the prosecution question the representative of the ruling DJP in case someone were to press charges against him?" he asked.

He also asked if the government had examined a plan to seek a judgment of the Constitution Committee requiring the disbandment of the RDP on the ground that it is an anti-democratic party.

Rep Sin Ki-ha alleged that the sole right of the president concerning the revision of the Constitution is to present a draft amendment.

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## PARTY RIVALRY TO HAMPER ELECTIONS IN ASSEMBLY

SK100210 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 10 May 87 p 1

[Text] Party rivalry is expected to hamper elections of the National Assembly speaker, two vice speakers and chairmen of 13 standing committees.

The elections to posts for the remaining 2 years of the incumbent 12th Assembly have been scheduled for Tuesday in a plenary session.

The vice speakers have customarily come from the main opposition party and the ruling party.

But the ruling Democratic Justice Party is reserving its stand on whether it will support a candidate from the main opposition Reunification Democratic Party [RDP].

The RDP, led by Kim Yong-sam and Kim Tae-chung, has virtually abandoned its intention to nominate a candidate. But it has called for express support in advance from the ruling DJP.

RDP floor leader Kim Hyon-kyu said that in view of the current attitude of the DJP, it is highly probable an RDP candidate would lose if the RDP were to nominate one.

"For that reason, our party is unable to have a candidate stand for vice speakership without an expression of explicit support from the ruling party," Kim said.

The minor opposition NKDP, however, is prepared to put up a candidate if the ruling DJP promises its support.

In the election of a vice speaker 2 years ago, the DJP did not support an officially nominated candidate from the then main opposition New Korea Democratic Party. Instead, the majority party helped the self-recommended candidate, Rep Cho Yon-ha, to be elected vice speaker.

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## ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE MEETINGS MARRED BY DISPUTES

SK100159 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 10 May 87 p 2

[Text] An Mu-hyok, administrator of the Office of National Tax Administration, told a National Assembly panel yesterday that dollars diverted abroad by the top managers of the Pan Ocean Shipping Co. can be redeemed.

He said that the net amount of diversion stood at \$67 million although \$16.43 million was initially unaccounted for.

In reply to questions by members of the Finance Committee, the top tax official said that the late chairman of the company, Pak Kun-suk, has invested about \$4 million in real estate in the United States.

"I believe that we can recover the money invested by Pak through consultations with the U.S. tax authorities," he said.

The panel was one of 12 standing committees which were called into session to inquire of pending issues and business programs of pertinent government offices.

Administrator An said that his office collected a total of 95.8 billion won in taxes in 1986 through financial investigation of those who have committed antisocial economic activities.

Asked by opposition lawmakers to elaborate, he said that 19.5 billion won was collected from those who use foreign sedans.

In the Home Affairs Committee, members of rival parties were pitted against each other over the ruling party's plan to lay local autonomy-related bills before the panel for deliberation yesterday.

As a result, the opening of the panel session, originally slated for 10 am, was delayed until 4 pm.

Delegates from the ruling Democratic Justice Party and the opposition parties, including the largest Reunification Democratic Party [RDP], had earlier agreed on the presentation of the bills. But, RDP members later upset the agreement, delaying the opening of the session.

The opposition lawmakers opposed the deliberation on the bills, demanding a full-scale implementation of the local self-rule formula against the DJP's finalized plan to put it into practice on a gradual basis, beginning from next January in 24 cities, counties and wards of big cities.

In the Education-Information Committee, the DJP and RDP lawmakers disputed with each other over the latest campus situation concerning the shocking incidents of the Hanyang University's Ansan campus and Chosun University in Kwangju.

The ruling party members urged the government to work out fundamental plans to help eradicate radical demonstrations of students, condemning that the incidents of the two universities are designed to stir up social confusion.

They also asked how the government would cope with the declarations of some professors about the recent political situation concerning the postponement of a constitutional amendment.

The RDP lawmakers demanded that the Assembly conduct its own investigation of the arson case at the Hanyang University.

They claimed that the ever-escalating declaration of professors is the very opinion of the whole people, so the 13 April measure to shelve the revision should be withdrawn.

Education Minister Son Chae-sok told the panel members that a total of 731 professors from 18 colleges made declarations on the political situation as of Wednesday. The number of professors accounts for 10.5 percent of total professors of the nation, according to him.

Explaining the latest campus situation, the minister said, "Student activists, at present, are scheming to have campus disturbances continue by taking issue with school affairs, while reconstructing disbanded organizations."

"They are expected to make political struggles in the days to come in collaboration with impure elements outside campus," he said.

In the Finance Committee, the opposing members locked horns with each other over the attendance of Prosecutor-General So Tong-kwon at the panel for testimony on the scandal of the Pan Ocean Shipping Co.

RDP members claimed that the prosecutor general should appear before the panel to brief the panel members on the prosecution investigation of the shipping firm's foreign exchange flight abroad and the use of secret money amounting to 10 billion won.

They also demanded that the prosecution bare the names of persons whom the arrested president of the company, Han Sang-yon, recorded in his secret notebook as those who received bribes from him.

In the Defense Committee, Vice Defense Minister Hwang In-su said, "The Korea-U.S. security cooperative system has been intensified more than in any time before."

"The binational system places the most emphasis on creating security circumstances conducive to deterring war on the Korean peninsula," he said.

He also said that this year's 39th Armed Forces Day would be celebrated in the largest-ever scale by inviting leading figures of foreign countries.

Such a plan is to help the 1988 Seoul Olympics become a success through intensive public activity, according to him.

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## TIMES CALLS FOR POLITICAL PARTIES DISCRETION

SK090035 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 9 May 87 p 8

[Editorial: "Need for Discretion"]

[Text] During the past week or so, the local political scene highlighted a renewed exchange of harsh words between the ruling and opposition parties over a variety of pending issues including the nation's political development.

Such a bitter rhetorical feud had been more or less anticipated in the wake of the government's imposition last month of a moratorium on the national debate over constitutional amendment.

Then, serving as a lively forum for the wrangling is the parliamentary floor, now open for an extraordinary session of the National Assembly since Monday, which in turn was preceded by outspoken statements by the hardline opposition Reunification Democratic Party [RDP] upon its inauguration last week.

One pending issue concerns some "provocative and dubious" points in the RDP platform and its head's inaugural address regarding, among other problems, the validity of the next presidential election by an electoral college, presently slated for later this year, and the popular support of the Seoul Olympic Games due next year.

The ruling Democratic Justice Party promptly demanded an elucidation of those points by the newly-formed major opposition party, while the prosecution authorities were reported as scrutinizing the opposition statements to see if any of them contravene existing legal provisions.

It would be a matter of course for any party to clarify its position in one form or another, when challenged to do so, for the sake of dispelling public misgivings or misunderstanding.

What seems more crucial at this stage of political changes is how to pave the way for opening meaningful dialogue between contending parties so as to break the impending political impasse, averting an unproductive confrontation and leaving no room for violent repercussions.

Already in sight are signs of a resurging radical movement by student activists, as illustrated by two incidents this week in which a university building was set afire and some faculty members of another provincial school were assaulted, while their cars were burned.

Also notable was a congressional hearing in Washington about Korea's recent political situation, through which both U.S. administration officials and congressmen reportedly expressed their concern about future developments in Korea.

It must be stressed that the nation's political progress is something that ought to be charted and achieved by Koreans themselves, without outside meddling--a task that should at least match with the economic and social developments they have attained.

For the present, the task calls for discretion by political players, regardless of their partisan affiliations, to refrain from sheer rhetoric feuding and make redoubled efforts for reopening dialogue in the quest for a workable compromise.

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## TIMES VIEWS DJP HARDLINE STANCE TOWARD RDP

SK100218 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 10 May 87 p 2

[Article by political editor Kim Myong-sik in the "News in Review" column:  
"RDP Acutely Feels Reduced Strength"]

[Text] "Korean nationals who insult or slander the Republic of Korea or its constitutional offices or spread false information about them while abroad, thereby damaging the ROK's security, interest or dignity or causing danger of such damage shall be punished with up to 7 years of imprisonment.

"When Korean nationals perpetrated the offense described in the above paragraph within the country by use of foreign individuals or organizations, they shall be subject to the same punishment." -- Article 104-2 of the Criminal Code.

A sudden spotlight appeared on these two statutory clauses as political circles got off to shaky start following the "realignment" of the opposition force with the birth of the Reunification Democratic Party [RDP].

As soon as Kim Yong-sam made his inaugural address upon being unanimously elected president of the RDP Friday last week, the ruling camp launched an offensive with a threat to apply this stern law to his speech.

Kim, who had taken the helm of the major opposition party after 7 1/2 years, included virile criticism of the current presidential election system and the impending Olympics.

His allusion of them to the black-and-white voting in North Korea and the Nazis fanfare in 1936 surely was a deliberate provocation but it also served as a welcome target for ruling party strategists.

Article 104-2 on the "contempt of the state" was inserted into the Criminal Code in 1975 at the height of the Yushin (revitalizing reforms) era to stifle criticism of the home government by means of foreign mass media.

The RDP president spoke to the members of the new party in acceptance of his election but his audience included a number of foreign media representatives who were covering the occasion. His staff also released an English translation of his speech text to the international press.

After initially rebuking Kim's "slanderous" comparisons of the indirect presidential election and the Olympics through the party spokesman, the Democratic Justice Party used the parliamentary forum for an all-out onslaught.

Lawmakers from the ruling party, while themselves making bitter retorts to the opposition party head, induced Cabinet members to make hints of a possible prosecutive action on the supposedly anti-state offense.

Prime Minister No Sin-yong told the Assembly that government authorities were "closely examining" whether Kim's remarks violated the law. No said the remarks by the opposition leader had "consequently benefited" the North Korean Communists.

The justice minister went further to acknowledge that Kim Yong-sam has "quite a few times" insulted state organs and made "undesirable" remarks concerning the nation's security, interest and dignity since 1985 through his press conferences, lectures and speeches overseas.

Minister Kim Sung-ki noted that he has done so on more than 20 such occasions since January 1985, on tours to the United States, Japan and West Germany as well as in contacts with the foreign press at home.

The DJP attack in the House, which called the RDP "a party which should not have been born" and the top leaders of the party "good-for-nothings" was quite effective in putting the opposition party on the defensive.

At the beginning of the House session, the first after its creation, the RDP with 67 seats demanded that the ruling camp recognize it as a counter-part on equal terms.

The DJP had responded that it would regard the RDP as just "a quarter" of the body politics and as only one of the three opposition parties. Throughout the early part of the session, the DJP lived up to the premise with action.

