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# Korean Affairs Report

(FOUO 4/81)

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## KOREAN AFFAIRS REPORT

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S.KOREA/POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

JAPANESE PAPER CAUTIONS ON POLITICIZATION OF AID

Tokyo ASAHI SHIMBUN in Japanese 17 Aug 81 p 1

[Article by Shinsuke Samejima, chief staff researcher: "Politicization of Aid to Korea"]

[Text] Japanese aid to the ROK is on the way to becoming political; ROK arguments that such aid would be a "compensation for security" and "a partial standin for defense spending" are being heard frequently.

Recently, Deputy Prime Minister Shin made the following statement to a group of reporters visiting the ROK at the invitation of the Koreans.

"The peace of the ROK affects Japan directly. It is desirable for Japan to give economic cooperation as reciprocal payment for the ROK's contribution to the peace of Northeast Asia."

Emergence of Security Viewpoint

There are two main problems connected with the large-scale aid to be sought from Japan by the ROK on the occasion of the Japan-ROK foreign ministers' conference on the 20th and 21st.

The first problem is that Japanese economic aid, handled so far at the working level, is about to take on a strong political coloring with the addition of the viewpoint of security. In the discussions about aid between the two countries these last few years, the details of the ROK economic development plan were made clear by working-level probing and negotiations, and the Japanese aid plan was determined in response. This time, it may be taken directly to the political level, at the foreign ministers' meeting, without going through hardly any of this process. An aggressive posture on the part of the ROK is evident. It is aiming at politicization of aid.

The second problem is that the amount of aid requested is likely to be exorbitant. If we differentiate by referring to government development aid (ODA) centered on long-term low-interest borrowings as "aid" (what the ROK calls public borrowings) and commercial loans from the Export-Import Bank or city bank as "economic cooperation" (what the ROK calls commercial borrowings), the amount of aid to be requested by the ROK is expected to be as much as \$6 billion over 5 years, beginning next year.

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This would be \$1.2 billion or 210 billion yen per year. The amount of aid for the last couple of years has been 19 billion yen (approximately \$84 million) annually. That means that it will jump to 10 times the current figure.

Fear of Foreign Policy Change

Actually, a more difficult problem for Japan than the size of the expected fund request is the desire of the Koreans to approach the problem from a political point of view.

The problem of the amount of money can be largely handled in discussions and negotiations on the working level, no matter how large the total amount of the aid and the economic cooperation, by saying: "The aid will go this far. After that commercial sources must be used." The ROK is a semideveloped country with a per capita GNP of over \$1,500 per year. It is easy to argue that there is a natural limit to aid.

However, the ROK's presentation of the problem, as it seeks to politicize the aid, has an implication that inevitably threatens to shake the foundations of Japanese economic foreign policy, which has been devoted solely to economic aid. If this argument of "security compensation" or "reciprocal payment" is accepted without resistance by Japan, there is a danger that Japanese foreign policy will move far beyond the problem of aid. Once it changes, I believe it will be impossible to go back.

I wrote that Japanese aid has been "devoted solely to economic aid." However, there are some who would disagree with this view. Certainly, Japanese aid has been directed selectively toward developing countries which are strategic targets for the Western camp within the overall framework of the cold war between East and West. Using the Southeast Asian countries as examples, we can observe that the yen loans to Indonesia began after the Suharto government took over. The aid to Thailand expanded when the American military got bogged down in Vietnam and began to pull out.

However, if we look carefully at the content and purpose of the aid, we can say that it was generally economic aid for economic development and stability of the livelihood of the people of the country involved.

Even though the general framework of the East-West cold war existed, politics was always pushed into the background at the stage of discussion of aid problems, and from the point of view of the North-South problem economics was always brought to the fore. At least this was the previous strategy of Japanese aid. The important thing is that reasons such as "the safety of Japan" or "the security of Asia" were eliminated from the Japanese position when actually giving aid.

Now Is the Time To Establish Principles

The ROK has raised the banner of "security" to attack the Japanese fortress flying the flags of "economic aid" and "the North-South problem." The ROK has brought two large signboards to the base of the fort. One shows a graph of its poor economic growth, which fell last year, for the first time, to minus 5.7 percent. The other depicts a firm handshake between the presidents of the ROK and the United States, with a smaller picture of a handshake between the American president and Prime Minister Suzuki.

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If we look carefully outside the fortress, we can see the flag of the Philippines flying in the distance. In January this year, when Prime Minister Suzuki visited the ASEAN countries, President Marcos told him: "The U.S. bases in the Philippines contribute to the safety of Japan," indirectly asking for increased aid. It may be an exaggeration, but it seems that we are surrounded by a chorus of voices proclaiming East-West confrontation and the need for security in the Western camp.

