

For a United Homeland



For a United Homeland

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Student Rim Su Gyong, representative of Jondaehyop (the National Council of Student Representatives) in south Korea, who attended the starting ceremony of the international peace march from Mt. Paektu to Mt. Halla held in support of peaceful reunification of Korea



The international peace marchers entering the capital city of Pyongyang



The marchers going through the Arch of Triumph to Kim Il Sung Stadium



The marchers arriving at the stadium receiving a warm welcome



Student Rim Su Gyong acknowledging the cheers of the Pyongyang citizens at the rostrum

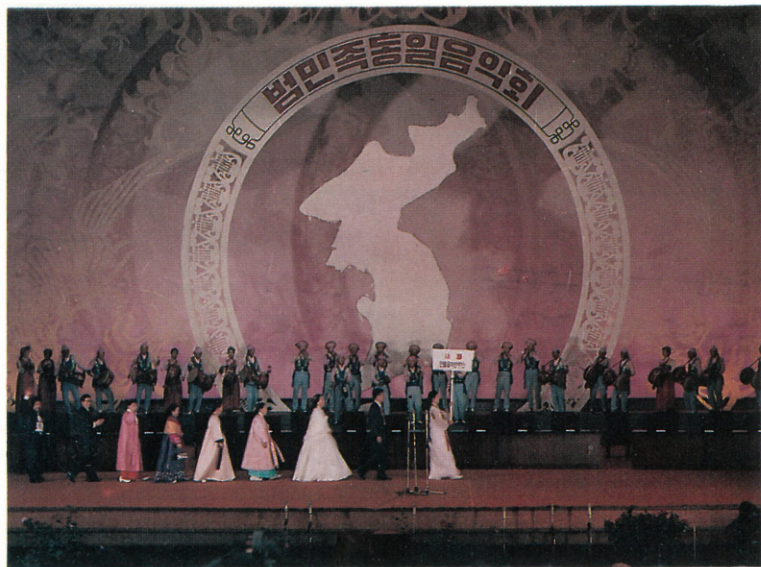
The overseas compatriots who attended the "Pan-National Concert for Reunification" in Pyongyang also had the reunification march





The reunification march was joined by the overseas compatriots in various regions of the world as well as an old woman in Pyongyang





Pyongyang hosted the “Pan-National Concert for Reunification” under the participation of south Korean and overseas compatriots





A reunification football game between players of north and south at the May Day Stadium with 150,000 seats in Rungra Islet, Pyongyang





A pleasant outing for reunification in the Taesongsan Pleasure Park was joined by overseas compatriots

The Thongil House in Kaesong constructed with a burning desire for reunification



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Preface

To end the tragedy of national division and reunify the divided country is the national desire of the Korean people and the nation's most important task.

Foreign soldiers divided Korea almost half a century ago. All the Korean people are of the same blood and have lived for ages on the same stretch of land from Mt. Paektu to Mt. Halla, sharing the same culture and customs, speaking the same language and casting in their lot with one another.

We have lived in an abnormal situation in which the north and the south of the country are ignorant of each other until one generation has been replaced by another. Can there be a bigger tragedy than this?

The Korean nation has been continuously aspiring for national reunification ever since their tragic division. However, their aspirations for reunification are ever stronger today.

"Today reunification means the height of patriotism and division means the worst of betrayals." "Nothing is more gallant and just than fighting for reunification, the supreme task of the nation, and nothing is more traitorous than obstructing reunification." "Let us lay the foundation of independence on the ruins of colonialism by a united effort of the nation and erect a monument to reunification at the

terminal station of division.”

These outcries for reunification have merged into a violent and irresistible course of our nation that transcends thoughts and ideals and now the outcries are changing into action.

This book contains the court-struggle accounts of Rim Su Gyong, a student of the University of Foreign Studies in south Korea, who has dedicated her youth to the struggle for independence, democracy and reunification. There are printed here also her letters from prison, and various other writings, and the letters from the students of Jondaehyop (the National Council of Student Representatives) in south Korea and persons from various circles who send to her their wishes of solidarity, support and encouragement.

For a United Homeland

Rim Su Gyong took part in the Pyongyang Festival with the conviction that Korea is one and with a determination to win reunification.

Rim Su Gyong, who regards the country's reunification as more precious than her comfortable life and does not know a greater glory and worth than devoting her youthful life to reunification, came to the north risking her life, representing the will of one million students of Jondaehyop, but not in pursuit of any honour or reward.

As she could no longer acquiesce the daily growing pains and suffering of a divided nation, she made a breakthrough in the barrier of division, and decided to be a crusader.

So, the whole nation and millions of people in the world love her and hold her dear like a very beautiful flower.

From the moment when she set foot in the northern land she cried loudly the slogan "National Reunification" and sang the song "Our Wish Is Reunification". Her voice is still ringing, touching everyone's heartstrings.

Why Do I Leave Seoul?

(Letters of Rim Su Gyong to her friends and
parents before her departure from Seoul)

(Poem)

To My Friends

*Good friends are no longer people in this
world.*

Those who survived are behind bars.

*They have become groundwater and flow
without breath.*

*Some of them hover about like ghosts at
night beyond the border.*

Comrade, don't lose the conviction of victory.

Now is the time when we must endure trials.

*Harden your body and mind, and the future
will be beautiful.*

It will belong to us.

It is a time of parting.

With the courage you have shown me.

I leave with a weapon you have left behind,

Bearing in mind the words

You have given me by your action

That a man is reborn at every moment

Only in the struggle,

*And that the revolution takes its correct path
Only through practice.*

June, the 45th year of wishing for
reunification

(Letter)

To My Mom and Dad

Mom, you will be surprised at reading this letter, Dad, you will put on a stiff look, sister, you will keep silent and brother, sister-in-law and all other members of my dear family, please forgive me for leaving a scar on my parents' hearts, but your daughter is on no account a criminal. I love the southern land of my divided country and also the northern land because it is a part of my country which should be reunified.

Mom, you wanted me to become a journalist. Dad, you wanted me to become a writer. But I am no longer the daughter of you alone, Mom and Dad. I wish to be an honourable daughter of a reunified country. Please encourage me and regard it as a honour for me to take a path other than the one you wished me to take. You will understand me some day.

Your last daughter will return to your embrace without fail.

I wish you good health.

June, the 45th year of
wishing for reunification
Su Gyong, your last daughter

My Participation in the Pyongyang Festival and My Stay in North for One Month and a Half

(From "the Grounds for an Intermediate Appeal"
Written by Rim Su Gyong about Her Activities
in the North for 45 Days)

It is well known that we organized the Jondaehyop preparatory committee for the festival and announced our decision to take part in the festival.

With this determination I made sincere preparations for participation in the Pyongyang Festival, but I spent many days and nights in agony at the thought that I alone should attend the festival due to the independent decision of Jondaehyop and through its procedures.

At 11:30 a.m. on June 21, 1989, I bought a ticket for an airliner bound for Tokyo from Seoul but I was in a state of indecision till that morning whether to go or not.

At that time, there was the danger that Jondaehyop itself might be disbanded if it should participate in the Pyongyang Festival. Also the organization might be labelled as a follower of north Korea, as was the case under successive regimes, resulting in wholesale suppression of many patriotic, democratic people.