The RDP used the traditional tactic of a walkout in response to harsh criticism of Kim Yong-sam and Kim Tae-chung by a DJP Assemblyman but the reduced size of the main opposition party made the protest action less spectacular.

The high-handed posture of the prime minister and other Cabinet members looked intentional and the RDP received little support from the New Korea Democratic Party and the Korea National Party.

Members of the two other opposition parties joined the RDP in calling the government to withdraw its decision to shelve the constitutional amendment project but they threw many accusations at the new party over the way it was created.

The ruling party thus proved that "offence is the best defense" and quite efficiently blunted opposition-raised issues including the recent violations of human rights, the continued house arrest of Kim Tae-chung and the Pan Ocean Shipping Co. scandal.

Through the House session, although they may have considered the splitting of a party inevitable, the leaders of the RDP must have felt the pain of its consequences.

Being desperate to turn the tide, they naturally will have to look to popular protest moves outside the parliamentary arena.

Until this weekend, more than 1,000 university professors have signed manifestoes calling for the revocation of the presidential decision to withhold constitutional amendment debates. The number was greater than the figure last spring indicating their support for constitutional revision.

However, the new party is still not ready to take up street campaigns, which will inevitably invite an instant demonstration of power by the authorities whose effect has been well witnessed over the past several months.

Leaders of the RDP are now offering few hints of their future course of action. In fact they may just intend to wait for chances for countermoves when the ruling camp takes practical steps for power transition under the existing system.

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## DJP NOMINATES CHANG SONG-MAN AS VICE ASSEMBLY SPEAKER

SK120027 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 12 May 87 p 1

[Text] Chang Song-man, chief policymaker of the ruling Democratic Justice Party, was nominated yesterday to replace Choe Yong-chol as vice speaker of the National Assembly.

Speaker Yi Chae-hyong was recommended by the party to retain his post.

The DJP also reshuffled some party posts and chairmen of 11 of the Assembly's 13 standing committees.

The Assembly will elect the speaker and the vice speaker in a full session vote today. The votes for the standing committee chairmen are scheduled for tomorrow.

In the reshuffle, Yim Chol-sun, director of the party's Institute of National Policy, was named to succeed Chang as policy committee chairman. Kim Chong-nam was appointed new party spokesman, replacing Sim Pyong-po.

The party nominated Kim Hyon-uk as chairman of the Assembly's foreign affairs committee succeeding Pong Tu-wan.

Yi Han-tong, floor leader of the party, was nominated to retain his post as chairman of the steering committee. Also unaffected were Chon Yong-song, chairman of the national defense committee, and Chong Si-chaeh, chairman of the budget settlement committee.

Na Sok-ho was nominated for new chairman of the legislature-judiciary committee, Chon Pyong-u for home affairs, Sin Sang-sik for finance, Yom Kil-chung for economy-sciences and Yi Yong-il for education-public information.

Other nominated committee chairmen are An Pyong-kyu for agriculture-fisheries, Chong Tong-song for trade-industry, Pak Chun-pyong for health-social affairs, Kim Sang-ku for transportation-communications and Kwon Yong-u for construction.

In the reshuffle of party posts, Ko Kwi-nam was picked to serve as director of the party's Institute of National Policy, succeeding Yim.

Kwon Chong-tal, chairman of the Assembly's home affairs committee, was named director of the DJP's Office of Policy Coordination.

The ruling party also changed chairmen of seven of the 10 city and provincial chapters.

Yi Chan-hyok was appointed to take charge of the Seoul chapter.

Newly appointed provincial chapter chairmen are Kim Yong-tae for Kangwon-do, Yi Cha-hon for Kyonggi-do, Yi Sang-ik for Chungchongnam-do, Ko Kun for Chollabuk-do, Choe Yong-chol for Chollanam-do and Pak Myong-kuk for Kyongsangnam-do.

Those retained were Kwak Chong-chol of the Pusan chapter, Chong Chong-taek of Chungchongbuk-do and Yi Chi-ho of Kyongsangbuk-do.

"We have tried to place the right people in the right positions by taking into account their capability and career," said DJP Secretary General Yi Chun-ku.

He said, however, that the shuffle does not signify any change in the party's guideline for future political operations.

Party sources said the reshuffle in the Assembly and party posts will be followed by changes in some cabinet posts as early as next month.

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## POLITICIANS WARNED AGAINST EXPLOITING OLYMPICS

SK120042 Seoul YONHAP in English 0030 GMT 12 May 87

[Text] Seoul, 12 May (YONHAP)--Kim Chong-ha, chairman of the Korean Olympic Committee (KOC), warned Tuesday against any attempt by opposition politicians to exploit the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games for their partisan interests.

"It is hardly tolerable to take issue of the Seoul Olympics out of political, partisan considerations with the games only months away," Kim told a press conference held at the press center here.

He was referring to opposition leader Kim Yong-sam's remarks, in which he compared the Seoul event, should it be held in the absence of democratization in the country, to the 1936 Berlin Olympics staged under the Nazis.

Kim Yong-sam made the statement on 1 May in his speech accepting the presidency of the newly formed Reunification Democratic Party.

The KOC chairman's warning was the latest of a recent string of accusations against the opposition leader for his "outrageous utterance," triggering a political furor between the ruling and the opposition camps.

The prosecution has made it clear that it plans to look into the case and Kim's other past activities on contempt of state charges. The prosecution reportedly would serve a summons on him later this week.

The Seoul Olympics, Kim Chong-ha said, should be a turning point for the Korean people to achieve unity and to pioneer the way to a democratic, peaceful unification of the Korean peninsula while serving as an occasion for reconciliation and progress of the world, riddled with violence and conflicts.

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## BRIEFS

ADDITIONAL CHARGE AGAINST LAWMAKER--Rep Kim Yong-o of the Reunification Democratic Party will face an additional charge of offering 150 million won in illegal political contributions to an opposition figure, prosecutors said yesterday. He will be indicted today, they said. Kim, 57, allegedly donated the money to Kim Sang-hyon in January 1985 to win his nomination for a candidacy in the parliamentary elections the following month, prosecutors said. The opposition legislator will be the first person to be indicted under a law banning political contributions in return for winning a nomination in presidential or parliamentary elections. The law came into effect in December 1980. Rep Kim was originally accused of passing a bogus promissory note worth 200 million won to Kim Sang-hyon also in January 1985. He has been under arrest since 23 April. Prosecutors said they plan to summon Kim Sang-hyon for questioning soon as a co-conspirator. [Text] [Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 12 May 87 p 3] /9604

PAN HYONG-SIK JOINS OPPOSITION PARTY--Rep Pan Hyong-sik, an independent, yesterday joined the new opposition Reunification Democratic Party. His entry into the RDP led by Kim Yong-sam brings to 67 the total number of lawmakers of the party. He is one of six lawmakers loyal to Yi Ki-taek, a minority group leader in the New Korea Democratic Party. [Text] [Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 5 May 87 p 2] /9604

PRISONER RELEASE ANNOUNCED--Seoul, 2 May (YONHAP)--The Justice Ministry will release 1,116 prisoners, including 24 dissidents, on parole on 4 May to commemorate the 2,531st anniversary of Buddha's birthday, which falls on 5 May. The special parolees include 887 well-behaved prisoners, 177 juveniles in reformatories. Among the 24 dissident inmates to be freed are 23 students who have been behind bars for breaking the law on assembly and demonstration and lawyer Yi Ton-myong, who was sentenced to 8 months in prison for harboring a fugitive dissident. Yi was convicted of providing shelter for Yi Pu-yong, a senior member of Mintongyon, a dissident group. Justice Minister Kim Sung-ki said that the student activists to be released this time were selected from among those who already finished more than half of their prison terms. They showed that they intend to "put their hearts and souls only into their studies," he added. Kim said the government will release more student activists earlier than scheduled to let them return to normal social lives if they repent on their past wrongdoings.

He said, however, that the government will be strict in dealing with "radical leftist students," those who were in contempt of courts, leaders of anti-government demonstrations, and those who occupied and set fire to public buildings. [Text] [Seoul YONHAP in English 0708 GMT 2 May 87] /9604

NKDP, PDP NEGOTIATING GROUP--Yi Min-u, president of the opposition New Korea Democratic Party, yesterday appointed Rep Yi Taek-ton as floor leader. The second largest opposition party registered with the National Assembly as a floor negotiating group in the afternoon. Its merger with the People's Democratic Party [PDP] raises the number of NKDP lawmakers to 28. The ruling Democratic Justice Party has 147 parliamentary seats and the minor Korea National Party 21 seats. Meanwhile, the PDP will hold a national convention today to dissolve the party. [Text] [Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 2 May 87 p 1] /9604

CSO: 4100/188

## EMERGING DOMESTIC AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY DESCRIBED

Seoul MAEIL KYONGJE SINMUN in Korean 19 Feb 87 p 7

[Article by reporter Kim Tong-kwon: "The Aircraft Industry Is Ready for Take-off; Limited Domestic Demands Is Directed Toward Parts Exports"]

[Text] The domestic aircraft industry has begun to take off. Samsung Precision has changed its business name to Samsung Aircraft Industry in order to declare its earnest entry into the aircraft industry. And then Korean Air and Daewoo Heavy Industry, which have been partially investing in technological development in this field, are making moves to expand their investment in the future.

The aircraft industry is an advanced industry among the high-technology industries. It is a field which demands a higher level of precision and technology compared with other industries.

Also, since it requires a vast amount of investment, without a large funding capability and an organizational base, even if one gets into it rashly, one will find it difficult.

In this respect the aircraft industry may be regarded as a highly technology- and capital-intensive industry.

Especially from the standpoint of our country, because the aircraft industry is involved in the area of national security and our small amount of land restricts its market, various restrictions are placed on aircraft production.

Accordingly, domestic enterprises orient the promotion of the aircraft industry more toward parts production, supply, and exports rather than toward the production of finished products.

The world's leading aircraft manufacturers such as Boeing, McDonnell-Douglas, and Northrop have recently recognized our country as a promising base for supplying parts. Therefore, if we concentrate our force on parts production and exports, the prospect of our future aircraft industry is not dark by any means.

Following this, Samsung Aircraft Industry, Korean Air, and Daewoo Heavy Industry have recently expanded their investment in technological development for

parts production and decided to concentrate on exports. On the other hand, they have established strategy also to produce finished products by stages when technology is accumulated.

Because, since 1978 when it entered the aircraft industry Samsung Aircraft Industry has recently received a rush of joint ventures and orders for parts production from overseas, it is now at a turning point.

This company, which succeeded in 1982 in the local production of jet engines and has exported airframes to Northrop in the United States and engine parts to Pratt and Whitney in the United States, is currently participating in the joint development of engines for large aircraft such as the Boeing 747 and 767 and the Airbus 300 and 301.

