

Kim Dae Jung: the landlords' candidate

by David Hammer

On Nov. 29, Kim Dae Jung, South Korea's messianic presidential candidate, led a rally of 1-2 million in the central square of the capital city of Seoul. Kim, who has built his career around fighting the military establishment that created the "Korean economic miracle," has now declared that if he does not win the Dec. 16 presidential elections, it will be due only to fraud. If he loses, "there will be an uprising."

On Nov. 9, Kim led a rally of thousands of students in Seoul, blasting the government of President Chun Doo Hwan. His rhetoric was enough to whip the students into a violent frenzy. They began hurling rocks and firebombs at police, as the candidate quietly slipped away.

Kim declared his candidacy for president, despite his promise that he and his opposition rival Kim Young Sam, the "two Kims," would choose one candidate between them to run on a unified opposition ticket. However, Kim refused to step aside, saying that his "base"—primarily of radical-terrorist students—would never permit it.

Kim's stated program is to dismantle the military establishment of South Korea and replace it with "democracy," dismantle the forces behind the Korean economic miracle, and then move as rapidly as possible for accommodation and reunification with the "Clockwork Orange" state of Kim Il Song to the North. "For a decade I have urged, 'Democracy first, then unification.' A democratic government must make unification its primary goal. Otherwise . . . it would betray the people's deepest desire. Democracy and unification are two sides of the same coin."

Within South Korea, Kim's oldest friends and advisers include Ahn Byung Mu and Rev. Park Hyung Kyu, two of the "religious" leaders who created the Korean version of Jesuit "theology of liberation," the so-called *minjung* theology. This is the ideological latticework of South Korea's terrorists. *Minjung* or *people's* theology asserts the necessity of "the people" rising up to release their *han*, (rage) overthrow the government, and usher in "democracy" and reunification with North Korea. Said Kim, "I see the cultural strength of South Korea as rooted in the bitterness of the

Korean people . . . *han*. . . . The Korean people continue to rise up vigorously."

Because Kim's popularity rests on the most disruptive elements of Korean society, the military has stated that his victory in the Dec. 16 elections is unacceptable.

Yet, despite the fact that South Korea is the linchpin of the U.S. strategic position in the Pacific, "people's revolutionist" Kim has been sponsored almost exclusively by the U.S. State Department and its various "Project Democracy" outlets.

On Feb. 8, 1985, Kim Dae Jung was escorted back to South Korea—at the demand of the State Department—by a 38-person American delegation. The United States had officially warned the Chun government that if any harm came to Kim upon his return, the incident would cause deep concern in Washington. Leading figures in Kim's escort included:

- Robert White, former ambassador to El Salvador and now head of the International Center for Development Policy. The center sponsored the October trip of New York Gov. Mario Cuomo to Moscow. It includes on its Commission on International Relations Richard Falk of Princeton University, who played a leading role in overthrowing both the Shah of Iran and President Marcos of the Philippines, and Green Party-linked crusader Adm. Gene R. LaRoque.

- Patricia Derian, assistant secretary of state for human rights in the Carter administration and also on the Commission.

- Rep. Thomas Foglietta (D-Pa.).

- Rep. Edward Feighan, also at White's center.

- Rev. Pharis Harvey and Bruce Cumings of the North American Coalition for Human Rights in Korea.

The case officer on the Kim operation at the State Department was then-Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights Elliott Abrams, a key Contragate figure, who met with Kim repeatedly before his return to Seoul.

State Department support for the radical opposition is still handled by State's Human Rights office, currently headed by George Lister. Lister recently recounted his relationship to the "two Kims." "I know both of the men. I'm a good friend of both of them. I got Kim Dae Jung into the State Department to speak at the 'Open Forum'—which is a program which we have in the State Department when we have outsiders come in and speak off-the-record. Kim Dae Jung gave a very good speech. He showed it to me before he made it, and I suggested quite a few changes, all of which he incorporated, and at the end of it he received a standing ovation. He then went back to Korea and I'm in good, close touch with him."

Strange luck

By the time he reached the United States seeking political exile in 1983, Kim Dae Jung had already had a colorful career. At the end of World War II, the 20-year-old Kim

joined the communist "Preparatory Committee for the Building of the Nation," led by a Soviet agent, Yu Woon Hyung. According to Kim's own account, "I mingled with communists and for a while I was quite interested in communism."