I used the phrase "the fortress of Japan," but it can hardly be maintained that there has been a solid concept with a clear view of the North-South problem behind Japan's aid policy. Another ominous fact is the strong posture of the United States, with which Japan has recently reconfirmed an alliance relationship. The United States places great importance on political aid which gives overwhelming priority to security considerations. However, we must not forget the American security assistance has almost never been successful, either in Latin America or in the three countries of Indochina.

Japan seems to be comfortably enjoying peace and prosperity. However, it must gain a deeper understanding and awareness of the economic difficulties of neighboring countries. I believe that it is necessary to build up the viewpoint that policies which emphasize "North-South" over "East-West" are the real road to peace and safety. The present problem should force us to consider this anew.

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S. KOREA/POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

DISUSE OF JAPANESE IN KOREAN-JAPANESE DIPLOMACY URGED

Tokyo MAINICHI SHIMBUN in Japanese 2 Sep 81 p 5

[Article by reporter Nishiyama Takeshi: "To Commence a New Era of Japanese-Korean Relationship, Eliminate Japanese Language Diplomacy Above All"]

[Text] This summer several groups of Diet members visited South Korea one after another. In South Korea generational change among members of the legislature is said to have been rapidly advanced by the birth of the Chun Doo Hwan administration. Members of the "Korean language generation," who received anti-Japanese educations after the war and do not understand the Japanese language, have become the numerical majority in the South Korean Parliament. Though only for a brief period, I accompanied a Komei Party group visiting South Korea. In covering the story, I have come to ask how long the old form of exchange in the Japanese language will last if we take into account the actual situation of generational change in South Korea. After all, does not diplomacy between Japanese and South Korean parliamentarians in the Japanese language narrow the scale of exchange between Japan and South Korea in the long run? I think we should make a new start in Japanese-South Korean relations by abandoning "Japanese language diplomacy."

The Chairman of the Republic of Korea-Japan Parliamentary Union Who Did Not Come to Offer a Greeting at the Airport

An "incident" occurred in the rush of the visit to South Korea. On 14 July, a group led by Ken Yasui, the former chairman of the House of Councillors who has been newly elected chairman of the Japan-Republic of Korea Parliamentary Union, arrived at Kimpo Airport. However, Mr Yi Chae-hyong, the chairman of the Republic of Korea-Japan Parliamentary Union, did not show up at the airport to offer his greetings. A South Korean newspaper reported this fact with the comment that "It is time to establish a new relationship between Japan and South Korea. Chairman Yi should have gone to the airport to offer his greetings." It also criticized his "impoliteness." I personally met the South Korean newspaper reporter who wrote the article. When I inquired, he explained as follows:

"Among the supporters of Chairman Yi, there is a group who hold strong anti-Japanese feelings. If Mr Yi had gone to the airport for greetings, he would have stirred up the opposition of these supporters. In any country, a legislator depends on votes."

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If he had gone to the airport, his appearance would look like polishing an apple for Japan. Although he occupies the position of chairman of the Republic of Korea-Japan Parliamentary Union--the "face of South Korean side in parliamentary exchanges--he had to be aware of the "anti-Japanese feelings" of his supporters. Of course, Mr Yi was constantly with Chairman Yasui during the rest of his stay in South Korea. Can it be said that "not going to offer greetings" is one aspect of coping with Japan that cannot be discussed apart from a dark history?

Japan controlled the Korean Peninsula for the 36 years prior to the end of the war. It has been 36 years since the end of the war. Instead of "the Japanese language generation" that can understand Japanese, in South Korea today "the Korean language generation" that cannot understand Japanese constitutes an overwhelming majority. This fact can be proved from the population structure: people under 30 years old number over 29 million of the total Korean population of 38 million.

Five Cabinet Members Cannot Speak Japanese

Incidentally, according to a source in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the average age of the new administration's cabinet members (23 members) is 50.9 years, younger than that (53.6 years) of the Park Administration's cabinet members (22 members). Of the cabinet members, 11 "can use Japanese without difficulty" (18 in the Park administration), 7 "can speak a little" (4 in the Park administration) and 5 "cannot understand" (none in the Park administration).

During their visit of 5 days and 4 nights the Komei Party group visiting South Korea had a great number of formal and informal talks with many high officials in the South Korean Government, political parties and economic organizations. Among them, the speech of Minister of Foreign Affairs No Sin-yong gave us the impression that "he did not mince his words."

I will quote some of his principal remarks here.

"In South Korea now, people in their forties are the leaders. They are the ones who objected to the normalization of diplomatic relations between Japan and South Korea (1965). Have things in South Korea become better as a result of normalization? We cannot say they have become worse, but has South Korea not been transformed from a political colony to an economic colony?"

