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Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am very happy tonight to be here in this beautiful city of Fresno, and I also feel myself greatly honoured to have been given an opportunity to speak before this distinguished gathering of Americans and Koreans living in this city.

I would like to elaborate on two aspects of the Republic of Korea - the recent political development and our efforts for unification - in the hope that all of you present here this evening may come to understand that the Republic of Korea is now rewording all its efforts and resources toward creating a new era in its long history of 5,000 years and also giving all efforts to peaceful unification of its divided land.

Korea today is not the Korea of yesterday. Though there seems to be no visible changes in the scenery or the streets, a profound change is underway in the minds of the 38 million people of the Republic of Korea. As one era fades away in history and another begins to take place, the Korean people are faced with a new challenge - how to lead to a democratic society in which all citizens participate, and how to realize a just and welfare society where diligence and integrity are honoured and the welfare of all citizens is guaranteed.

I would like to recall some recent occurrences in our history for your references to understand how and where the Republic of Korea is proceeding.

The 1979 October 26th Incident was a tragic blow to the Government and people of the Republic of Korea, which drove the country into a deep sense of disappointment and chaos. It is a great achievement that the tremendous difficulties brought forth by such a tragedy were met with wisdom, perseverance and restraint.

Even in the midst of shock and deep sorrow over the death of President Park, who guided the nation's development over the past 18 years, the Korean people displayed wisdom and sound judgement to overcome the crisis through the maintenance of social stability and public order, thus proving to

themselves and to world that they are responsible and civilized citizens.

However, as an old saying goes, "Nothing is the perfect in the world", I am very shameful that I cannot jump over without touching on the so-called Kwangju Incident, which left a blot upon our history. I don't like to attribute it to other's fault, but it is all our Korean peoples' fault as a whole.

The unanticipated disorder of the Kwangju incident might be seen as doubly dangerous and irrational when viewed in the face of the wisdom and determination displayed by the Government and People of the Republic of Korea after the death of President Park.

It is an undeniable lesson of history that internal instability is a faster and more dreadful path to the ruin of a nation than external aggression. We have clearly witnessed the fall and communization of south Vietnam and the sad fading of that country's shouts for freedom and democracy. It was indeed frightening that we ourselves have had to deal with the unparalleled internal instability of campus disturbances, labor disputes and the so-called Kwangju incident. It was really by the wish of God that the internal disturbances were no longer worsened by the external threat.

The facts of the Republic of Korea's situation in regard to the threat of external aggression are well known. North Korea has consolidated their military strength enough to destroy our country within a few days, when and if the Republic of Korea were to fall into disorder and chaos. Their military expending is second officially in volume only to that of the Soviet Union. The North Korean Communists take a "wait and see" attitude towards attacking our country, hoping for a decisive time to come when disorder is rampant in the Republic of Korea. It is clear that we must remain constantly vigilant and never neglect the development of our strength to repel any aggression by the north Korean Communists, who refuse to give up their evil scheme for forceful unification and communization of the country. The qualities most urgently required of us to insure our national strength are constant wisdom, unflinching courage and inseparable unity behind a great leadership.

We are now, under a great leadership, on the threshold of the Fifth Republic, which was formally launched in March 1981. The New Constitution was adopted in October in 1980 by the national referendum to build a just, democratic and welfare state that would meet the aspiration of the Korean people, while at the same time maintaining the stability and security that are necessary for both continuing economic progress and national survival.

In accordance with the New Constitution, the President and National Assembly Elections, the symbolic events that formally ushered in the new era, was conducted in a fair and just manner to ensure their moral legitimacy. Now, under the spirit of the New Constitution, all the political organizations and the people of every walks of life are in harmony endeavoring to fulfill our major goal of the new era, which is a democratic society governed by justice, order, law and common sense, along with the progressive advancement of material life. The Government and people of the Republic of Korea are now also determined to eradicate all elements of injustice, corruption, disorder and internal contradiction which was rampant in our old society.

As you all may know, since we introduced, for the first time in the divided land, a modern democratic constitution in 1949, we have never achieved a peaceful change of government by a free and democratic choice of the people in the course of following 30 years of the Republic's history. You have witnessed repeated arbitrary revision of the constitutions designed to permit the Chief Executive to hold onto power for a prolonged period, thereby virtually precluding a peaceful change of government. But, the New Constitution stipulates that the President can serve only a single seven-year term, and that any amendment to prolong that term or to allow a second term could not apply to the President in office at the time of amendment.

We all the Korean people, therefore, hope and are certain that a peaceful transfer of power could be surely realized after seven years from now on, without any tumultuous chaoses such as the April Student Revolution in 1961 or the tragic death of President Park in 1979.