The journey procedure to north Korea had not

been defined in detail.

An investigator of the "Security Planning Agency" admitted this also. He resented that I was able to go with such careless preparation and that he had not known about it before. He said that although he had investigated the matter carefully in anticipation of somebody's participation in the Pyongyang Festival, he had not known at all that such a pretty "princess" would go, and that it was really admirable that I thought of going to Pyongyang with such preparations and had succeeded in making the journey.

However, I could not but turn pale with surprise when I heard the publication of the results of the investigation by the "Security Planning Agency" which dwelt on what it called careful "operations" of north Korea.

They know better than anyone else how difficult my journey to the north was and how accidental it was.

Anyhow, it was nearly 11 a.m. when I arrived at the Kimpho Airport after talking about hazy prospects without making a definite decision and without any concrete methods until the day of departure, bidding farewell to my comrades. At 11:50 a.m. the airliner took off for Tokyo.

After my departure from Seoul in this way, I had to spend a week alone among strangers, in a strange city, hearing an unfamiliar language....

I did not know Japanese except for some basic words and had only about 100,000 *yen* with me.

I had communications with Seoul from Tokyo by public telephone, by ringing up some teahouses in

Seoul. I had nothing to hide or deny about the telephone messages in the course of the investigation. But one thing I must mention here is the information system of the "Security Planning Agency".

It concerns the case of the black bugs which was submitted to the "inspection of the administration" and was the object of censure. My whole body was frightened by the fact that telephone calls to bars which were not so-called usual suspected wiretap areas (like, for example, schools, offices, etc.) and even the contents of a call, which would not be considered a particular offense, were taken down on a computer and appeared in print after a few days.

Their network of information and surveillance penetrated deep into places which were beyond our knowledge and imagination.

On the third day of my arrival, I received a message that I should go to West Germany. I was embarrassed because it had not been brought up as an alternative to the route to Pyongyang. West Germany was a place where I could go without a visa, but getting an air ticket was a problem. I had to cancel my airplane reservation three times because the money had not been sent to me on time.

The flight bound for West Berlin left at 8:30 p.m. on June 28, and I received the money at 11. a.m. on that day and so I managed to get started on my journey to West Germany.

It took about 18 hours for the flight from Tokyo to West Berlin. On my way, I had to stop at the Anchorage Airport and then change for West Berlin at Zurich.

When I arrived at Zurich, it was 6:30 a.m. (local

time) and at 7 a.m. after a 30-minute wait I changed my plane and arrived at the West Berlin Airport at 9 a.m.

I stayed only 4 hours in West Germany. People who met me there belonged to the "European Democratic Association". They introduced me to Mr. Ri Yong Jun who was to take overseas Korean students to the Pyongyang Festival. For this reason alone, the "European Democratic Association" was branded as an "anti-state organization" and Mr. O Su Gap, the chief of its general affairs department, as a "spy". However, this is an unwarranted stigma. As an organization which has been formally approved in West Germany and supported by the government of West Germany, and as an association of people who, living abroad, work hard for independence, democracy and reunification of their motherland without forgetting it, the "European Democratic Association" is on no account an "anti-state organization" which is controlled by north Korea or belongs to north Korea.

When they announced that the organization was a "spy" association without showing clear evidence on scientific grounds, did they think that the public would believe it?

They were "guilty" of having yearned for the sight of their motherland and aspired to the peaceful reunification of their homeland, and yet they were branded as enemies, after being abandoned. The same can be said of Mr. Ri Yong Jun who accompanied me to Pyongyang. He is a citizen of West Germany and manages a travel agency in Frankfurt. But he has been labelled as a "political

agent" of north Korea on the grounds that he had organized a tourist party to the Kungang Mountains under contract with north Korea.

According to this analysis by the "Security Planning Agency", all the organizations for national and democratic freedom abroad are "anti-state organizations", the overseas compatriots are "spies" and most of the home organizations receive "orders" from the north. Even Jondaehyop, the organization of one million students, has been accused of having received "orders" from the north, and anything suspected of being against their intentions is condemned as having been "instigated" by the north. Such is not logic at all and so it must be eliminated.

In West Berlin I telephoned to Seoul. It was 8 o'clock at night in Seoul but it was midday here. My telephone message was that if I went to East Berlin now and took a plane I would arrive in Pyongyang on June 30, not via a country of Eastern Europe as I had thought before, and that, therefore, it might be my last telephone call.

It seemed that Seoul was a little embarrassed by the fact that I had not a day or even a few hours to spare.

I was told to act with a sense of duty as a delegate of Jondaehyop everywhere without slackening my alertness, to trust fellow students and not to lose courage in any difficult situation. I was also told that Jondaehyop would formally announce its participation in the Pyongyang Festival at a press interview by the time I arrived in East Berlin. It was a time when I needed more conviction and should therefore brace up.

Anyhow, we could not talk much in detail on the telephone but, at that time, I imagined that I might be unable to see my comrades again individually and that a storm of repression would assault Jondaehyop, an accelerated repression that would culminate in a sweeping roundup of national and democratic movement forces and an untold sacrifice.

However, we would tread the same road.

We believe that eventually we shall greet the day when the seventy million people of the north and the south will be reunited by thwarting the deceptive "reunification policy" of Roh "government", by daringly breaking the wall of anti-reunification under the guise of reunification.

We shall always remember each other, tread the path which we must follow stoutly, trust each other and meet each other again on the heart-warming day of national liberation and reunification.

My voice that was saying good-bye was trembling and my eyes were wet with tears.

After about an hour's drive I arrived at a spot on the border that divided East and West Berlin. When the bus stopped in front of a checkpoint, a man in uniform got in it. His eyes were fixed at me. He was checking my face against the photo of my passport, and at that moment, my heart was in my boots. Soon he turned away from me and then let the bus pass. I was in East Berlin.

When I arrived at the airport in East Berlin, it was about 3:40 p.m., and I found out from the information desk that the flight bound for Pyongyang would leave at 5 p.m.

My heart beat fast.

When I saw the English letters "Pyongyang" and the foreigners who were going through exit procedures to participate in the festival, I felt in my bones that I was really going to Pyongyang.

However, I was still haunted by anxiety that this place was not safe at all. After some minutes, I saw a man coming in a hurry and I guessed that he would be a staff member of the embassy of north Korea. I guessed right, he was the first man from the north whom I met.

Mr. Ri Yong Jun introduced me to him and said that I was a delegate of Jondaehyop from the south, but it seemed to me that the man did not believe it at first.

It was twenty to five.

I was told that the flight would start at 5, but I did not start my exit procedure. After some minutes, the ambassador to East Germany came to me to ask what was my name and from which school I came and if I really came from south Korea. He greeted me joyously and said that he would ensure my journey even if it meant delaying the take-off time.

When I had hurried to complete my exit procedure and had left the airport building a plane with the letters "Joson Minhang" came into view. It took off at nearly 6 p.m. much later than scheduled. Of course, we were the last batch of passengers.

That moment when the flight started, difficult things that had occurred came back to my mind, one by one.

It was late at night before I could get to sleep.