"We must reflect that in South Korea, too, there has been an impression of collusion in the relationship with Japan. However, no matter how often the relationship is said to be a collusion, South Korea after all has a \$20 billion trade deficit, and has only received \$1.2 billion in economic aid."

"The method of economic cooperation that borders on looking down on Koreans and doling out food to them has no effect at all."

Since Foreign Minister No is directly involved in the issue of Japanese economic aid to South Korea which is the present focus of bilateral political relations, he might have had the intention of publicizing the South Korean Government's tough attitude through meetings with the Komei Party. The Takeiri-No meeting



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was held on the 26th. On the 28th, No Sin-yong was questioned in the South Korean Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee for 5 hours about "a stumble" during the previous Japan-Republic of Korea Foreign Ministers' Meeting in Tokyo. Of the 276 members of the South Korean Parliament, two-thirds are said to belong to the Korean language generation. The speeches of Foreign Minister No seem to be made with consideration for the legislators of the Korean language generation.

The Average Age of Members of Parliament Is 47

In the case of the Komei Party just as in the case of the Liberal Democratic and the Democratic Socialist parties, the counterpart in the exchange of Diet members is naturally [the ROK members of] the Korea-Japan Parliamentary Union. Among 276 members of [the ROK] parliament, approximately 190 belong to the Korea-Japan Parliamentary Union. On 25 March, the first parliamentary election was held under the Chun Doo-hwan administration. More than 80 percent of the seats are occupied by freshman members, and the average age among all members is now 47. The present Korea-Japan Parliamentary Union was organized after the election. Member of Parliament Pak Kyong-sok, who is the regular executive secretary of the union, emphasized the following: "We must change the style of activities to which the old union is accustomed. We must increase the posts of vice chairman and vice general secretary and ask members of the opposition parties to be actively involved. The basic principle of our activities is, in a word, to avoid approaching Japan as our older brother."

According to member of parliament Pak, members of the union have reached a consensus on the following:

1. To widen the scale of exchange.
2. To sweep away the image of collusion or closed door diplomacy.
3. To stop restaurant politics involving alcoholic beverages and to act with good manners.
4. Except for limited occasions, to talk with Japanese Diet members through interpreters.

South Korean legislators who used to be called the Japan-Korea lobby have been displaced from active service through a purge or other reasons. As member of parliament Pak pointed out, the way South Korean legislators approached the Liberal Democratic Party group led by Mr Noboru Takeshita, who happened to visit South Korea at the same time as the Komei Party group, suggested that they were filled with the spirit of a "new parliamentary exchange."

However, one thing bothered me. That is the problem of language. I wondered whether or not the principle of talking through interpreters was actually observed. Among 190 members of the union, only half tend to go and speak to those who can speak Japanese. The members of parliament who played main roles in discussions with the Komei Party group were also those who could speak Japanese. The members of the Japanese language generation and young members who have had the experience of living in Japan (many of them are former journalists) all have a positive attitude toward exchange between Japan and South Korea. Moreover, they are well informed about Japan.

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For example, as one of them asserted the importance of mutual understanding between the young people of Japan and South Korea, he proposed the following specific suggestions. "We cannot erase the history of Japanese and Korean relations. So, what is important is if in the Japanese education [system] this history is taught with critical attitude, and if South Korean education focuses on grudges and bitterness as the history is taught. In educational problems of this sort, parliamentarians of both countries have a role to play." At the same time, however, he confided the following concerns:

"We meet Japanese and speak Japanese for the sake of South Korea. But, to South Koreans this attitude appears to be an attempt to protect our position by becoming a tool of Japan."

"The generation that understands Japan should speak out openly. When there is no problem in South Korean-Japanese relations, all is well. But, when relations deteriorate, we are accused by the young people and placed in a dilemma."

"Right now, the focus of attention is the issue of Japanese aid to South Korea. When we enter parliament, we are looked upon coldly by members who do not speak Japanese."

The reason I mentioned the problem of language is that I thought direct exchanges in the Japanese language actually would obstruct the advancement of Japanese-South Korean relations. As I commented previously, in South Korea the Korean language generation is the majority now. The problem is not that the Japanese language generation is the minority, but that a dialogue in Japanese reduces the opportunity for contact with the Korean language generation. After all, we are only informed indirectly of the Korean language generation's views on Japan and their way of thinking.