Also, in order to build a sufficient number of engines for F-15 Eagles and F-16 Falcons it established in January last year Samsung-United Aircraft Company with joint investment with Pratt and Whitney. Thus it is actively expanding the area of engine development.

Together with this, since it is receiving an increasing number of requests for the purchase of parts from Boeing, McDonnell-Douglas, and Northrop, it will concentrate in the future on parts exports. It has also prepared a blueprint for manufacturing by stages purely Korean-model aircraft on the basis of accumulated technology.

In this respect, the recent change of its business name may be regarded as immensely significant as the expression of its intention to enter the aircraft industry in earnest.

The frontrunner of our aircraft industry, Korean Air, too has recently expanded its investment in the development of aircraft technology.

Having established in 1976 an aerospace project center to participate in the development of the aircraft industry, this company has carried out helicopter assembly, production, and exports, and the assembly and production of the locally built "Chekong." Last year it built the "Changgong 2," thus succeeding in a true sense in manufacturing locally made aircraft for the first time.

However, Korean Air considers this not as the culmination of aircraft manufacturing, but as a forerunner in the production of passenger and fighter planes, and it is not relaxing its technological development.

Taking into account the fact that the production of finished products is difficult at this time, this company, too, is concentrating its efforts on parts production and exports, including airframe and wing parts.

Over the last 2 years Korean Air has invested a total of \$35 million in development to secure facilities and equipment for aircraft parts production. Last year it already signed contracts for exporting \$40 million worth of parts with Boeing, Northrop, and McDonnell-Douglas. This year it plans to export as much as about \$250 million worth of parts to these companies.

With strategy to develop and produce by itself medium-size aircraft in the next century, this company is further expanding its employment of qualified personnel and investment in technological development. In the long run it also plans to participate in the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative and in space development.

Daewoo Heavy Industry established in 1983 an aircraft project center, and in 1984 it signed a contract with General Dynamics of the United States for the production and maintenance of F-16 fighter airframes and ailerons. Since then, it has been continuously expanding investment and technological development in the aircraft industry.

Especially in September of last year it developed aircraft brake discs to replace an annual 100 million won in imports. Last October it established Daewoo Sikorsky Aircraft Industry in a joint investment venture with United Technologies to spur the production of the latest model of helicopters.

This model helicopter is a field on which Daewoo Heavy Industry has placed top priority. The scale of its worldwide market is about \$72.5 billion. Since it has such a bright prospect for marketability, it has high expectations for its exports.

Also, this company signed in January of this year a contract to export \$40 million worth of Boeing 747 wing frames, which was recorded as the largest-scale export of a single item.

Daewoo Heavy Industry plans to invest a total of \$100 million before 1990 to expand the production and export of various airframes for civil aircraft and transport planes, and also to expand its plant and facility capacities.

Together with this, it has also established a strategy to participate in the space industry.

In addition to these, Taeyang Electronics is producing some of the electronic parts used in the inertial navigation system, and Kumsung Precision is producing radars and other products.

Thus the domestic aircraft industry is showing signs of a gradual blossoming. However, since it is the view of the specialists concerned that investment in the aircraft industry cannot expect quick economic returns, investment must be carried out carefully by stages.

10372/9274  
CSO: 4107/124

## DAILY ON KIM CHONG-IL DOCUMENT

SK210719 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 2139 GMT 16 May 87

[NODONG SINMUN 17 May special article: "The Programmatic Document That Has Brought About an Epochal Turning Point in Creating Revolutionary Works and Works of Art"]

[Text] At a time when all the people throughout the country, by upholding the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song's historic policy speech, are rekindling the flames of the great revolutionary upsurge in the struggle to achieve the complete victory of socialism under the banner of the three revolutions, we, today, mark the first anniversary of the publication of the document "Let Us Effect a New Upswing in Creating Revolutionary Literary Works and Works of Art" by dear Comrade Kim Chong-il.

By publishing this document, dear Comrade Kim Chong-il has engraved a new milestone in the development of our literature and arts. The document is a programmatic guideline which elucidates the bright future in which our literature and arts, which have entered the second half of the 1980's following their golden age in the 1970's, can continuously effect a new upsurge based on the scientific analysis of the demands of our revolution and the actual state of literature and arts.

The work is also a banner of the construction of revolutionary literature and arts which has firmly manifested the truthfulness and justness of the great chuche-based literary ideology and which has given a complete and unique answer to the theoretical and practical problems presented before literature and arts by the times.

Comrade Kim Chong-il, member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau and secretary of the party Central Committee, has noted: Our literature and arts should become revolutionary literature and arts which advance with the times as well as a mighty ideological weapon of the party which, while going ahead of reality, vigorously spurs the masses to the revolution and construction.

In the document, dear Comrade Kim Chong-il completely clarifies the tasks and methods designed to lead our literature and arts to a new upswing to meet the demand of the developing reality. Above all, the document clearly elucidates the direction that the creation of literary works and works of art should follow in accordance with the demand of the party's ideological work.

The direction for themes clarified in the document--which demands that numerous works on the theme of the revolutionary tradition, including works profoundly portraying the greatness of the respected and beloved leader and our party, be created; that the work of putting immortal, classical masterpieces to various forms of literature and arts be continuously carried out; and that the work on the theme of the fatherland and national pride, the work vividly reflecting the military-civilian relationship and the daily life of soldiers, and the work depicting the new trend of the youths and students to crave for new things be created in number--has provided a firm guarantee for our literature and arts to genuinely make their contribution to arming party members and functionaries with the revolutionary outlook on the leader and the church-oriented view of the revolution and to indoctrinating them to remain endlessly loyal to the revolutionary cause.

In addition, by giving a complete solution to the theoretical and practical problems arising from creating and developing various forms of literature and arts such as literature, movie, opera, music, dance, art, drama, and acrobatics, the document has provided an opportunity to reach an epochal turning point in further making the flower garden of church-type literature and arts come to full blossom by effecting a new revolutionary reform and bringing about a creative upsurge in all sectors of literature and arts.

Also broadly summed up in the document is the church-oriented literary theory, ranging from the essence, superiority, characteristics, and mission of socialist and communist works and works of art to the principles and methods designed to establish firmly the church idea in the creation of literary works and works of art; thoroughly embody in them party-mindedness, working class-mindedness, and people-mindedness; keep them away from the trend of conventionalism and similarity; and cultivate creative individualism and originality well. Thus, the document has become not only a guiding principle needed to effect a new upsurge in the creation of literary works and works of art in the present era, but also an immortal banner which we should constantly adhere to in socialist literary and art construction.

Today, the document fully displays its justness, truthfulness, and inexhaustible vitality through the proud successes achieved in our literature and arts and their dazzling development. Indeed, since the publication of the document, our literature and arts have made a great success and unprecedented progress.

All fields of the literary works and works of art, including literature, film, drama, music, dance, and acrobatics, have produced rich fruits which include some 1,000 literary works and tens of art films, and their ideological and artistic level has reached a high standard.

One of the most valuable successes attained in the fields of literary works and works of art since the publication of the document is that through the dramatization of the immortal classical work "A Letter From the Daughter," a revolutionary drama written and put on stage during the days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, in a manner that is incomparably superior in

ideological and artistic level, the noble treasure of our literary works and works of art have been made to emit its rays still in the present era as a shining paradigm of revolutionary literary works and works of art.

Indeed, the creation of the revolutionary drama "A Letter From the Daughter" was another shining success accomplished in further consolidating the successes that have already been made in the course of writing the "Songhwangdang-style" [shrine of a tutelary deity] revolutionary drama and in thoroughly defending and making the revolutionary traditions of our literary works and works of art shine.

The great 5,000-person performance of "Song of Happiness" which beautifully and splendidly decorated the festive stage set up to celebrate the 75th birthday of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, the most successful work ever created in our recent literary works, wonderfully shows the stately appearance of the chuche-oriented literary works and works of art which are making a big advance by taking advantage of victory under the ray of the party even in the eighties following their heyday during the seventies.

This work, which was completed under the meticulous guidance of the party, depicts in a new format--a great 5,000-person performance--in a way that strikes a chord in the viewers' hearts, the history of the great love of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il-song who has devoted himself to the people's happiness for a long time, from the day he left his native home in Mangyongdae to embark upon the road of revolution to the present, tirelessly setting out on the thousands of li of on-the-spot guidance, braving snow storms, and oblivious of sleep and food, all for the people's happiness.

Also summed up in this work are the valuable successes achieved in the past by our literary works and works of art under the wise leadership of the party.

A large number of art films of various themes, all superior in ideological and artistic terms, including the first and second parts of such art films as "Dawn," the first and second parts of "The Birth of a New Government," "Great Bosom," "Guarantee," and "Songs of Bygone Days," have been made and are vigorously contributing to educating our people so as to make them endlessly loyal to the great leader and the party and put up a tenacious struggle for the completion of the cause of the chuche revolution.

In particular, the production of the art film "Guarantee" which deals with our party's mass lines in a way that strikes a chord in the viewers' hearts and which is one of the noble successes accomplished in correctly embodying the justness and the great vitality of the party lines and policies in literary works, has opened a new turning point in developing our literary works and works of art.

A large number of artistic works that have depicted with intensity the greatness of the respected and beloved leader and our party and others that have vividly reflected in various forms our people's ideology, emotion, and life,



including the novel "A Great Love," a part of the collected works "The Immortal History," the epic poem "A Burning Boat," the poems "On the High Hill of Life" and "The Sea and Warrior," the Korean paintings "The Unforgettable Wonsan-Cholwon Railroad," the oil painting "Morning and the Arch of Triumph," the songs "When Can I Do It All?" and "The Blue Sky in My Country," orchestral music, piano solos, the choral song "Sahyangga," the dance "[name indistinct]," and "Signal Soldier and Girls," have been created in various other literary and art fields such as literature, fine arts, music, and dance.

In the course of great successes being achieved in literary and art works since the emergence of the document, the chuche-oriented and revolutionary character of our literary and art works have also been extraordinarily strengthened. By sensitively accepting and cherishing lines and policies presented by the party at every period and every stage of the developing revolution and then wonderfully explaining the pressing problems demanded by reality in ideological and artistic terms, our literary and art works are fulfilling their mission and role as genuine party-minded literary and art works leading the party members and working people on a single victorious road of revolution indicated by the party.