One of Kim's associates, Wada Haruki, recently recounted how, not long after the Korean War broke out on June 25, 1950, "Kim Dae Jung was arrested by the political intelligence arm of the Communist army. While he was in prison, he was with other prisoners that were about to be executed, but miraculously, his life was spared. For some reason, not known then, the execution was temporarily suspended. Kim Dae Jung then escaped from prison."

In 1956, Kim converted to Catholicism, and was adopted as a protégé of the old landlord families (many of whom were "Christian") who formed the opposition to then-President Syngman Rhee. In 1971, he was their party's candidate for President, losing to Park Chung Hee. In the late 1970s, the State Department under Jimmy Carter forced a "liberalization" upon President Park, which set the stage for the unrest and street riots that led to Park's assassination in late 1979.

As part of a security sweep after the assassination, Kim was put under house arrest. Kim recounts his State Department contacts at the time, "On Dec. 2, the U.S. ambassador sent an aide to me to say that soon my house arrest would be lifted and for me to make no move before seeing him right away. My house arrest ended Dec. 8. I contacted the ambassador on the following day and met with him Dec. 10. We met not, as was usual, in his private residence, but in the U.S. embassy, in his office, making it an official meeting. We talked for about an hour and a half. All high-level embassy staff were present. Following this meeting, the U.S. embassy issued a press statement saying that the meeting was very fruitful and referring to me in unusually complimentary terms. Subsequently, the American ambassador made contact with me a number of times. At the very least, he did what he could quietly to further democratization . . . while paying some lip service to certain generals. . . ."

"With Park Chung Hee's death, South Korea stood at a crossroads. Actually, if he had not been assassinated, the Koreans would probably have carried through democratic liberation at the time by themselves."

The liberation Kim referred to was the armed uprising in the southwestern city of Kwangju, an event triggered by Kim's arrest on May 17, 1980. The city was out of control for over a week. Finally, the Army suppressed the revolt in bloody fighting, which left at least 500 dead. Kim made clear that the uprising was hardly "spontaneous":

"Actually, if Park's assassination had not occurred, an uprising was to take place in Kwangju on Oct. 29; had that happened, protest action would have spread rapidly northward to Seoul.

For his role in Kwangju, Kim was sentenced to death. The State Department sent an observer to his trial and de-

manded the sentence be commuted to a prison term. Under further pressure, the Chun government allowed Kim to leave prison in 1983 and go to the United States for "health" reasons. As arranged by Asia Foundation trustee Prof. Edwin Reischauer, Kim was welcomed to Harvard's Center for International Affairs, where Benigno Aquino also spent his exile. In 1974, Reischauer had called for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea, as a "message" to President Park. From his Harvard base, Kim established an opposition network, raised a small fortune, and in 1985 was returned to Seoul for the campaign of agitation leading to the June riots.

The return of the 'yangban'

For some 500 years, throughout the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910), Korea was ruled by an extremely powerful Confucian aristocratic landlord bureaucracy, the *yangban*. This rule was based on control of all civil service posts (only aristocrats could take the exams) and ownership of vast landed estates. Many Koreans were literally slaves on the *yangban* estates, and the truncated military was entirely ruled by the *yangban* civil service. This form of rule continued almost unbroken through the Japanese occupation, right down to the end of the Korean War in 1953.

In the tradition of Gen. Douglas MacArthur's work in Japan, the U.S. military laid the basis for a modern Korea, through the vehicle of land reform. As one Korean specialist noted: "The United States was not going to fight the Korean

Kim Dae Jung on 'People's Revolution'

Kim Dae Jung to Japanese journalist Rysuke Yasue in 1983: "I would call our time 'the age of the people's revolution. . . . Nationalism provides the basic sanction for war—and war remains the unconquered evil of human history. . . . Peace is an absolutely necessary condition for the liberation of people. . . . The world now is one, a global village. . . . The people in various places have acquired political power. Early in the 20th century, the Labour Party gained power in Britain. The Communist Party rose to power in Russia. These two events dramatically symbolized the advent of the age of the people. I do not agree that the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia is a democracy. . . . But against the minority's control of the majority found in capitalist systems, it presented an antithesis and an important warning to the rest of the world."

War just so that the *yangban* could get their land back. The United States demanded that an egalitarian reform be put through. So the *yangban* had their slats cut out from under them, and they've been searching around for more slats ever since."