"Japanese Can Be Understood in Korea" Is Haughtiness

It is not clear whether Japan or South Korea is responsible for the failure to consistently observe the consensus of the Republic of Korea-Japan Parliamentary Union on "conversing through interpreters." However, this problem can be solved simply by the way in which the Japan side responds. Certainly, there is an inclination to ask why we resort to such a troublesome method when we can communicate in Japanese. The Japanese language generation may understand Japan to a certain extent. Do we want to have an exchange through such a group as a threshold? Or, even though it may be a roundabout way, do we want to have an exchange through the Korean language generation as a threshold?

I think the idea that Japanese can be understood in South Korea is haughtiness on the part of Japanese who sit atop the dark history. The Japanese language generation in South Korea will eventually disappear. As a realistic problem, if we want to expand the exchange of legislators between Japan and South Korea, we must start an exchange based on the position of equality. In order to do so, first of all we must begin by respecting the language of our counterparts.

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'YOMIURI' INTERVIEWS ROK 'DISSIDENT POET' KIM CHI-HA

OW060632 Tokyo YOMIURI SHIMBUN in Japanese 2 Sep 81 morning edition p 7

[By Correspondent Kikuchi]

[Excerpts] Seoul, 1 Sep--South Korean "dissident poet" Kim Chi-ha (autonym: Yong-il), well-known to the world for his satirical poems "five thieves" and "wild rumor," met with a YOMIURI reporter (correspondent Kikuchi) recently and described his present state of mind.

It has been almost 9 months since the 40-year-old poet was released from prison on 11 November 1980 with the execution of his prison term (20 year) suspended. During this period Kim has avoided meeting with outsiders as much as possible. This is the first exclusive interview he has given any mass media representative, Korean or foreign, in the last 5 years and 9 months, including the time he was in prison.

The question and answer session in the interview with Kim Chi-ha follows:

[Question] You seem to be in good spirits and I am happy about that. How have you been getting along these days?

Kim: I am living at my house in Wonju, Kangwon Province, with my father, mother, wife (Yong-chu, 35), and son (Won-po, 2d grade). I am painting orchids every day and drinking as much as I can afford to buy. I am being paid 200,000 won (80,000 yen) a month from the church and for the remainder of expenses I support myself by growing vegetables and doing other things. My health is excellent. I like a stray dog, habitually wander wherever my whims take me.

[Question] There are many people in Japan who are worried about you.

Kim: They do not need to worry about me. Beginning long ago, Japanese intellectuals have been offering to help me, saying: "We want to help you." But I have always told them: "There is no way you can help me." All the hardships which we are now suffering originate in the division of the country. The root cause of this lies in Japan's 36 years of colonial rule. Japan has built up the stability it enjoys today at the expense of those hardships.

[Question] In Japan, your name along with that of Mr Kim Tae-chung is regarded as a symbol of the dissidents during the PAK era. What do you think of Mr Kim Tae-chung?

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Kim: I do not read newspapers nor watch television. Therefore, I am not certain of what has become of Mr Kim Tae-chung and why. That is something I have nothing to do with.

[Question] Do you think that you were imprisoned for nearly 6 years simply because you carried out critical activities through literature?

Kim: No, I think that probably the Federation of Democratic Youth and Student's incident had something to do with it. But I would like you to refrain from asking me such a direct question.

[Question] In the future are you planning to refrain from engaging in political speeches and actions and concentrate on creative work instead?

Kim: Politics is a petty thing, as small as a fingernail chip. Of course, politics is undoubtedly an important thing but I now clearly realize that it is not an important matter for man to live. When something goes wrong, I will shout: "It is wrong!" But, is it not human nature to do so? In the past I tended to concern myself too much with politics but I think as a man I have grown more mature. For thousands of years the masses have survived even in the history of hardships. It is a cock and bull story that intellectuals, men of letters and religionists should lead the masses.

[Question] What is the hope you have for your future life? What is the theme of the novel you are now writing?

Kim: Hope? For now, I have no particular schedule. Well, I will be different every day and live life the way a river finds its way. I do not consider myself a man of letters. I would rather liken myself to a mendicant. While I was in prison I saw a large-sized image of the woman's womb in my mind. When "the positive" or the male dominates "the negative" or the female, there can be no harmony. A new matriarchal society which is based on equality of the sexes must come. This is the theme of the novel I am now writing. I am planning to entitle the work "in search of the lost abdomen." I have written about 500 or 600 pages. It will be an astounding "tripe" which deviates from the beaten track in novel writing.

[Question] You would not like to make political remarks, however. May I ask what you think of the present relations between Japan and the ROK?

Kim: It is primarily a question which should be answered by either a politician or an economist. Well, if Japan does not supply money, the ROK will have no recourse but to follow a self-sustaining policy. This might be undesirable but there might be no other alternative. Yet, it is considered indispensable for Japan to realize the need to review its past crimes [against the ROK] from a moral standpoint.

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