At that time thousands of my fellow students had

gathered at the Hanyang University, where Chairman Im Jong Sok announced my journey to Pyongyang, in a powerful voice; they praised it and were making preparations for the future struggle. The midnight news reported that a delegate from Jondaehyop had been sent to the Pyongyang Festival.

The plane that took off from East Berlin stopped at an airport in Moscow for about an hour and then left for Pyongyang.

The stewardess said that all passengers should fasten their seat belts and stay in their seats because the plane would soon land.

Looking down through a large hole in the clouds, I saw the land forbidden to my people in the south, the land where our brothers live, which had been separated from us 45 years ago, our own land of the north.

Having slept for 16 long hours, after leaving East Berlin, I looked through the window for a long time as if I were in a dream.

I had flown for 36 hours altogether—2 hours from Seoul to Tokyo, 18 hours from Tokyo to West Berlin and 16 hours from East Berlin to Pyongyang. The journey had taken ten days around the world.

Outside the window were paddy fields everywhere, green rice growing and men in uniform standing here and there.

Maybe they were the guards at the airport.

At last the plane landed and the passengers began to gather up their belongings.

Owing to the continuing fatigue, resulting from many days of irritation and anxiety which had accu-

mulated throughout the journey from Seoul, I had given up food and had slept all the way, so I didn't look so good when I landed. A suitcase and a hand-bag were all my belongings.

At 1:30 p.m. on June 30, 1989 I set foot on the land of the north of my country.

I went down the stairs and took a bus going to the airport building.

When I alighted from the bus, many people surrounded me suddenly and pulled me this way and that way. They, with tears in their eyes, showered upon me a barrage of questions: why I came there only now, why alone, and so on, but I could not answer properly.

News reporters pressed upon me, thrusting out microphones and asking me what was my impression on arrival. I retreated to a corner and merely looked up at the blue sky.

Oh, this is our northern land!

Dear brothers who have yearned for each other's sight, why have we had to live, hating and being hostile to each other for half a century? How many sacrifices have we had to make to meet our fellow students in the north?

Only then I realized that the land on which I was standing was the northern part of the divided peninsula, the land of all of us who have lived with the sorrow of division and who must not be separated again.

Overwhelmed with surging emotions, with sorrow and with an aching heart, I burst into tears. At that time, in Seoul my fellow students of Jondaehyop who had gathered at the Hanyang University were

beaten and dragged away indiscriminately by the "Paekkol Corps (skeleton bandits—Tr.)" which raided the campus in the early morning, and the "History of the National Liberation Movement", a work of historic art, which hung surrounding an open theatre, was torn to pieces by the ignorant combat policemen in plain clothes.

After about a 30 minutes' drive from the Pyongyang Airport, on the outskirts of Pyongyang, it seemed that I was entering Pyongyang City proper, for the fields of crops flashing by the car window were giving way to apartment houses and other buildings.

Nearly all the residential quarters of Pyongyang City were occupied by apartment houses which were higher than 20 stories.

A car equipped with loud speakers in front of my car was announcing the arrival of the delegate of Jondaehyop to the people in Pyongyang. The schoolchildren who were doing exercises near the Arch of Triumph and pedestrians on the sidewalks waved their hands and some of them even ran towards my car.

The reporters who were vying with one another for news coverage presented a spectacular sight.

A Japanese journalist explained the situation on that day as follows: "There was unprecedented disorder in the people of north Korea, a people who have always kept good order. What has made these disciplined people behave in such a way? A girl student from the south excited them to wild enthusiasm."

Because of the increasing number of cheering people, waves of happy people, my car had to slow down.

I squeezed a lot of hands that were being thrust into the car-window. I heard their breathing. I felt the pulse of a reunified motherland.

Where, where, there in the car, who, step aside, I can't see, I didn't see either, and why should I? I hailed from Chungchong Province so let me shake your hand once.

Oh, the murmurs that are giving vent to the grievances and sorrow of our nation! Oh, my brothers who have passed time in tears of separation, who have been unable to visit their dear home towns! What on earth can divide us? Who can bisect our nation? Now, we must not be divided again. We must not hand down a divided country to the younger generation, to our younger brothers.

My car which was slowing down was now drowned in the waves of people and so came to a halt.

The car was now filled with bunches of flowers that had been thrown in. I took their hands that tried and wanted to take mine, the hands of a daughter, of a younger sister, and of a friend from the south. In the course of all this my right wrist swelled up and its skin was broken. There still remains a small scar, and, looking at it, I feel the hands of brothers in the north, those brothers who were overjoyed, surrounding my car, in front and at the back and even on top of it. Whoever could tell them to keep order at that time?

Probably my car was a new one, but it was now

battered all over and its rear-view mirror was gone, and it was a sight.

The car was sent immediately to a repair shop.

That day, there was a mob of people on every floor of the apartment houses and even on the top of restaurants, to say nothing of the streets and sidewalks.

When I got down from the car in front of the Pyongyang Koryo Hotel, people did not know that I was the delegate of Jondaehyop, because rumours had it that eight delegates would come, and, on top of that, only a girl student appeared.

As I stepped a little further into the hotel, people recognized me due to the journalists who had arrived at that time and I was again surrounded by them.

Some sturdily-built men surrounded me and helped me to push my way through the crowd and I managed to get in an elevator. Now I heaved a sigh of relief in the elevator. The day was hot and, moreover, I was upset all the time because of all this attention which I was not used to. The sturdily-built men said to me that they came from the International Taekwon-do Association to participate in the Taekwon-do model game, one of the festival events.

So they were sturdily-built and looked strong!

My room was on the 33rd floor of Building No. 1 of the Pyongyang Koryo Hotel.

I was so hungry that I asked for food, and then confirmed the schedule of press conferences and also requested the making of a flag of Jondaehyop,

As there had been no official flag of Jondaehyop,

I improvised the design of Jondaehyop in black characters on an orange background.

Afterwards, the "Security Planning Agency" argued that the indisputable orange colour was the red colour which the northern people loved.

I was exhausted, but I forgot my tiredness because of the excitement I was feeling at the impressive meetings with these people of our northern land on which I stood for the first time in my life.

At 5 p.m. there was the first press conference at a meeting hall on the second floor of the hotel.

My press conference was mainly in the form of questions and answers for about an hour, the gist of which was my impressions on arrival in the northern land, my itinerary, the declaration of my intention to return via Phanmunjom, the introduction of Jondaehyop and the significance of my participation in the Pyongyang Festival.

Concerning this press conference, a written arraignment to and the judgement at the trial stated by quoting some of my answers, that I "denounced the 'government of ROK' as an anti-reunification force, and championed the 'north Korean communist group' by praising and sympathizing with its policy." The quotations should have been construed from the whole context of the interview and then situation. But the trial papers chose my words to make them liable to misunderstanding and distorted them in such a way that a part represented the whole.