In order to develop the literary and art work in a way that corresponds to the interests of our revolution and to our people's national aesthetic sentiments and taste, it is imperative to thoroughly establish the chuche idea in literary works and works of art. By thoroughly embodying the party's policy on the need for literary works and works of arts to reflect things socialist in nationalist forms, to keep the essence of nationalist arts alive and well in place, and to adopt critically successes and experience attained in the literary works and works of arts of foreign countries, our literary works and works of art are coming to more brilliant blossom as our own literary works and works of arts that genuinely contribute to the Korean revolution and are ravishly loved by our people.

Thus, the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il's document "Let Us Effect a New Upswing in Creating Revolutionary Literary Works and Works of Art" has vigorously proven its justness and great vitality through the proud successes and extraordinary progress attained by our literary works and works of art during the past year. Indeed, the document is a programmatic guideline and a brilliant beacon for the chuche-oriented literature and art construction that guarantees the uninterrupted progress and blossoming of our literature and arts.

Our literature and arts are destined to achieve successes when they advance along the path indicated by the document. By firmly arming themselves with the ideas, theories, and methods explained in the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il's document and by effecting uninterrupted upsurges in creating revolutionary literary works and works of arts, our writers and artists should further thoroughly defend and safeguard and, going one step further, make the immortal exploits of our party in the fields of literature and arts further shine.

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CSO: 4110/151

## YOUTH LEAGUE MEETING URGES HEIGHTENED LOYALTY

Seoul NAEWOE TONGSIN in Korean 27 Feb 87 pp 1J-6J

[Text] (Seoul, NAEWOE) North Korea held the "Socialist Working Youth League Primary Level Functionaries Meeting" in Pyongyang on 18-19 February, encouraging an expectation of the best in productive execution of the third 7-year economic plan (1987-93), in which the youth organization is mobilizing, and preparing for the 13th World Youth and Students Festival, which is to be held in 1989.

At the conference, in which such high-ranking government and party cadre as Vice President Pak Song-ch'ol, Party Secretary Key Ung-t'ae, Pyongyang City Party Secretary Kang Hui-won, and Party Secretaries Ho Chong-suk and Ch'oe T'ae-pok as well as cadre from the league, including SWYL Chairman Ch'oe Yong-hae and SWYL primary level functionaries from various sectors participated, the North Korean group took as its main subjects: "(1) "embodying thoroughly the revolutionary work method which the leader created, we will make a new conversion in SWYL work," and (2) "to mobilize SWYL members and youth in carrying out the third 7-year economic plan and prepare for the 13th World Youth and Students Festival." Following the report by SWYL Chairman Ch'oe Yong-hae and discussion by SWYL primary level functionaries from various sectors, they advanced in turn to declaring a resolution of loyalty, pledging to accomplish these tasks.

Ch'oe Yong-hae stressed in his report before the SWYL organization that "upholding the leadership of the party, and preparing youth strongly as successors to the great chuche cause, our duty is to inherit and complete generation after generation the chuche revolutionary tasks developed in the forests of Paektu." He explained the guidelines for organizational strengthening of the primary level organization, a basic organization of the SWYL, to support the Kim family hereditary system of dictatorship.

Ch'oe indicated that as guidelines on organizational strengthening and heightening and the role for this primary level SWYL organization, they are taking as a leadership guide Kim Chong-il's so-called "youth work method," and openly propagandizing the leadership power of Kim Chong-il for the SWYL organization.

Ch'oe emphasized that the urgent theme for the SWYL organization was to "achieve the succession from generation to generation of the chuche revolutionary task" by mobilizing and organizing youth positively in the struggle to finish early the third 7-year economic plan and in the preparatory work for the 13th World Youth and Students Festival.

Ch'oe also stressed that in order to accomplish this urgent theme, more than anything else, they first had to raise the "combat power" of the basic level organization, the primary level of the SWYL, and "establish revolutionary discipline in moving as one" by strengthening even more the leadership and control of the league's ideological and organizational life.

In particular, making the basic principle of the league the "revolutionary work system," which upholds loyally the unitary ideological system of the party and the leadership of the party center, Kim Chong-il, Ch'oe pledged not only to strengthen the role of the SWYL in the system of organizational loyalty for binding youth firmly in the circumference of the party via the so-called method of "1 teach 10, 10 teach 100, and 100 teach 1,000," but also to strengthen ideological rearmament of the league.

Moreover, for accomplishing pending economic tasks, Ch'oe urged positive participation in the so-called "mass technological innovation movement for achieving the party's technological revolution guidelines," including broadly strengthening the activities of the "Technical Innovation Youth Shock Brigade" and the "Automation Youth Shock Brigade," as a series of measures to maximize an increase of efforts by youth.

Also, Ch'oe called for positive work mobilization of youth this year for various economic construction sites.

On the other hand, in connection with the 13th World Youth and Students Festival to be held in the summer of 1989 in Pyongyang, Ch'oe said they would "support peace and oppose a new world war...strengthen friendly solidarity with world youth and students...display the combat power of Korean youth solidly united around the party," and also, exaggerating and propagandizing this festival for youth and students of the whole world, he explained guidelines for concentrating all the SWYL's capability to achieve superior festival preparation work.

In holding the "SWYL Primary Level Functionaries Conference," convened this time with a purpose similar to the plenary sessions of other important party-related groups such as the Agricultural Workers Union, General Federation of Trade Unions, and the Korean Democratic Women's Union, which have been held successively in recent days, it seems that North Korea is pressing for system stabilization. It is concentrating on inducing absolute loyalty to the Kim family from the SWYL primary level organization by calling this conference, while also strengthening more than ever its maneuvers to try to mobilize to the maximum the labor force of youth under the pretext of the third 7-year economic plan.

Furthermore, in connection with the 13th World Youth and Students Festival to be held in 1989 in North Korea, it is anticipated that by urging them to make full preparations for this, it will be used as propaganda concerning the achievements of the Kim family. In addition they hope to obtain foreign propaganda results and revive anti-ROK fervor through various types of propaganda by holding a large-scale international event in opposition to the Seoul Olympics.

There was final confirmation at the festival's first preparatory conference, held in Moscow early last February, that the 13th World Youth and Students Festival would be convened in North Korea in 1989.

This festival, convened by the World Democratic Youth League and the International Students League, under Soviet leadership, brings together youth and students from youth organizations and leftist groups in major communist countries and is held as an international "anti-imperialist struggle event" at intervals of 3 to 5 years.

Under the slogan of "anti-imperialist solidarity," festival events will establish daily central themes daily and operate centers on basic motifs, while holding friendship meetings, discussion meetings, art performances, exhibitions, and athletic events.

Together with such positive activities held in Pyongyang as the Executive Committee Meeting (14-16 January 1986) for the International Students League, the host organization for this festival, North Korea has taken a large-scale initiative by holding meetings which strive to create an atmosphere and build a base for operating conferences via such things as the Pyongyang City Youth and Students Meeting (July 1986), the SWYL Plenary Session for Festival Preparatory Tasks Discussion (August 1986), and the Pyongyang City mass meeting (August 1986). These were held to support such festival buildings and facilities as Kwangbok Street, Nungnado Stadium, Yanggak Island Football Grounds, and the Youth Theater.

9122/9835  
CSO: 4107/140

## REPORT ON MOBILIZING MASSES BY SLOGANS

SK190839 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 2137 GMT 12 May 87

[NODONG SINMUN 13 May special article: "Putting Forward Revolutionary Slogans To Powerfully Organize and Mobilize the Masses Is the Characteristic of Our Party's Leadership"]

[Text] Our party leads the revolution and construction to continuous upsurges by employing slogans as the powerful means of mobilizing the masses and constantly putting forward revolutionary slogans.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has taught: Our party has powerfully evoked the masses to the struggle to implement the party's line and policy by putting [word indistinct] precise struggle slogans striking a chord in the people's hearts, precisely reflecting the demand of the revolution and the aspiration of the masses.

Slogans are an important means to realize the party's leadership by organizing and mobilizing the masses and accelerating the revolution and construction. Above all, the party's slogans play a significant role of awareness indoctrination to inform the masses of the party's will and to teach them the struggle objective and direction of action.

The prior condition for mobilizing the masses is to inform the masses so that they may be well aware of the party's political will. The masses must know the party's political will before they are able to carry out precisely the revolutionary task put forth by the party by firmly rallying around the party.

In arming the masses with the party's will, slogans demonstrate great might. To arm the masses with the party's policy, various forms and means can be employed, such as studies and lecture. However, because of their specific characteristics, slogans exert significant power of awareness indoctrination in arming the masses with the party's ideology, theory, and policy.

Slogans profoundly reflect the party's line and policy in the context of the sentences. The characteristic of slogans is that they contain the party's will and the contents and essence of the party's policy in an intensive manner. Slogans are able to indoctrinate broad masses as they can be out up at any place in the presence of the masses. For this reason, the party puts forward a slogan at every time and stage of the development of the revolution, and uses it to inform the masses of the party's will and policy.

Also, the masses receive the road they should follow and the struggle task at every time from the slogan put forward by the party. Hence, slogans are an important means to connect the party and the masses in one ideological blood tie.

Thus, slogans demonstrate significant might in informing the masses of the party's ideology and policy and having them breathe in accordance with the party's will and struggle along the road directed by the party.

The party's slogans also play a significant role of agitation to boost the masses' revolutionary zeal and spirit. We should boost the zeal and morale of the masses to organize and mobilize them. The high spirit and zeal of the masses are the source for making the masses demonstrate high devotion and mass heroism in implementing the party's line and policy.

Slogans are of great significance not only in conducting propaganda and indoctrination but also in producing an agitation effect. The characteristics of slogans is that they are consistent in strong revolution-mindedness, militancy, appeal and agitation. A brief slogan of not more than one line can be a powerful revolutionary sound of a drum capable of rallying thousands of masses as one and can be a banner of advance in which they create from scratch and turn adversity into success. Truly great is the power of influence and agitation exerted by militant slogans in evoking and rallying the masses. Therefore, the party's struggle slogans always fluttered as the banner of the masses on the road of our revolution, including the time of the great revolutionary upswing.

Putting forward revolutionary slogans and powerfully organizing and mobilizing the masses thereby successfully pushing ahead with the revolution and construction is an important characteristic of our party's leadership art. The characteristic of our party's slogans is that they are the revolutionary banner which clearly puts forth the correct struggle objective and struggle task for our people.

The preciseness of the party's slogans is the source of the might of the slogans. Slogans should be precise so that they can inform the masses of the correct struggle direction and method and so that they can become the masses' own slogans.

The preciseness of slogans are ensured by the preciseness of the party's line and policy and the wisdom of the party's leader. All the lines and policies of our party are worked out scientifically based on the *chuche* idea. The characteristics of our party's lines and policies are that they are based on the profound revolutionary principles, contain clear methods and practical tasks, and embody the inevitability of socialist and communist construction.