Keeping in mind this bright prospect on our future, we all the Korean people are now united in transcending individual interests and differences to further solidify the security of the Republic and also to do our best in our respective duties to overcome national difficulties with wisdom

and thus cement stability in every sector of society and strengthen national discipline. Only by doing so can we deter North Korea's slanderous propaganda and prompt them to respond affirmatively to our call for inter-Korean dialogue, consolidate peace on the Peninsula and achieve peaceful unification on the basis of the historical continuity of our nation.

Now, I would like to touch on our efforts for the unification of the divided peninsula. In principle, we can assume two approaches to the reunification issue. One would be unification by force. The other approach would be seeking the unification through negotiations between the south and the north. Nobody can deny that the second assumed approach would be most desirable. But this approach would be also unpracticable as the first approach under the current situation when distrust, hatred and hostile feelings against each other remain between the two sides.

In 1971, the Red Crosses of the two sides began talks on finding family members separated between the south and north to help them eventually reunite. Not one of the problems involved in the talks has been solved. The mutual distrust and hatred has increased. Tension has not been eased. Rather possibility of new war has mounted.

Seoul and Pyongyang announced a Joint Communiqué July 4, 1972, spelling out objectives for peaceful reunification. The South-North Coordinating Committee was formed under the communiqué. But the committee failed to be fully organized and its functions remains paralyzed. Pyongyang made a unilateral statement boycotting talks through the committee in the fall of 1973. The committee talks have since been remaining suspended.

One surprising fact was that even after announcing the joint communiqué, the north Korean Communists were digging tunnels in the Demilitarized Zone, which separates the south from the north. In November 1974, the U.N. Command side discovered one tunnel. Another Communist tunnel was uncovered in the central eastern section of the DMZ four months later. These tunnels divulged the bellicose and aggressive north Korean Communist scheme against the south. They showed the north Korean communist intention of agreeing to announce the

communiqué. The Communists intended to use the talks for causing a stir and disruption politically in the south. They tried to leave the south unsuspecting using the "smiling" tactics and to seize on its military weaknesses for a surprise attack.

The 50 million people in the Korean peninsula have suffered greatly for more than 30 years because of the confrontation between the divided parts. They have been in unrest or even frightened because of the possibility of renewed war. The only choice or the best way to save the Korean people from the forlorn situation is for both sides to open peaceful dialogue for reunification of their motherland.

In spite of the fruitless results of the proposed talks, the Republic of Korea never abandoned its efforts for peaceful unification. In January 1980, the Republic of Korea proposed to the northside to hold conference between responsible authorities of the both sides at any time, any place and at any level, which only resulted in three anomalous contacts of working-level representatives of both sides.

On January 12, 1981, President Chun has proposed an exchange of visits between the highest authorities in the South and North without any condition attached and free of any obligation. The purpose of this proposal is to create mutual trust by enabling the respective authorities to take a first-hand look at the actual situation in the opposite side. The ultimate aim is to achieve a breakthrough and open the way to peaceful unification.

Previous attempts to conduct a South-North dialogue in various channels were unsuccessful because the fundamental ingredients of mutual trust was lacking. The few agreements actually reached were "in principle" only, and were not backed by the will to translate them into action. Thus the dialogue not only failed to improve South-North relations, but also actually abetted a war of words, as each side held the other responsible for the futility of the dialogue.

Accordingly, The Government of the Republic of Korea is trying to concentrate on restoring mutual trust through concrete accomplishments. This dramatic proposal underscored the consistent position of the Republic of Korea that without first restoring trust, attempts to improve South-

North relations would be futile, and any quest for peaceful unification meaningless.

The examples of normalized relations between East and West Germany, and Egypt and Israel, demonstrated that regardless of how deep the disputes might be, a dramatic breakthrough could result from the mutual trust created by an exchange of visits between the highest authorities.

However, the north Korean Communist regime steadily turned its deaf ears to this lofty proposal, which all the peace-loving people in the Republic of Korea and all over the world are eager to be accepted. The Government and people of the Republic of Korea are now and will be patient with waiting for the North Korean Communist regime to accept the peaceful means of unification of the motherland.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We Koreans have gained a tremendous amount of practical experience in how to protect and build a democratic society while sharing a border with the communist world. Every minute of our experience tells that nothing is more important than to be strong—strong in economy, strong in leadership, and strong in will. We must be strong, too, in the philosophy that the two imperatives of our time are continuing economic growth and the search for peace. Both are quests whose end we can not see. But we dare not regard them as dreams or abandon them in the face of either difficulty or discouragement.

The achievements in trade, in economic growth and in maintaining peace—made through vigorous efforts of both the United States and the Republic of Korea, whose cooperative relations could not be better than now, as Secretary of State Haig put it recently, have created a sound basis for a better future. It is my conviction that the Republic of Korea and the United States can faithfully share in common sentiments that by talking together, reasoning together, and working together, we can achieve our mutual goals of peace and prosperity for mankind.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

In conclusion, I would like, once again, to extend my sincere appreciation to all of you for giving me this valuable opportunity to meet you and speak about my country, the Republic of Korea.

Thank you.