There is a point of view regarding all my acts, statements and speeches made during my stay in the north as criminal facts. I was sure I criticized the "reunification policy" of the present "govern-

ment". I was born, grew up and was educated and have lived on this land, feeling it socially with all my body. Every young man in this land will have the consciousness of criticism of a society of which he is better aware and feels in the marrow of his bones than of any other society, and it is a basic right of a democratic citizen to criticize. The way of thinking that changes black into white and refuses to be honest with criticism while defining the criticism of one side as extolling the other cannot be considered to be reasonable. I declare that none of my acts has disgraced the honour of the one million students of Jondaehyop or has caused the apprehension of my fellow people.

I spent my first night in the north, and then the next day the opening ceremony of the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students was held.

At 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the delegations from 180 countries gathered on the banks of the River Taedong under the Tower of the Juche Idea, the marching assembly area for parading down the street.

On the River Taedong excursion ships were sailing, and from the fountains in the middle of the river water was jetting up high in the air.

I was greatly interested in the national dances and songs performed by delegates from different countries while waiting for the beginning of the march.

While waiting for the march to start, I met the northern delegation to the festival for the first time.

There were about 500 youth and students and they wanted to have a picture taken with me and

gave me commemoration badges of the festival. There were various kinds of badges to mark the Pyongyang Festival and I pinned them one by one on the sleeves of my T-shirt. My sleeves were heavy with clusters of badges by the time the opening ceremony began.

When I was about to begin the march, I saw a dear lovely little boy who was standing with a picture of a flower tree in his hand. His name was Han Song Il and he was 3 years old. He handed it over to me, saying "I've brought it for you."

The picture was drawn so well that I could hardly believe that it was the work of this little boy. I was told that in the north there were many talented children. I lifted him up in my arms, and then began to march along the street.

Marching with the flag of Jondaehyop in front of me fluttering under the blue sky I was choked with emotion again.

By the roadside large numbers of people hailed the marchers, watching the festival delegations. Flowers were waved out of the windows of the tall apartment houses in Pyongyang, and the music of many bands caused even more happiness in the crowds along the way.

I marched, continually shouting the slogan "national reunification", and the people in Pyongyang who stood in rows on the sidewalks shouted the slogan also in response to mine.

I continued to march, shouting the slogan "national reunification", which I was not tired of shouting, with the northern brothers whom I had been yearning to see even in my dream. Now and then I

bowed deep to them.

Pyongyang was wrapped in the atmosphere of a festival.

Rungra Islet is located in the River Taedong like Youi Islet which is in the River Han in Seoul.

We had to walk over a bridge to the May Day Stadium where the opening ceremony was to be held.

The River Taedong which was rippling and sparkling in the sunshine dazzled my eyes.

At last the opening ceremony began.

Fireworks were exploded in the dusky sky in honour of this event, as the 180 delegations to the festival entered the stadium. Their number was so great that it took a good hour for all of them to enter. Being the last to enter, I had to wait for a long time. The delegations entered the stadium through its eastern entry and went out of it through the western exit, after marching around the stadium.

It was my turn and I stepped forward, proudly holding the flag of Jondaehyop high.

When I entered the stadium, the crowd stood up and cheered, and I waved my hands in acknowledgement and bowed deep to them.

One hundred and fifty thousand spectators shouted loudly "national reunification" and the "motherland is one". Even the foreigners shouted the slogan "national reunification".

I believe that each footprint of mine which trod the May Day Stadium will remain proudly in the history of our reunified country.

When I came out of the western exit, after the entry march, the students who had been waiting for

the opening ceremony crowded around me. I found a broadcasting car parked on one side and got on it quickly. I greeted them through the microphone, and then asked them to make a way for me.

They were the brothers whom I was yearning to see so eagerly and who wanted to squeeze my hands even once, but I had to avoid them all the time because there were too many of them.

I entered the stadium and took a seat to see the opening ceremony.

Even in my seat, I had to return a salute to many people who greeted me.

Foreigners invited me to the events to be held in their clubs and gave me their personal cards, asking me to write my name on them.

The opening ceremony made a strong impression on me of a classic and magnificent event along with the ever-changing magical scenes of the background.

After the opening ceremony, I had my late supper in the Koryo Hotel at about 10 p.m.

On July 2, I chose events for my participation from a pamphlet with the printed programme of the Pyongyang Festival.

I myself chose the events that I wanted to take part in during the period of the festival and let them known daily. Sometimes, the north side asked me to participate in an event and sometimes I would decline their offer to attend unexpected events.

They would say in some cases that I was too particular. Since I represented my fellow students of Jondaehyop, not an individual, I had to be prudent.

However, the fabricated announcement of investigation by the "Security Planning Agency" and its control of the press brought absurd disgrace upon myself by the false charge that I acted as indicated by the north side, and I deny this flatly.

I participated in the "Festival Mile Run to the Peaceful 21st Century" at 10 o'clock on the morning of the 3rd.

It was an event for everyone who wanted to run reflecting the aspirations of the young people for making the world free from war and nuclear weapons, a new peaceful world and most of the delegates ran.

In the afternoon there was a formal press conference in the People's Palace of Culture. The hall was crowded with about 200 Korean and foreign journalists, and it proceeded smoothly through simultaneous interpretation in 7 foreign languages.

Before the conference I issued an "appeal to the peace-loving progressive youth and students of the world" in the name of Jondaehyop.

The gist of the appeal was about the cruel suppression of Jondaehyop and, in a minor sense, of my family, which have been reported, and about the reality of the Korean peninsula the division of which has been continuing for 45 years and about the necessity of reunification.

The press conference was held in the form of one question and one answer during which answers were given to questions on the reason of my participation in the Pyongyang Festival, introduction of Jondaehyop, the plan of my return through Phanmunjom, the task of the reunification move-

ment by the youth and students, a reasonable program for reunification, the internal and external forces that obstruct reunification and so on.

In particular, my introduction of Jondaehyop has been charged with the "crime of providing voluntary assistance of a military character" under the "National Security Law"; however, my words were just an answer to a question of a foreign journalist at the official press conference.

When the press conference nearly ended we sang the song "Our Wish Is Reunification" at the proposal of a Korean journalist from the United States. I did not sing alone but with the north Korean and overseas Korean journalists. The song goes like this; reunification is our wish, reunification is our wish even in dreams, reunification is to be had by devotion and let reunification be achieved. While singing this song I covered my face with a stream of tears.

I came out of the People's Palace of Culture where the press conference had been held, and went towards the Grand People's Study House in which various exhibitions were being held.

Situated on a high ground overlooking the River Taedong, the Grand People's Study House is the largest library in Pyongyang, a magnificent building with a smack of traditional architecture, roofed with blue tiles. It has a collection of 30 million books.

The Grand People's Study House was said to be an organization for social education of the masses rather than being a mere library and to have language laboratories, projecting rooms and music

rooms and other up-to-date facilities.

Not only students but also a great number of middle-aged people in their forties were said to come there to study.

I looked around at the world's books exhibition, the world's youth and children's art exhibition, and the world folkcraft exhibition that were open there, and then went to the pond in front of the Mansudae Art Theatre situated near the Grand People's Study House. There an event of "Circle-making for Mutual Understanding" was in full swing. It was an event for youth and students from different countries who had different languages, different coloured skins and different ideologies and cultures to join together to promote understanding and harmony while making a circle.

On one side of the pond there were small groups of people enjoying amusements, among whom were many foreign friends who recognized me and were delighted to see me and so vied with each other to pull me into their groups.