By exactly expressing such precise lines and policies of our party, our party's slogans clearly inform the masses of the road for them to follow and precisely put forth the specific revolutionary tasks for them.

The slogan "Land for the Peasants Who Plow the Fields" which our party put forward after the liberation in 1945 was an important slogan that led the land revolution to victory in those days. The preciseness and vitality of this slogan consisted in clearly reflecting the party's precise land reform policy on confiscating the landlord's land free of charge and allocating it free of charge to the peasants who plowed the fields.

The fact that the party's slogan "Let the entire party membership go among the masses" exerts great influence on the functionaries today in establishing the revolutionary work method is attributable to the fact that this slogan embodies the party's correct mass line and requirement of the Chongsan-ri spirit and Chongsan-ri method.

The preciseness and profundity of the party's slogans originate from the party's extraordinary intelligence and wisdom. The might of the slogans is ascribable to the greatness of the party that prepares and puts them forward. All the revolutionary slogans of our party demonstrate the greatness of the party center. The greatness of the ideology and theory and the extraordinary features of the leadership art of our party define the truthfulness and philosophical profundity of the party's slogans. Therefore, the slogans put forward by the party turn out to be masterpieces containing the profound ideology and contents and the motto of the revolution and the masses. The slogan "Production, Study, and Life All in the Style of the Anti-Japanese Guerrillas" is an example of this. This slogan profoundly expresses in only a few words the requirement of the party members and workers to learn from the noble revolutionary spirit and struggle spirit of the anti-Japanese guerrillas in all areas of work and life. Hence, the slogan teaches and leads the party members and workers so that they can always bear deep in mind the meaning of the slogan and live in the ideology and spirit of the anti-Japanese guerrillas.

The specific features of our party's slogans are consistent in the powerful appeal and militancy which rallies and evokes the masses to the revolutionary struggle. The might of our party's slogans combines the agitating function, which evokes and rallies the masses, with the propaganda function which awakens and arms the masses.

The role of our party's slogans as a powerful agitator evokes the masses to implementing the party's policy and makes them demonstrate matchless devotion and exploits.

The party's slogan "Let us dash forward in the spirit of riding Chollima" which was put forward during the period of socialist construction after the war was a vivid example of the slogan that ensured the identity of the party's demand with the people's aspiration. This slogan reflects the Chollima spirit of our people who are determined to advance at a speed 10 and 100 times faster than others. Hence, as soon as this slogan was put forward, it appealed to the hearts of the people and powerfully evoked them to the Chollima upswing.

The appeal given forth by a slogan is made greater when the slogan demonstrates its vitality with its revolutionary zeal and powerful rhythm and essayist style [chongnyonsong]. In preparing a slogan, our party makes sure that it has a powerful essayist style as well as profundity so that it will have significant effect in terms of awareness and indoctrination and high appeal.

The slogan "Let us vigorously accelerate the march of the 1980's in the manner of building the Sohae lockgate" is today the struggle banner that encourages our party members and workers toward mass heroism. The Sohae lockgate is a proud creation of the era of the WPK which our people's heroism gave birth to and it is a symbol which evokes the people to heroic exploits. Since the slogan contains the spirit of building the Sohae lockgate, it gives the party members and workers the revolutionary zeal and creative spirit.

Our party's slogans are put up everywhere there are the masses and serve as mighty slogans of agitation which powerfully encourage and drive them toward socialist construction.

The characteristic of our party's slogans also consists in being the banner which leads the people to the future of communism. The party's mission is to ultimately complete the revolutionary cause. Therefore, the true value of the party's slogans is that they ensure the inheritance of the revolutionary cause and lead the people to the ultimate victory of the revolution and to the future of communism.

Our party is the party that realizes the inheritance of the revolution and struggles for the ultimate completion of the revolutionary cause. Hence, our party's slogans embody the demand of the inheritance of the revolution, and clearly elucidate not only the present of the revolution but also the future of the revolution.

Whenever our party puts forward a slogan, it ensures that the contents of the slogan are communist future-oriented, and puts forward many slogans connected with the future of communism, together with the slogans elucidating the methods and tasks of the present revolutionary struggle. The slogan "Rice is communism" put forward by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song is an instance of this. This slogan, which connects the problem of food, a specific aspect of man's survival and life, with the communist society, the ideal of mankind, demonstrates a significant driving force and influence in giving the people trust, hope, and optimism and having them firmly advance toward the ultimate victory of the revolution by associating the specific and present problem with the future of the revolution.

The slogan put forward by our party "Ideology, technology, and culture as demanded by the chuche" clearly elucidates the party's strategic objective on building the communist society by adhering to the three revolutions and realizing the modeling of the entire society on the chuche idea. Therefore, our people carry on the struggle with great trust and hope, looking forward from this slogan to the society in which the entire society is modeled on the chuche idea, the communist society.



The party's slogans are the banner of our people's victory and glory. By continuously adhering to and implementing the party's revolutionary slogans in the future as well, we will successfully attain the long-range goal of the Third 7-Year Plan, accelerate the complete victory of socialism, and accelerate the cause of reunifying the fatherland.

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CSO: 4110/148

## SOLDIERS ACCLAIMED FOR SONGCHON LOCKGATE CONSTRUCTION

Pyongyang NODONG SINMUN in Korean 12 Mar 87 p 3

[Article: "Another Proud Creation of People's Army Soldiers Built in Marketing the April Holiday; Completion of the Songchon Lockgate Celebrated"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 11 March, KOREAN CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY--At this time, when the entire country is astir with a high political enthusiasm and revolutionary upsurge in marking the significant April holiday, the construction of the Songchon lockgate has been completed.

The Songchon lockgate, which has been majestically built as the fifth lockgate of the Taedong River, is a comprehensive and modern lockgate equipped with a locked space for the efficient passage of large and small boats, a bridge with spacious roadways, a power station, and fish channels.

The Songchon lockgate was built following the Sohae lockgate, the Mirim lockgate, the Ponghwa lockgate, and the Sunchon lockgate, and the navigation channel between Nampo and Sunchon was built, providing for a large number of fish and securing a large volume of irrigation water so as to expand food grain production in the surrounding rural villages.

As the Songchon lockgate was being built, it also became possible to protect Pyongyang City better from large-scale flood damage. And by operating the lockgate power station it became possible to send a large volume of electricity to various sectors of the people's economy.

The Songchon lockgate is another proud monumental creation that heroic People's Army soldiers, who have supported the wise leadership of the great leader and the party and participated in peaceful construction, have built for the prosperity of the fatherland and the eternal happiness of posterity.

On 11 April at the site a ceremony was held to celebrate the completion of the Songchon lockgate.

Attending the ceremony were Comrade Pak Song-ch'ol, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party and vice president; Comrade So Yun-sok, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party, responsible secretary of the South Pyongan

Province Party, and concurrently chairman of the South Pyongan Province People's Committee; Kim Ui-sun, chairman of the South Pyongan Province Administration and Economic Guidance Committee; other responsible functionaries of local party and administrative and economic organs; Korean People's Army generals; and officers together with People's Army soldiers, volunteers, and workers who participated in the construction.

At the ceremony Lt Gen Chong Sang-u of the Korean People's Army made a report on the completion of the lockgate.

The reporter said that it is indeed a significant matter to complete the lockgate and mark 15 April with immense national pride and confidence, and that it is a great pride for our people and the People's Army soldiers.

He emphasized that the Songchon lockgate, a structure which will greatly contribute to the economic development and the upgrading [of] the people's livelihood in our country, is a precious fruition made possible by the farreaching idea of the great leader to transform our beautiful land into a people's paradise, and by the wise leadership of our party.

The great leader proposed the policy to develop navigation channels by means of building lockgates on the Taedong River, and entrusted People's Army soldiers with that honorable task. Based on the construction of the Mirim lockgate as a demonstration, he saw to it that several lockgates were built, one after another. He conducted several on-site tours and issued many wise instructions to guide the entire lockgate construction processes, from design to completion, and fully guaranteed all necessary conditions.

The beloved Comrade Kim Chong-il took care of the lockgate construction troops turning them into powerful combat ranks with endless loyalty to the party and the leader. And in each stage of the construction he gave clear-cut directions, and saw to it that modern construction machinery and materials were guaranteed available on a priority basis, and solicitously looked after the lives of soldier builders.

The reporter pointed out that People's Army soldiers who participated in the construction of the Songchon lockgate introduced 137 cases of worthwhile technical innovation so as to complete the move of 1,294,000 cubic meters of earth and to pour 230,000 cubic meters of concrete, while economizing on vast quantities of material and labor, thus superbly erecting the Songchon lockgate as a monumental creation that would glorify the era of the Workers Party.

The reporter mentioned the help with labor and material that workers and technicians of various factories and enterprises, including the Pyongyang Electric Power Design Office, the United Hydroelectric Power Station Fabrication Office, the South Pyongan Province Lockgate Survey Office, and the people of South Pyongan Province, including Songchon City and Pyongsong City, provided.

The reporter pointed out that the great leader and the beloved Comrade Kim Chong-il highly flattered troops who had not done much particularly calling

them "quiet but hardworking troops," and showed his appreciation by awarding them the honor title.

The reporter emphasized the fact that the glorious party center had the great leader's personal inscription, "Songchon Lockgate," engraved in the entrance column of the lockgate so as to convey forever to posterity the immortal accomplishment of the respected and beloved leader.

Then, the reporter said that with the single minded loyalty of the participants in the ceremony he would send the greatest honor and the warmest gratitude to the respected and beloved leader who made today's honor and happiness possible.

The reporter pointed out that People's Army soldiers must continue achieving labor feats in the construction struggle to implement our party's grand nature-remaking idea with the absolute and unconditional spirit to the party's orders and directions, make flawless preparations to cope with the enemy's row over aggressive war maneuvers, and turn troops into one-a-match for-100 fighting forces by highly displaying the unity between superior and inferior and unity between military and civilian.

The reporter emphasized that all workers and People's Army soldiers must highly support the party's intention to step up the grand march of the 1980's in the new lockgate construction style, and complete ahead of schedule the new construction of major plants, thus returning with loyalty for the high trust and expectations of the great leader and the party.

Following this, Comrade Pak Song-ch'ol cut the red cloth covering the entrance to the Songchon lockgate.

Participants in the completion ceremony inspected the lockgate facilities.

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## DAILY ON DEVELOPING CHEMICAL INDUSTRY

SK141239 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 2137 GMT 8 May 87

[NODONG SINMUN 9 May editorial: "Let Us Effect a New Turn in Developing the Chemical Industry"]

[Text] We are now facing the important task of further successfully solving the problem of the people's food, clothing, and housing. To further successfully solve the problem of the people's food, clothing, and housing, it is necessary to develop the light industry and agriculture, and to this end, it is also necessary to sufficiently produce and guarantee various chemical products including chemical fibers and fertilizer by concentrating efforts on developing the chemical industry.