The *yangban* retained control over essential elements of culture in Korea, including the Christian churches, the universities, publishing (such as the major Korean newspaper, *Dong A Ilbo*), and the arts. In the 1950s, these families created the opposition party to the Syngman Rhee regime. In 1960, the students came pouring out of the Methodist Yonsei University, the Rhee regime was overthrown, and the *yangban* took power. After months of growing chaos, the military, led by Gen. Park Chung Hee, took power in 1961, and in 1962, initiated the Korean "economic miracle."

As one Korea hand explains: "The opposition party [the Reunification Democratic Party] in South Korea that Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam are fighting over has a 40-year history which began mainly with *yangban* landlord leadership. . . . What is so interesting often is that the democratic opposition, people like Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung, and then the students who represent them, often, at least up until recently, were resented by peasants and workers because they thought that their demands for democracy were just one more way of getting dominated by the *yangban*. It was the modern form of *yangban* dominance."

The opposition hated the South Korean military, an aversion shared by the U.S. State Department (which hates the U.S. military). "Generally speaking, the embassy has tended to prefer these people [*yangban*], and our military guys, both in the army and military intelligence, tend to like the generals better, and that has been a conflict in American policy going back to 1961."

Kim Dae Jung's program for South Korea is the radical Jacobin socialism that such oligarchical configurations as the *yangban* have used for centuries as a battering ram against adversary nation-building tendencies. In contrast to his rival, Kim Young Sam, who retains ties to the military and represents the middle class created by the Korean economic miracle, Kim Dae Jung promises to reverse the achievements of the Korean economy, achievements which have always been the foundation of South Korea's national security.

Kim Dae Jung argues for a "mass participatory economy." This means chiefly: U.S. and Japanese capital out of Korea; a turn from the heavy industry which has been the backbone of the Korean economic miracle to "light industry" and "small and medium-size industries"; "give greater strength and depth to agriculture and fishing"; and an emphasis on "free enterprise" as opposed to the state-directed economy which has been central to Korea's success. As his interlocutor Yasue summed it up, "In general terms it proposes a shift from a high-growth economy . . . to a public welfare economy."

Sabotage by North mooted in Korean

by Linda de Hoyos

Evidence is now accumulating that the Nov. 29 crash of Korean Airlines Flight 858 was the work of terrorists operating on behalf of North Korea. If this is the case, the crash is a cruel reminder that the Soviet Union and its close allies, such as the North Korean dictatorship of Kim Il-Sung, operate from a different strategy and standard of morality than the appeasers in Washington would like to believe.

The possibility that the plane's crashing was due to sabotage was raised by the fact that there was no radio warning from the crew of any problem with the plane or impending disaster. As in the case of the bombing-crash of the India Airlines flight from Canada in June of 1986, the plane appeared to suddenly fall from the sky.

KAL 858 crashed while on its way from Baghdad, Iraq, to Seoul, via Abu Dhabi and Bangkok. Soon after the news of the bombing, a man and woman who had been on KAL 858 were arrested in Bahrain. The two had been the only passengers to disembark KAL 858 in Abu Dhabi, whence they then flew to Bahrain. While awaiting questioning by Bahrain immigration authorities, the two bit down on poison cigarettes. The man died within four hours; the woman has survived.

The two were traveling as father and daughter, with passports in the names of Shinichi and Mayumi Hachiya. Investigators confirmed that Shinichi Hachiya is a Tokyo resident. Located in Tokyo, the real Hachiya stated that two to three years ago, a business associate named Akira Miyamoto offered to make travel arrangements for him, and took his identity papers for a month. This Akira Miyamoto was linked to a North Korea spy case in March 1985, when police found code books, invisible ink, and other signs of espionage in his apartment. Miyamoto is at large on charges of espionage.

It is not confirmed whether the couple arrested in Bahrain were Japanese or Korean. The woman has refused to answer questions in either language. However, "the pattern of their behavior is different from that of Japanese radicals," who have never been known to commit suicide upon capture, a Tokyo police official told UPI Dec. 2. Japanese authorities, reports UPI from Tokyo, believe the couple could belong to Chosoren, a Japan-based pro-North Korea group. The couple were seated forward in the eighth row of the plane, from which they could lodge a bomb that would hit the crew cabin.