There I spent a pleasant time with young people from various countries, who invited me to their national clubs and those from French-speaking countries, who heard that I could speak French, kept talking to me in French.

On the morning of the following day, July 4, I enjoyed the play taken from Koguryo Folklore at the Taesongsan Pleasure Park.

The play began with the scene of a general of Koguryo riding horse which represented the past civilization and customs in the form of a field drama and ended with the ceremony of a traditional wed-

ding in which the attendants were dancing. I danced at the request of the man who played the part of the bridegroom.

A little way up a hill from the Koguryo Folklore playground, there was a children's performance.

There I happened to meet members of the north-side delegation which had been formed at the time of the struggle for holding north-south student talks on June 10 and August 15, 1988. The meeting with them reminded me of the struggle for national reunification on June 10 and August 15, the sit-down demonstration at Hongje-dong in the shower of epilepsy-effect shells, the path of the grand march of a cross-country pilgrimage which was engulfed by tear gas, the all-night sitting at the Yonse University for the successful holding of student talks, the pains of getting the representatives to the student talks and the vanguards of reunification, with their loins tied with cotton cloth, arrested by the police that had been staying in front of the Yonse University, and particularly the days of struggle to move towards Phanmunjom with more hectic aspirations. No word can express my then excitement at sitting with those fellow students of the north at that time, recollecting our past struggles.

At 3 p.m. I attended the international gathering of students held at the Indoor Stadium of Kim Il Sung University. Here I proposed a discussion on the role and mission of the students of our divided country at the present time. The audience actively supported the reunification of our country and expressed their special concern about future suppression against me.

On that night a "Torchlight March for Anti-nuke Peace" was held. All the delegates of the festival participated in the march. The students of the north marched in the middle of each unit showing letters by torchlight. I was among the Korean-compatriot delegates from the United States marching, with a torchlight, behind the letters "national reunification".

The torchlight letters of "Anti-imperialist Solidarity, Peace, Friendship, Anti-war, Anti-nuke, and National Reunification" shining in the summer night evoked loud cheers from many people.

The destination was Kim Il Sung Square, where we shared the joy of meeting many people and our shouting of slogans "National Reunification! Korea Is One!" and the foreigners' shout "Korea Is One!" resounded across the sky.

The single voice of these people who sincerely desire peace, transcending borders and races filled the sky of Pyongyang on this summer night.

On the morning on July 5 I saw an exhibition game of Taekwon-do at the Pyongyang Indoor Stadium.

Luncheon was held at the Okryu Restaurant at the invitation of the permanent commission of the World Festival of Youth and Students. Hearing that Rev. Mum Ik Hwan had emptied two bowls of cold noodles at one time at this restaurant, I thought of him who was now behind bars.

In the afternoon I joined the meetings of centre No. 1 "Peace, Disarmament and World Security without Nuclear Weapons", centre No. 7 "Women's Rights" and also the seminar of religious men. The

earnestness and intensity which I felt at all these seminars were really worth learning.

I think this represented the enterprising nature that is unique among youth and students.

Outside the building of centre No. 1 a photo-exhibition was shown about a nuclear holocaust, which further increased the feelings of anti-war, anti-nuke, and peace. There I talked of the presence of US troops and the real state of nuclear weapons in south Korea, and expressed my sympathy with the will of the youth and students of the world to make the world peaceful, free from arms and nuclear weapons.

In the evening, back at the Pyongyang Koryo Hotel, I met Rev. Jong Ki Ryol, a priest at the University of Maryland, in the United States.

A written arraignment charged that Rev. Jong Ki Ryol was an activist who had relations with the Anti-nuclear Peace Committee of the DPRK and was acting in accordance with "instructions" from the north, and that I contacted him even though I was aware of his backgrounds. However, he was not, in a real sense, a man acting according to "instructions" from the north nor was I aware of such a so-called fact.

Why should the priest of a university who has a US citizenship act on "instructions" from the north?

Rev. Jong Ki Ryol is a compatriot who has been working to bring the question of national reunification to the attention of more foreign brothers and sisters, and who has not forgotten his fatherland even though he is a US citizen.

The charge of having acted on "instructions" from north Korea, a charge which is not supported

by evidence, is an encroachment upon the human rights of Rev. Jong Ki Ryol. It is indeed an act of despicable plot against reunification.

On July 6 I called on the headquarters of the International Union of Students which was in the Youth Hotel during the festival.

The Chairman Joseph Scarla and the student representatives of various countries proposed that Jondaehyop should join the IUS and conduct its struggle with international solidarity. But I replied that it was not up to me to make this decision, and also our organization was not yet prepared for this because we had too much work to do.

Nevertheless, their good will and feelings of solidarity still remain deeply in my memory.

Back at the Koryo Hotel, which was my lodging, I discussed with Ko Ung Sam from Kim Il Sung University and other students of the north about the joint declaration.

It was not difficult to prepare a joint declaration expressing the resolutions of the youth and students of the north and south to struggle for the reunification of the country, based on the three principles of national reunification—*independence, peace and great national unity*. The proposal to adopt a joint declaration was originally made by Jondaehyop and they agreed with most of my opinions and nearly all matters were left at my disposal.

The title was "The Joint Declaration of the Youth and Students in the North and South for the Independent and Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland" and its contents were: national reunification should be achieved by our nation itself on the prin-

ciple of independence, by easing military tension, conclusion of a peace agreement and the phased withdrawal of US troops from south Korea and the adoption of a non-aggression pact between the north and south on the principle of peace; by opposing the "two Koreas" policy and a single-channel exchange between north and south but instead through regular exchanges between the youth and students in the north and the south while recognizing ideas and systems of both sides on the principle of national unity. In addition, it also included the task of a joint struggle for the realization of regular north-south exchanges of students and for the achievement of the reunification of the country by 1995, the 50th year of division.

The date was already set by Jondaehyop on July 7, but the point at issue was where it should be made public.

July 7 was fixed just because it was the day designated as Korea Day during the festival period. Let me add an explanation to this; of the 8-day-long festival period six days, excluding the opening and closing days, were fixed, in order, as days for solidarity rallies for the peoples of the five continents to be held everyday and the last day was reserved for the host country when a solidarity rally would be organized as on the previous days without any particular functions.

The north side proposed that even though there was a shortage of time the rally had to be prepared anew and the declaration was proclaimed in disregard of other festival functions. This situation occurred because each programme of the festival had

been decided previously by the international preparatory committee and the approval needed was received through a complicated procedure and meetings. However, there was no time left to get this approval.

Nevertheless, I was not disposed to arrange an extra meeting in haste to be held the following day or to make matters worse add to the trouble of mobilizing people for the gathering.

Reading through the programme for the day, I found the solidarity rally of the host country suitable for publication of the joint declaration. So I said that reading of the joint declaration at the close of the solidarity rally would be appropriate in avoiding awkwardness and accentuating the sense of responsibility for implementing the joint declaration since the youth and students of the world would be witness to it, rather than including it into the formal programme of the solidarity rally.

July 7 dawned.

Notification came to me from the IPC, which had continued its session till dawn, that it would allow time for proclaiming the joint declaration at the end of the solidarity rally.