Comrade Kim Chong-il, member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau and secretary of the party Central Committee, has pointed out: What is needed is to abundantly produce various kinds of chemical products such as chemical fibers, synthetic resins, caustic soda, and sodium carbonate by concentrating efforts on the chemical industry and then to supply the light industry with these products.

The chemical industry is one of the industries in which products are manufactured on the basis of chemical processes. Only when the chemical industry is rapidly developed by concentrating efforts on it, will it be possible to solve the problem of raw materials and other materials needed to operate light industrial plants by producing raw materials, which are not available or are lacking in our country, through chemical methods.

Furthermore, only when the chemical industry is developed, will it be possible to develop agriculture by increasing fertilizer production and to realize successfully the chemicalization of the people's economy, an important part of the technological revolution.

As the chemical industry holds an extremely important position in developing the light industry and agriculture, improving the people's standard of living, and developing the overall people's economy, our party has already paid deep attention to developing the chemical industry and had self-reliant inorganic and organic industrial bases firmly prepared everywhere. However, our rapidly developing reality demands that we more rapidly develop the chemical industry by concentrating more efforts on it.

Achieving the goal for the production of grain and fabrics put forth at the Sixth Party Congress and completely solving the problem of the people's food, clothing, and housing entirely depend on the development of the chemical industry.

The goal for struggle assigned by our party to the chemical industrial sector demands that during the Third 7-Year Plan period, chemical fertilizer production and chemical fiber production reach 7.2 million tons and 220,000 tons respectively; the production of synthetic resins and plastics reach more than 500,000 tons; and the production of sodium carbonate, caustic soda, and sulfuric acid increase by 4.5 times, 2.1 times, and 3 times respectively. If this goal assigned to the chemical industrial sector is achieved, it will be possible to increase rapidly fabrics and daily necessities by supplying central light industrial plants and local industrial plants with more raw materials, and an epochal turnabout can be performed in achieving the goal for grain production.

All functionaries and working people in the chemical industrial sector and other related sectors, by correctly understanding the party's intention, should demonstrate their high responsibility and initiative in rapidly developing the chemical industry. Above all, it is important for the functionaries to push patiently ahead with the work by firmly adhering to the task stipulated in the party's policy for the chemical industrial sector.

The goal assigned by our party to the chemical industrial sector is extremely high and enorjous. It is not the kind of task that can be accomplished in a day or two. Only when the functionaries patiently push ahead with the work by correctly elaborating a plan of operation, by actively organizing and mobilizing the masses, and by mobilizing reserves and possibilities, can the large-scale task assigned by our party to the chemical industrial sector be successfully accomplished.

All functionaries in the chemical industrial sector and related sectors, with their own definite goals and firm convictions, should make a plan and elaborate a plan of operation to accomplish the task assigned to the chemical industrial sector and, at the same time, make this task bear successful fruit by patiently and consistently pushing ahead with it.

Our people are persevering in every type of work and overflowing with enthusiasm. Functionaries should lead and organize this good disposition of our people so that it can be continuously and highly demonstrated in the revolutionary struggle and the construction work and manifested in their practical acts.

The most important task the chemical industry is now facing is to consolidate firmly the bases of light industrial raw materials. Only when the basis of light industrial raw materials, especially the production bases for chemical fibers, are firmly consolidated, will it be possible to achieve the goal for fabric production assigned by the party and to develop enormously the light industry.

The sectors of the chemical industry and construction should further maintain and supplement the existing production bases of chemical fibers, actively accelerating construction for new production bases of chemical fibers.

Rapidly accelerating and completing the construction of the Sunchon Vinalon Complex is very important in solving the problem of chemical fibers.

Committees and departments of the State Administration Council and plants and enterprises concerned, by upholding the party's will to accelerate the construction of the Sunchon Vinalon Complex, should concentrate all their energies on supplying this complex in a timely manner without fail with labor, equipment, and materials and should help it prepare its capacity for vinalon production amounting to 100,000 tons by 1988.

Constructors and soldiers of the Korean People's Army mobilized in the construction, by following the indomitable struggle spirit of the constructors of the Sohae lockgate, should boldly effect renovation in technology and advance the date for operation as much as possible. At the same time, the related sectors and provinces should increase the production of chemical fibers, including the synthetic fiber Orlon, and vigorously push ahead with the work of founding the chuche-type synthetic rubber industry.

Rapidly developing the synthetic resin industry is an important task in consolidating the bases for light industrial raw materials. Only when the synthetic resin industry is developed, will it be possible to supply raw materials and other materials needed for the light industrial sector and solve the problem of packing materials.

The chemical industrial sector should introduce the coal-gasification production method for synthetic resins into Manhung District and concentrate its effort on producing various synthetic resins and constructing production bases for plastics.

Only when the paper industry is developed, will it be possible to guarantee the people a more civilized life and actively accelerate the cultural revolution. Satisfactorily providing raw materials and other materials, including caustic soda, to further successfully operate the existing central and local industrial paper plants, the chemical industrial sector should reform and modernize machine equipment and actively push ahead with the expansion project designed to promote the production capability of pulp plants. At the same time, the related sectors should increase salt production, and especially, satisfactorily supply the demand for such basic chemical products as sodium carbonate, caustic soda, and sulfuric acid by rapidly constructing the Sunchon sodium carbonate plant, a chuche-type basic industrial base being constructed with the resources of our own country.

Developing the small and medium-sized chemical industry according to the party's demand is an important demand in enhancing the chemical industry onto a new higher state. The small and medium-sized chemical industry is an industry

in which small chemical plants are established and various chemical products including dyestuffs are manufactured by these plants.

Only when the small and medium-sized chemical industry is developed, will it be possible to satisfactorily provide raw materials and other materials needed to operate local industrial plants and to increase production of the people's consumer goods. By building many more small and medium-sized plants again through a mass movement and actively carrying out the work designed to maintain and supplement the existing small and medium-sized plants, the chemical industrial sector and provinces, cities, and counties should manufacture various chemical products including dyestuffs.

The most important task the chemical industrial sector is now facing is to develop the chemical industry in order to chemicalize the rural economy. Only when production of various chemical fertilizers and pesticides are increased by developing the chemical industry, will it be possible to achieve the high goal for grain production set forth in the new long-range plan and to develop livestock and fruit-growing.

The sectors of the chemical industry and construction, by creating a chuchetyo potash fertilizer industry depending on the resources of our own country by vigorously accelerating the Sariwon Potash Fertilizer Complex during the new long-range plan period, should increase production of chemical fertilizer and perform a new turnabout in its quality. At the same time, these sectors should provide production conditions in which the fertilizer plants, which have already firmly been organized, can normalize production at a high level and achieve without fail the goal for production of chemical fertilizer reaching 7.2 million tons during the new long-range plan period.

Strengthening the scientific research work designed to develop the chemical industry is an important guarantee which helps solve the problem of raw materials and other materials that are not available or are in short supply in our country. By firmly organizing the functionaries at research institutes in the chemical industrial sector, by correctly assigning research tasks to scientists and engineers, and by actively assisting them, the related sectors should further successfully solve the scientific and technological problems of manufacturing chemical products, of fostering the production capability of these products, and of modernizing equipment--problems which arise from strengthening and modernizing the material and technological bases of the chemical industry. Particularly, the Hamhung branch of the Academy of Sciences should make a great contribution to enhancing the chemical industry in our country on a new basis by organizing this work.

The chemical industrial sector should successfully guide the lower plants and enterprises. By going down to the spot according to the party's demand, responsible functionaries of the chemical and light industrial committee should concretely check the true state of affairs and solve the problems arising in the work of production, construction, and technological renovation in a timely manner.



Party organizations in this sector should provide the conditions in which functionaries can carry out their work by actively going down to the lower level. Furthermore, the party organizations should lead them in displaying their best ability and in having functionaries, technicians, and workers on the spot actively demonstrate their creative wisdom.

As a result, the party organizations should have them accelerate the chemicalization of the people's economy and firmly open a wide prospect for the improvement of the people's living.

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## DAILY ON DEVELOPING OF LOCAL INDUSTRY

SK121220 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 2137 GMT 11 May 87.

[NODONG SINMUN 12 May editorial: "Let Us Concentrate Great Efforts on Developing the Local Industry"]

[Text] Today, when our party put forward the smooth resolution of the question concerning food, clothing, and shelter as an important task and is carrying out the vigorous struggle, one of the important issues in epochally enhancing the people's living standard is to rapidly develop the local industry.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song again elucidated the direction of developing the local industry and tasks in implementing it after concretely understanding the practical situation of the local industry.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has taught: If we further develop the local industry in the future based on the achievements we have already made, our people's lives will be richer and our nation will become stronger and honorably enter the ranks of the developed countries.

Our local industry plays an important role in producing the people's consumer goods, and its share in the nation's overall industrial output is very great. This clearly shows the justness of our party's policy to equally develop the large-scale central industry and medium- and small-sized local industry.

Today, thanks to our party's wise leadership, the people's living standard has been enhanced and the workers' income has increased thus the demand for the people's consumer goods is constantly increasing. To more smoothly guarantee the constantly increasing and manifold demands for consumer goods in accordance with the people's living which has become richer, we should continuously concentrate our great efforts on developing local industry, as well as on the central light industry.

Only when we develop local industry, can we promote production of the people's consumer goods both qualitatively and quantitatively and accelerate the work of revolutionizing and working classifying housewives by making them actively participate in production labor. In particular, epochally enhancing the people's living standard is one of the most important tasks which we should resolve during the period of the new prospective plan. Therefore, we should direct great efforts to developing the local industry so that it plays an important role in enhancing the people's living standard.

Based on the importance of local industry in enhancing the people's living standard, our party consistently concentrated its efforts on developing local industry and will upgrade it one step higher within a few years in the future. What is important in developing local industry is to organize properly plants that are urgently required for managing the country's household in accordance with the conditions of local raw materials and to push ahead with the work of normalizing production at high level.

Today the people's qualitative and quantitative demands for processed foods and daily necessities are very high. In order for a county to make the people's food more abundant in accordance with the party's demand, the struggle should be vigorously waged to more properly organize food processing plants in a more modern manner and to produce foods in an industrial manner.