I set out towards the Open-air Theatre in the Moranbong Youth Park at the approved time. The theatre was situated at the entrance to the famous Moran Hill, with a seating capacity of ten thousand people.

By the time I took the rostrum together with Kim Chang Ryong, chairman of the Korean Students Committee, the sun was scorching; but the audience became all the more enthusiastic.

As I read the joint declaration, which started with "We, the youth and students of the north and south, begin with this declaration shouting that 'Korea Is One'," my voice trembled and I felt choked with emotion. My dear fellow students of Jondaehyop will be going through unimaginable sufferings right at this moment. Why can't we gather at one place? Who the hell is it that blocks our way? Where should I look for my fellow students of the south, invisible, now when the youth and students of the north and the south are making a declaration for national reunification amid great concern of the youth and students of the world?

It was a mixed feeling of joy and sorrow.

After reading out the declaration I sat down at a desk to sign it.

Journalists crowded around us so closely to take pictures that we could not move our hands freely.

I signed the declaration—The Joint Declaration of the Youth and Students in the North and the South for the Independent and Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland—for Chairman Im Jong Sok of the "National Council of Student Representatives".

If only Chairman Im Jong Sok were there in person, and if only youth and students of the world before my eyes were my fellow students in Jondaehyop, if only they were the students of the north and south—these thoughts haunted me painfully.

The joint declaration of the youth and students of the north and the south was made public with mixed feelings of joy and sorrow, jubilation and wrath.

Now we entered the stage of struggle to implement the declaration.

July 8, the day when the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students would be closed, dawned.

The festival during which the youth and students from 180 countries gathered together in the spirit of anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship was closing.

Our youth and students who should lead the world as the masters of the future, expressed their will to build a world free from aggression and war, a world with no domination and subordination, a peaceful world, all over the festival—full of real seriousness, in places of cultural function for friendship and harmony reigned over by youthful vivacity, exhibitions of all kinds characteristic of original creativity and playgrounds showing the sincerity with which they competed in a friendly and dignified manner without recourse to commercial competition.

In the meantime, because the festival was held in one half of a divided land and it was participated in by a single representative on behalf of one million students from the other half, in spite of all difficulties, our reunification movement attracted the concern of the world all the more, and also received the indescribably warm sympathy and support of the festival's participants.

On the last night of the 8-day festival fireworks were exploded and the cheers of youth reverberated all over the Pyongyang sky.

The programme consisted of a declaration on the closing, extinguishment of the torchlight, a flag-lowering and a closing performance, and of all these

the most impressive to me was the dance drama of the eight fairies in the Kungang Mountains.

The drama was about an old fairy tale in which eight fairies of heaven fly down to the Phaltam (eight ponds—Tr.) of the Kungang Mountains and bathe while a woodman hides the robe of feathers of one of the fairies, and the fairy, the owner of the lost robe of feathers starts to live with the man. I had an impression of a vivid scene of the original Kungang Mountains as if they had been brought there with the use of illumination, backdrops and outdoor staging. In particular, the scene in which the eight fairies made sudden appearance and descent from the top of the stadium made me utter exclamations.

I could not but be surprised to look at the dancers flying and dancing gracefully and slowly down onto the stage from such a height as if they were real fairies.

The last scene of the closing ceremony ended with a volley of fireworks exploding in the sky and a large number of young men and women dressed in national costumes of various countries coming out on the ground and dancing all together.

Thus the curtain of the Pyongyang Festival was drawn down, after letting one witness a display of the unlimited enterprising spirit and vivacity of the world's youth and students who would lead the future, and after giving impetus to the pan-national concern for the reunification of our nation.

After the closure of the festival my itinerary up to July 20 when the International Peace March was to start was a visit to universities and a trip to

Kumgang Mountains and other scenic spots.

I wanted to visit as many universities and meet as many students as possible.

As I had to put into my programme a visit to the universities where my companion students were studying, at their repeated requests, I had no time to go to other universities.

On the morning of July 9 I met an American lawyer with whom I had made an appointment at the closing ceremony of the Pyongyang Festival on the previous day.

¶In the lobby of the Koryo Hotel, the appointed place, ¶I met him and he was accompanied by lawyers of other countries who shared the same idea with him.

They said that if I was put into prison they would launch a campaign for my release in their respective countries, and send a letter to "President" Roh Tae Woo accusing him of violating the provision of freedom of travel stipulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and bring a lawsuit against him at the United Nations.

They are deeply concerned with the results of my trials up to now and are keeping in contact with my lawyers.

That night I attended the "Cultural Night of the Koreans at Home and Abroad for Reunification" held at the Central Youth Hall which had been the Korea Club during the festival.

The event of meeting with overseas compatriots during the festival was attended by many people.

At the meeting, I sang the songs "Our Wish Is Reunification" and "The Spring of My Home Vil-

lage" shoulder to shoulder with the students of the north.

On the morning of July 10, the following day, I paid a visit to the West Sea Barrage. After seeing the video cassette showing the place of the project at the time of building the West Sea Barrage, I was requested to leave my impressions in the memoir book on which I saw the writing of Rev. Mun Ik Hwan which read:

"To Be One Is to Become Greater,

Mun Ik Hwan,
April, the 44th year of wishing
for reunification"

I felt pain in my heart to see the handwriting of Rev. Mun Ik Hwan who, in his seventies, had been arrested on board the plane before landing at the Kimpho Airport and thrown into prison on a single charge of having visited north Korea.

It was about time for me to visit Kim Hyong Jik University of Education.

Arriving at the university, I found many students waiting for me.

Education in north Korea consists of an eleven-year compulsory education and is aimed mainly at training students to be communal people with independence and creativity.

It was said that one pre-school year plus four years of primary school and a 6-year-long secondary school made up the 11-year course and that every student of a university or specialized school would receive a scholarship and would be supplied fre-

quently with stationery, textbooks, uniforms, etc.

Inequality in the access to education is an unavoidable phenomenon if the educational expense must be paid by individual students. However, in a socialist state it is entirely covered by the state or in other words it is free of charge.

During the inspection of the university I was guided by Yun Kwang Thaek, the chairman of the students committee, to a certain lecture hall.

On the desk in the front row of the hall there was a name plate "Nam Thae Hyon".

I was told that he had been enrolled as an honorary student at the faculty of pedagogy.

At the sight of our martyr's name in this unexpected place tears suddenly filled my eyes because of the pain of memory at the thought of the failure to hold a funeral for him.

The students proposed that I, too, should be registered as an honorary student so that they could always feel that they were studying and living together with me.

I did not have any particular reason for objection so I agreed and therefore I was enrolled at the foreign languages faculty.

By the time I graduate from the university in Seoul, I will also be an honorary graduate of Kim Hyong Jik University of Education.

After this I went and enjoyed the opera "The Flower Girl" at the Mansudae Art Theatre.

"The Flower Girl" had been prepared by the north side as an item in the programme of art performance at the time of north-south exchange of home-visiting teams but the talk for the exchange

of the home-visiting teams itself failed for the alleged reason that the performance would "instigate the idea of class revolution." My opinion, however, was that the opera did not seem unreasonable and the ordinary public of the south could understand it for it had a clear idea of encouraging good and punishing bad deeds in life.

The heroine Kkot Pun leads a poor life together with her mother, brother and younger sister. Her mother works as a servant for a landlord in place of her son Chol Ryong and dies of hard work and starvation and her sister Sun Hui becomes blind because of the landlord. Even Kkot Pun becomes a servant of the landlord and, unable to endure the ill-treatment, begins to look for her brother Chol Ryong, who returns home later as a soldier of the anti-Japanese army and punishes the landlord who used to bleed his family and the rest of the villagers, and the brother and sisters meet each other with deep emotion and devote their all to the anti-Japanese movement. That is the message of the opera.

On July 12, the following day, Mr. Ri Yong Jun, who had been my companion from West Germany, was supposed to return to West Germany, so I had breakfast with him at about 7 a.m.

His plane was due to leave at 9 a.m. so he had to arrive at the airport by 8 a.m.

I felt a burning in my eyes to think that the man whom I had trusted and relied on would leave, though I knew I should be brave when bidding him farewell.

I asked him to convey my regards to the people

I had met in West Germany who had been suffering after being labelled as an “anti-state organization” or “spies”. I saw him off with lonesome feelings.

In the afternoon, I visited Kim Il Sung University.

From the gate to the main building, there were many students but they did not crowd me nor were they disorderly since Ko Ung Sam, chairman of the student committee, got a promise from them to keep discipline in their ranks.

This university was larger by far in size than any of the other ones.

Kim Il Sung University is composed of a 22-storied lecture building, gym, library and other buildings, and the campus was laid out beautifully.

There I met Mr. Jang Hye Myong who had made public his poem “To the fellow students in south Korea” after the end of the June 10, August 15 struggles in 1988.

*Oh—the day of our meeting,
If we play football together
Let the ball be kicked into the net....*

I got a deep impression from this poem since it had reflected the emotion of the students in the north.

There were about three thousand students at the meeting and we sang the “March of Jondaehyop” as most of them knew the song. How good it would have been if my fellow students of Jondaehyop had been there, too! On July 13, the following day, I was to make a trip to the Kumgang Mountains.

I went to the Kumgang Mountains along with my companion students and also with Ki Sun who had accompanied me from West Germany.

Ki Sun and her younger brother had been adopted when they were young as children by a West German family. So her parents were as a matter of course Germans and she did not know even one word of our language. But her efforts to learn our language and her wish to wear our clothes and her endeavour to seek our things were tearful indeed. What she only knew was that her birthplace was Seoul.

We had lunch at a place from which one could command a bird's eye view of Myongsasipri and the swimming pool on the Songdowon Beach, and then proceeded to visit the Wonsan University of Economics.

Like the universities in Pyongyang the Wonsan University of Economics was moderate in size and its surroundings were beautiful.

There under shade we sat down to have a con-fab with many students and I conveyed to them greetings from the students of Jondaehyop.

We were spending a pleasant time there when suddenly a boy student came up to me. He told me that many students had gathered at the Wonsan University of Agronomics, where he was studying, at the news of my arrival in Wonsan and that he had an assignment to bring me there. I could not decline his earnest request so I visited the university though it was not in my programme.

There I planted a tree which was a bit shorter than my stature.

The students said that we would meet happily under the tree when the country has been reunified. At that time I wished that the tree would not grow up any more, for I wished reunification to be realized as soon as possible so that we would meet again before the tree grew up. The tree might become a symbol of the tragedy of our fellow countrymen if we have not reunified the country even after a long passage of time when the tree will have grown up and be scraping the sky.

We left the university for the Kumgang Mountains. I was very tired and dozed off quickly and when I woke up I saw that our group was already at the Kumgang Mountains.

The next morning we climbed up the Kumgang Mountains which I had yearned to see even in my dreams.

At the foot of the mountains I again thought of my fellow students in the south who loudly sang the "Song, of March for the Kumgang Mountains", the song which was common at the Yonse University, Hongje-dong and Myong-dong in the hot summer. Hard though it was to climb, I did not betray my tiredness but laboured upward.

At long last after I had walked up 16 iron-ladders and reached the top, a magnificent view of the twelve thousand peaks of the Kumgang Mountains unfolded before my eyes.

Phaltam was a string of eight natural ponds. I could see eight ponds full of water, down the valley of the mountains.

It was the place associated with the legend that in olden times eight fairies from heaven descended

to enjoy the mysterious scenery of the Kumgang Mountains and there they took a bath in those eight ponds.

From where I stood far from a pond of the Phaltam hung a long rope by which one of us drew up water with a well-bucket.

I drank the water to mark the occasion of my ascent to the top.

It was cool and tingling like mineral water.

Next day we climbed Manmulsang (the Peak of Ten Thousand Forms—Tr.) and then proceeded to Samil Lagoon. The scenery on Manmulsang was beautiful beyond description. Mysterious rocks, cliffs and green trees between them were well harmonized, thus forming mysterious scenery. Really, I could see various shapes of rocks; a bent old woman with a stick in hand, a turtle, a jar, a general wearing a helmet, the coils of a snake.

Who would be unwilling to climb such beautiful mountains because he is tired, the Kumgang Mountains which are shrouded in mist around their sides, a mysterious scenery that looks as if floating on nine dragons, the mountains full of fantastic rocks and various kinds of trees?

The next place on my itinerary was the Myohyang Mountains, but instead I went to Pyongyang, because I was anxious to know how the international peace march was being prepared and because it weighed on my mind that I alone was having a pleasant time, seeing sights.

I took a short rest in Pyongyang and then went to Department Store No. 1.

I wanted to buy Korean clothes for Ki Sun, for

she said to me that she would like to have them before leaving for West Germany in three days time. I was feeling sorry for the adopted orphan.

When a baby, she had been adopted by a German couple, who were different in the colour of their skin and hair, and grew up under their care. However, she had a national consciousness and was trying hard to get back her own national identity. That was really marvellous.

Ki Sun and Pyong Ho who could not speak even a word of their mother tongue were immensely delighted at having learnt a few simple greetings in Korean. I was also happy with this. I felt a sense of responsibility and taught them harder.

Ki Sun even said that she wished to study in Kim Il Sung University because she wanted to learn her native language. I said to her that it would be better to learn the Korean language at a university in Seoul and that there were many short courses of the Korean language for foreigners in Seoul. Ki Sun said that Seoul had not made a good impression on them because their parents who had abandoned them lived there. Tears came to my eyes just to think how heartsick she was.

On July 18, I visited the Korean Film Studio situated in the suburbs of Pyongyang.

There I could see the whole world that transcends time and space.

There I met Mun Ye Bong and other actors and actresses. They were not gorgeously dressed but plainly attired and did not paint their faces thick, but looked charming in a modest way.

July 20, the day broke when we planned to go to Mt. Paektu.

I was excited, thinking that I would take a step for reunification with the students of the north.

On the morning of July 21, we started for Lake Chon.

At a resting place nearest to the summit, I waited for the arrival of all my company.