At the same time, we should persistently wage the work to produce and supply more various daily necessities, including a drastic increase in paper production, by depending on local raw material resources. Responsible functionaries in local areas including counties in particular, should inquire into the conditions of raw materials in local industrial plants in their units and into the quality of their products and should expand what gives benefit to the people's living and what is needed for the county's household while revolutionarily carrying out the work of turning over what does not give benefit to the people's living and what is not needed for the county's household to the plants that produce more urgent products [as heard].

The important aim of developing local industry is to make the idle manpower and the raw material resources in local areas contribute to the people's living by effectively mobilizing and utilizing them. The relevant functionaries should develop local industrial plants by actively introducing the idle labor of housewives as demanded by the party and by mobilizing the local raw materials and materials to the maximum so as to increase the production of the people's consumer goods.

Increasing production per man in local industrial plants is an important task of struggle laid before the local industrial sector. Our party put forward the more than twofold increase in production per man within a few years to come by rapidly developing the local industry as an important aim of struggle.

Only when we increase production per man by fully operating local industrial plants, can we produce various kinds of consumer goods in large quantities and epochally enhance the people's living standard. To increase the production of the people's consumer goods by developing local industry and to increase production per man, we should smoothly resolve the problems of raw materials, materials, fuel, and energy.

Today the production capacities in the local industry of our country are very great. We can freely increase production if we properly carry out the work of ensuring raw materials, materials, fuel, and energy. Raw materials and materials are important elements for production.

Success in production in local industrial plants greatly depends on the work of guaranteeing raw materials and materials. The local industrial sector should develop production based on the raw materials and materials available in their own areas.

Developing local trade is of great significance in increasing production and enhancing product quality. The country should more properly manage the bases producing exports goods and should properly carry out the work of buying what is lacking or what is in short supply in our country. If we leave the local industry merely in the country, it will not rapidly develop. Provinces as well as committees and ministries of the State Administration Council should concentrate their due efforts on the local industry.

Relevant functionaries in each province should take measures to ensure the production of sodium carbonate, caustic soda, and other chemical products. Committees and ministries of the State Administration Council should work out a plan to supply vinalon and resin and should carry out this work in a responsible manner.

Ensuring fuel and energy is a precondition for production. The relevant guiding functionaries should substantively take measures to guarantee fuel. In particular, provincial party committees and administration and economic guidance committees should vigorously wage the struggle to produce and use coal by the province itself by grasping the work of guaranteeing fuel for local industrial plants.

At the same time, the power industrial sector and relevant functionaries should correctly realize that the development of local industry is directly linked to the people's living and should properly organize the work of supplying electricity to local industry. Thus, they should ensure more electricity by accelerating the construction of various medium and small-size power stations with construction of large-size hydraulic power plants as their main task.

Transportation is production. Without the smooth guarantee of transportation, production cannot be increased in local industrial plants. The railway transportation sector should responsibly transport the required materials in a timely manner by separately providing the (?funds) for transporting the local industrial materials.

Improving the management of enterprises in accordance with the demand of developing realities is also important. Local industrial plants are the enterprises, and guidance and management of such plants should be carried out in the manner of the enterprise. Each county should more properly establish the work system of guiding, managing, and operating local industrial plants in the manner of enterprises.

The relevant functionaries should see to it that production per employee be constantly increased by properly organizing the management work of the enterprise, by preventing labor waste, by promoting product quality, and by lowering

costs. At the same time, they should reasonably organize the subunits supplying materials to local industrial plants so as to smoothly conduct production, and should enhance the role of those units.

How rapidly the local industry can develop depends on the revolutionary work style of the relevant guidance functionaries. As elucidated by the party, the cadre members decide everything. Only when the functionaries in local areas including the county and the local industrial sector strive to implement the party's intention by cherishing it as their faith, can they accomplish the lofty goals put forth by the party.

Difficulties may lie in the course of struggle to develop rapidly the local industry including the effort to increase production per employee of a local industrial plant by more than two times. However, we cannot accomplish the party's intention by merely asking for support from the higher organization or by simply wavering. The responsible functionaries in counties and functionaries in the local industrial sector should mingle with the masses, cherishing a firm determination to accomplish unconditionally the teachings recently given by the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, should seek methods to resolve the pending problems, and should more properly work out the organizational work.

The party's expectations for the functionaries of local parties and administrative and economic sectors are very great. Functionaries should effect a new turning point in developing the local industry by waging a courageous struggle and making strenuous efforts.

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## EMPHASIS PLACED ON S&amp;T ENTERPRISES

## Transfer of Scientists, Engineers

Pyongyang NODONG SINMUN in Korean 10 Mar 87 p 4

[Article by Reporter Kim Kyong-mu: "The Members of the '17 February Shock Brigade of Scientists and Technicians' Dispatched to Major Heavy Industrial Projects"]

[Text] Upholding the great leader's historic policy speech, the members of the "17 February Shock Brigade of Scientists and Technicians" dispatched to major heavy industrial projects to aid in the successful fulfilling of the first year goals of the Third 7-Year Plan are continuing to effect innovations.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song taught as follows:

"Scientists and technicians must more vigorously step up scientific research work and actively contribute to raising the country's level of science and technology from one stage to another and rapidly develop the national economy."

Upholding the great leader's instructions and the party's intentions, members of the shock brigade of scientists and technicians are bending every effort to realize the chucheization, modernization, and scientization of the national economy.

The members of the shock brigade of scientists and technicians are, above all, solving urgent problems arising in production in a timely fashion, deeply realizing that the important thing to do in achieving the new prospective goals is to vigorously accelerate the technical transformation of the national economy by developing science and technology and through technical innovations.

The members of the "17 February Shock Brigade of Scientists and Technicians" dispatched to the Chollima Steel Complex have actively introduced advanced technology in the operation of furnaces through cooperation with the technicians and workers of the complex, thereby making it possible to produce better steel in larger quantities and use only domestic raw materials.

Particularly Comrade Hong Taek-mong, an office chief of the Metallic Materials Research Center under the Academy of Sciences and a member of the shock brigade of scientists and technicians; and Comrade Yu Tae-kyu, responsible guidance worker of the technical development section of the Chollima Steel Complex; and other scientists and technicians, courageously breaking through obstacles and hurdles lying in the way with the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude, have boldly remodeled the furnace so that advance technologies may be actively introduced.

Meanwhile, the members of the "17 February Shock Brigade of Scientists and Technicians" dispatched to the 26 September Factory are vigorously searching for ways to solve scientific and technological problems arising in developing the ferrous industry.

Comrade Designer Pak Sang-kuk and other shock brigade members seriously searched for all ways to maximize the capacity of the high-pressure air blower.

In this process, they hit upon the idea that by logically redesigning the wheels of the blades of the blower, it would be possible to lengthen the life span of the blower more than 10 times.

The shock brigade members pooled wisdom and efforts with the technicians and workers of the factory under specific guidance given by the factory party organization in order to raise high the fire of the technical innovation drive.

Thanks to their devoted struggle, the expected life span of the high-pressure air blower has been drastically lengthened.

Comrade Pak Sang-kuk also presented a technical innovation plan designed to prevent the leakage of gas generated by the air blower, and it has been effectively introduced in production.

Meanwhile, Comrade Cho Sung-mok, another member of the shock brigade of scientists and technicians invented a device that can easily purify harmful chemicals emitted by the gas generator, thereby contributing to developing environmental protection work.

The members of the shock brigade of scientists and technicians are making innovative achievements not only in the metal industry but in the mining industry as well. The shock brigade members dispatched to Unyul and Taetan mines, upholding the great leader's instructions, have waged a vigorous struggle to utilize abundant deposits of low-grade ores in the western region.

Comrade Yi Hu-chang, chief engineer of Unyul Mine; Comrade Chang Hyo-pom, an office chief of the Ferrous Mining Research Institute; and other scientists and technicians of the shock brigade launched into the first combat of the new year.

They engaged in an active search for ways to improve the quality of ores in cooperation with the technicians and workers of the mine.

Particularly they fought hard to make this significant year another shining year in the history of our country.

They finally succeeded in devising a new ore dressing method suited to the properties of ores extracted in the western part of the country, thereby opening up the prospect for using low-grade ores as raw materials in iron production, as desired by our party.

In addition, members of the shock brigade of scientists and technicians have also had success in research and presented numerous technical innovation plans at Komdok Mining Complex, the 5 March Youth Mine, and many specialized ore processing plants. In this way they have contributed to bringing about a new upswing in socialist construction.

#### Training, Education

Pyongyang NODONG SINMUN in Korean 10 Mar 87 p 4

[Article by Kim Yong-ku: "The Training of Technicians and Specialists and Teaching Occupational Skills"]

[Text] Today in our country, the technical revolution is vigorously under way and the work for the chucheization, modernization, and scientization of the national economy is gaining momentum. Rapidly developing realities under the sagacious leadership of our party demand that the sector of higher education further improve the training of technicians and specialists.

To improve the training of technicians and specialists to fit the demands of the real world, the sector of higher education must intensively teach the students occupational skills useful in the revolution and construction.

In his writing "On Further Developing the Work of Education," the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il set forth concrete measures to teach the students living knowledge useful in the revolution and construction.

Comrade Kim Chong-il, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the WPK Central Committee and secretary of the party Central Committee, pointed out as follows:

"In improving the training of technicians and specialists, it is also necessary for institutions of higher education to teach the students living knowledge useful in the revolution and construction." ("On further Developing the Work of Education," monograph, p 21)

Teaching the students living knowledge useful in the revolution and construction in accordance with our party's intentions is one of the important tasks to improve the quality of higher education as set forth in the fundamental principles of socialist pedagogy, and to improve the training of technicians and specialists.



Socialist education is, in essence, the work of remaking man designed to make people competent beings, and its purpose is to train useful, active personnel needed in the revolution and construction.

By active personnel needed in the revolution and construction we mean the kind of people possessing independent ideological consciousness and a creative ability who occupy their due place as masters of nature and society and are capable of satisfactorily fulfilling their responsibilities and duties.

One's ability is determined by the measure of scientific knowledge and technical know-how he possesses.

However, in order for scientific knowledge and technical know-how to serve the revolution and construction, the knowledge must be useful in revolutionary practice.

Knowledge which is suited to the urgent requirements of unceasingly developing revolutionary practice, and which has its footing in the realities of the revolution and construction, knowledge which is linked to practical use, is precisely useful, knowledge for life. Only people possessing such knowledge can be useful, active personnel who can satisfactorily fulfill their responsibilities and roles in the rewarding struggle for the sake of the party and the leader, and for the country and people.

Teaching occupational skills is a particularly important task of the institutions of higher education.

It is a duty of the institutions of higher education to train able technicians and specialists possessing both loyalty to the party and the leader and a high level of scientific knowledge and technical know-how.

The institutions of higher education are faced with the task of training such able personnel who can conceive fantastic ideas, who know how to boldly put these ideas into practice, and who do everything unfalteringly according to party intentions as did those scientists, technicians, and soldier construction workers who participated in the construction of the West Sea Lockgate,

Ours is an age of science and technology. Success in the practical struggle to remake nature and transform society is impossible without science and technology,

The sacred historic task of adding luster to the grandeur of our country and the glory of our people is also unthinkable apart from science and technology. To improve the training of technicians and specialists to suit the demands of our times, we must teach the students occupational skills which are linked to the actual condition of our country and which is of practical use.

This means that in training active personnel useful in the revolution and construction, it is important to foster practical ability in the students.

Universities and other institutions of higher education are the sanctuaries of science as well as the bases for training national cadres. Teachers of universities and higher technical schools must be able educators in training technicians and specialists, and the same time, must be able scientists contributing to the development of the nation's science and technology. They must assist the students well in their research efforts to develop science and technology on the basis of what they learn.

Scientific research is in essence a process of putting knowledge to use. Therefore, in actively promoting scientific research among students, it is necessary to inculcate in them a creative study attitude and foster in them an ability to put their knowledge to use. By doing so, the students can master the right methodologies for finding valuable solutions to important problems, through which they may contribute to the revolution and construction while creating something new.

Today success in higher education in our country depends on how to teach the students useful, occupational skills, as well as on how well we can train the younger generation in their twenties and thirties--who are sensitive to the new, progressive spirit, and anxious to do things, and who are overflowing with energy and passions--to be doctors and associate doctors.

In teaching the students occupational skills, it is necessary, first of all, to conduct lectures in close combination with experiments and practice.

Raising the scientific-theoretical level of lectures is the foundation for teaching useful, occupational skills.

In order for knowledge to be useful, it must have the substance suitable to the pressing demands of developing realities and to the purposes of practical activities designed to remake and transform nature and society. At the same time, it must be people's own knowledge in their capacity as conscious beings and as the possessors and utilizers of knowledge. This can only be achieved by constantly improving the scientific-theoretical level of education.

To improve the scientific-theoretical level of education, we must intensively and extensively teach the students practical methods for solving scientific problems on the basis of the latest achievements in scientific and technological development.

To make the students correctly understand the intentions of the great leader and of our party is an essential requirement for achieving the objectives of teaching occupational skills and the basic factor guaranteeing its success.

Therefore, all teachers must link the substance of education to practical problems and make education a process of understanding party intentions in depth and teach the students concrete ways to implement them. To do this, teachers must be well versed in party policy and have extensive knowledge and a real ability.

In teaching the student occupational skills useful in the revolution and construction, it is necessary to carry out all required laboratory tests and experiments while improving the scientific-theoretical level of lectures.

Knowledge learned from lectures is consolidated through the process of scientific experiments, and knowledge becomes useful in life when in practice it is linked to application. Such an ability is gained through training in one's specialty and through production training.

Therefore, the institutions of higher education must consolidate their experimental bases so that the students can learn, through experiments and practical training, how to apply in practice what they learn. In improving the quality of experiments and practical training, it is important to inculcate the spirit of self-dependence in the students on the basis of modern educational facilities.

In teaching the students occupational skills useful in the revolution and construction, it is also necessary to step up practice in those subjects of study which require skills and proficiency and to substantially organize discussions and debates among the students.

All functionaries and teachers in the sector of higher education must further improve the work of education, deeply aware of the importance and significance of teaching occupational skills to train able technicians and specialists.

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CSO: 4110/112

## TRADE ACCORD SIGNED WITH USSR

Seoul NAEWOE TONGSIN in Korean 3 Apr 87 p 15-75

[Text] Seoul, NAEWOE--North Korea and the Soviet Union signed a "protocol concerning commodity delivery and payment for 1987" in Pyongyang on 16 March.

This protocol stipulates trade between North Korea and the Soviet Union for this year under the long-term 1986-90 trade agreement signed in February 1986 by North Korean Foreign Trade Minister Choe Chong-kun and Soviet Foreign Trade Minister Aristov.

North Korea and the Soviet Union have given out no details of this protocol. However, there is some basis for speculation on the details of the protocol signed this March. The two countries previously had agreed to double their trade in the 1986-90 period compared with that in the 1981-85 period, and the Soviet Union has been stepping up economic cooperation with North Korea by agreeing to provide assistance for 19 specific projects including the construction of a atomic power plant in North Korea. Judging from this, most probably the two sides discussed the contents of trade and economic cooperation for this year under these agreements.

Therefore, the protocol probably stipulates, among other things, the volume of commodity trade between North Korean and the Soviet Union for this year on North Korean exports of goods such as magnesia clinker, rolled structural steel, and cement and on Soviet exports of textiles, mining machines, crude oil, coke, other commodities, while spelling out the details of cooperation for the joint ventures agreed upon by the two sides.

North Korea-USSR trade has followed the following pattern: the two sides sign a long-term trade agreement every 5 years corresponding to each economic plan period of the Soviet Union under the "17 March 1949 agreement on economic and cultural cooperation," and then sign a protocol each year providing for the details of annual trade on the basis of the 5-year agreement.

Since their first long-term trade agreement concluded in May 1958, North Korea and the Soviet Union have signed 5-year trade agreements five times, in 1966, 1971, 1976, 1981, and 1986 while continuing with their trade cooperation. (See Table 1)

Particularly, the long-term 1986-90 trade agreement signed in February 1986 calls for more than doubling the volume of their trade in this 5-year period compared with that in the 1981-85 period. The total volume of trade in the period covered is estimated at \$9.4 billion, with the annual volume standing at about \$1.9 billion.

To increase trade with the Soviet Union, North Korean Premier Kang Song-san visited Moscow twice, first in December 1985 and then in February 1986. During his first Moscow visit, he signed a "protocol on trade and economic cooperation for the 1986-90 period," and during his second visit, he signed a "protocol on commodity delivery and payment for the 1986-90 period." The main purpose of these protocols is to expand Soviet economic aid and trade cooperation in support of North Korea's next economic plan.

The total annual North Korea-USSR trade volume had remained, since full-fledged trade was begun in 1958 up to 1966, at the same level of about \$170 million. However, in May 1966 Kim Il-song had a secret meeting with then Soviet General Secretary Brezhnev in Vladivostok, at which the two agreed to normalize the North Korea-USSR relationship which had not been smooth during the Sino-Soviet polemics in the early sixties. The Brezhnev-Kim Il-song meeting opened the way for an expansion of bilateral trade.

Entering the seventies, North Korea's imports from the Soviet Union rapidly increased as a result of growing imports of Soviet equipment and technologies necessary for the 6-year (1971-76) plan and the second 7-year (1978-84) plan whereas North Korea's commodity delivery to the Soviet Union was sluggish. As a result, North Korea's trade deficit increased and its debts to the Soviet Union piled up, widening its trade gap with the Soviet Union.

However, in the mid-seventies, the Soviet Union began to press North Korea to deliver more commodities in payment of the debts. As a result, their bilateral trade steadily increased, gradually moving toward equilibrium as a basic trend. During the 1980-85 period, North Korea's trade deficit with the Soviet Union was \$160 million. (See Table 2)

The Soviet Union accounted for 50 percent of North Korea's total foreign trade up to the end of the 1960's. However, entering the 1970's, North Korea began to diversify its trade and expanded its trade with Japan and other Western countries. As a result, the Soviet Union accounted for only 23 percent of North Korea's total foreign trade. In recent years, with North Korea-USSR relations growing evermore intimate in all areas, including political, economic, diplomatic, and military, North Korea's dependence on the Soviet Union for foreign trade has tended to sharply increase. (See Table 3)

The gradual increase in the weight of the Soviet Union in North Korea's foreign trade is a natural outcome of the ever closer ties between the two, but on the other hand, it reflects North Korea's predicament. With Western countries reluctant to trade with North Korea because of its default in payment of debts, North Korea has no choice but to rely on the Soviet Union for trade.

Nonmanufactured goods such as rolled steel, pig iron, steel products, lead, and zinc still make up the bulk of North Korea's commodity exports to the Soviet Union.

In recent years North Korea has been exporting some manufactured goods, but they were the goods produced at the factories built with plants imported from the Soviet Union under the counter-purchase system by which North Korea pays the price of the imported plants by delivering goods produced in these factories, over a period of 5 years beginning 1 year after the plants were commissioned. Reportedly, North Korea is delivering to the Soviet Union 1 million storage batteries from Taedonggang Storage Battery Factory, 1 million small electric motors from Pyongyang Electric Motors Factory, 2 million tons of aluminum products from Pukchang Aluminum Factory, and 10 million bearings from Yongsong Bearing Factory each year.

Machinery, equipment, crude oil, and petroleum products make up the bulk of North Korea's imports from the Soviet Union. Recently, however, North Korea is reportedly importing various machines, chemical products, and heavy industrial products necessary for industrialization. Reportedly, it also imports household appliances and other consumer goods, such as watches, TV sets, refrigerators, washing machines, and laundry soap from the Soviet Union, although these are limited in quantity.

Judging from the current state of bilateral trade between North Korea and the Soviet Union, North Korea's imports from the Soviet Union are expected to further increase because with the 1987 trade accord as a momentum, the Soviet Union will step up its economic assistance for the 19 construction projects under North Korea's Third 7-Year Plan (1987-93). The total volume of trade between North Korea and the Soviet Union also is expected to sharply increase over the \$1.31 billion registered last year. However, the size of North Korea's trade deficit, its reliance on the Soviet Union for trade, and the lopsidedness in the makeup of export and import commodities are expected to further increase.

Table 1. Chronological list of North Korea-USSR Long-term trade agreements

Date Signed	Period Covered	Place
5/10/58	1959-85	Moscow
6/22/66	1967-70	Pyongyang
2/3/71	1971-75	Pyongyang
2/9/76	1976-80	Moscow
7/12/81	1981-85	Pyongyang
2/26/86	1986-90	Moscow

Table 2. Scale of North Korea's trade with the Soviet Union (in millions of dollars)

Year	Exports	Imports	Total	Balance
1980	410	420	830	-10
1981	360	400	760	-40
1982	510	450	960	+60
1983	440	350	790	+90
1984	450	430	870	+20
1985	500	810	1,310	-310

Table 3. North Korea's reliance in the Soviet Union in trade (in percentage)

Year	Exports	Imports	Two-Way
1980	26.2	22.2	24.0
1981	30.7	24.1	26.8
1982	33.6	26.4	29.7
1983	33.4	23.0	27.8
1984	33.0	30.1	31.5
1985	37.2	47.2	42.8

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