It was cloudy and I felt drops of rain falling down. The wind was so strong that it reminded me of midwinter. On the top of Mt. Paektu the starting ceremony of the "International March for Peace and Reunification of Korea" was presided over by Priest Art Balagat from the Philippines. After the ceremony, the representatives of countries and organizations signed their names to the placard bearing the words "Our Country Is One. Our Wish Is Reunification" written by me with a brush. The placard which contained the will of peace lovers throughout the world supporting peace and the reunification of our country was always held in the van in the whole course of the march from Mt. Paektu to Phanmunjom as our promise to remember that our country is one, forever.

Mt. Paektu is called the sacred mountain of our nation.

I stand on the top of the Korean peninsula to march southward not only with the students of the north but also with foreigners and the overseas compatriots who desire peace and reunification of our country. How can I express this happiness!

I was the only one from the students in the

south. In this sorrow, I keenly felt the tragedy of national division.

Now we were taking sturdy steps towards reunification. So, even if our march was to stop at Phanmunjom, our steps towards reunification would never stop.

On the day when Mts. Paektu and Halla and azalea and the rape flower are harmonized, we will talk about this day.

We will also remember today's historic steps.

What does the blue water of Lake Chon keep? Mt. Paektu, the summit of the Korean peninsula, has defended the life of our nation. Our history is replete with all trials and hardships, and Lake Chon which has watched even the history of division marked by wire fences seems to feel all our sorrows and indignation.

Will our minds that have suffered from division be as clear as the dazzlingly blue water of Lake Chon?

The students of the north were also deeply moved. They looked all the more so because they remembered that they made a trip to see the students from the south at Phanmunjom in the days of the grand cross-country march which started at Lake Chon on Mt. Paektu in 1988.

Students of the north, we will, however, continue to advance so that we can meet everywhere on the Korean peninsula, not making a promise just to meet at Phanmunjom.

Many revolutionary battle sites have been developed around Mt. Paektu. I thought about a deep

valley where a road has been built and about those days when the fighters trained and lived in the severe cold of 30 or 40 degrees below zero and in the waist-deep snow.

Inspecting a secret camp on Mt. Paektu where the Headquarters had been situated, the sites where fierce battles were fought, slogan-bearing trees of those days and secret camps which have been reconstructed, I wondered how they had built them on that steep mountain.

It was planned that in Pyongyang we should march from Ryonmot-dong to Kim Il Sung Stadium near the Arch of Triumph and take part in the rally in honour of us in the stadium.

Citizens lined by the roadside bid a hearty welcome to us.

They shouted "national reunification" in loud voices.

Who can stop the cries for national reunification, the shouts of the same compatriots who have been divided?

Tears and rain were trickling down my cheeks. Their shouts and the expressions on their faces were spontaneous, not forced. Now I am sure our country will be reunified by the efforts of the masses.

The division of the country which still continues grieves the spirits of the patriotic fighters hovering about in the air, shedding tears, at the sight of our steps towards reunification.

It was not rain, but the blood, sweat, and tears that we have shed in the past.

As we entered the stadium, the people shouted for joy and sang the song "Our Wish Is Reunifica-

tion" in unison, shoulder to shoulder and hand in hand. I was not tired of singing this song and sang it from the bottom of my heart. Reunification was no longer the wish of us alone.

After the rally was over, we had an hour's leisure before we went to the Open-air Theatre in the Moranbong Youth Park. When we slowly left the stadium, the people who had taken part in the rally stormed us. It happened in a twinkling of an eye. I got confused and went inside, being led by the hand of someone. The glass door was closed.

They stormed forward and knocked at the door. They were pushing and pulling. I was afraid that an accident might occur.

The man who led me by the hand was the president of Kim Chaek University of Technology. He said that he was slightly hurt in his arm and if we had gone a little slower, a serious accident could have happened. The people continued to push the door, seeing me standing inside the door, so hard that the door might have broken. I had to "escape" from them so that they could not see me.

While I was in the lounge I saw that people were still standing outside the door.

The time to go to the Open-air Theatre of the Youth Park was nearing, but it was impossible to push our way through the crowd.

I decided that I should disguise myself.

I wore a man's ordinary jumper and put a cap on my tied-up hair. In addition, I put on coloured glasses. Though I disguised myself, it was impossible to go through the front gate. I had to get to my car, but I couldn't because it was wedged in among

the crowd. So I had to get another car. The people inside the stadium looked at me, but they didn't recognize me.

The problem was how should I force my way through the crowd. It was clear that if they recognized me, I would be unable to move an inch ahead, surrounded by this crowd.

Klaxon was sounded continually and the people there looked into the car and made way for me.

They did not recognize me.

I made a good escape in this way.

Some time later I heard what had happened in the stadium. The crowd there did not disperse even after my escape. So over the loudspeaker they broadcast that the delegate of Jondaehyop wasn't in the stadium and so they should return home. Nevertheless, they did not believe it and waited for me till eleven o'clock at night, saying that she couldn't have gone out because they kept the main gate guarded.

That I could have disguised myself at that time was a mere episode that can now be laughed off. But I was sorry for them. What made them remain there until late at night? What did they really want? I thought a lot about them.

At sunset, in the Open-air Theatre of the Moranbong Youth Park, a meeting was held to express the young people's resolve to implement the joint declaration of youth and students in the north and the south issued on July 7.

The chairman of the Korean Students Committee and students of Kim Il Sung University and Kim Hyong Jik University of Education made speeches and read letters to the students in the south.

I was now marching south. Thinking that I wouldn't see them again, I felt sorrow welling up in my heart.

We will surely meet again on the day when Mts. Paektu and Halla will be linked together.

On July 24, the next day, a meeting took place in front of Pyongyang Indoor Stadium to bid farewell to the international peace marchers. After the parade, we left for Sariwon by train.

I acquainted myself with and became attached to Pyongyang because I had stayed there for more days than at any other place but the thought that I would not see it again irritated me greatly.

It is very tantalizing to think of our brothers of the north.

They gathered together very spontaneously and in defiance of control, running towards me to put flowers, handkerchieves and fans in my hand and also gave me letters and presents. When our group stopped once for a while, People's Actress Mun Ye Bong approached me and gave me presents and a photograph. She said good-bye in tears. It was a photo that we had taken together when visiting the Korean Film Studio.

I also met Han Song Il, the three-year-old painter whom I had met while parading on the day when the opening ceremony of the Pyongyang Festival was held. He gave me the picture he had painted. It was a picture of a Korean map decorated with azaleas in full bloom.

The train left Pyongyang slowly and travelled a little more than one hour and then we arrived at Sariwon Station.

We paraded from Sariwon Station. Sariwon is a city smaller than Pyongyang, but many citizens came out to welcome us. Their cheers were so loud that I could not hear myself speak.

I could not march to the end because people pushed their way through to see me in the narrow street. I managed to get away from there in some way or the other, and got in a car.

I had been molested by the people and felt pains here and there on my body, but my heart was full of good emotions.

I wished eagerly that the great outcry for national reunification resounding from Lake Chon on Mt. Paektu to Sariwon would be continued to Mt. Halla.

On July 25, the next day, we were to travel to Kaesong via Sinchon County, South Hwanghae Province.

In Sinchon County there was a museum and inside were displayed photographs and newspapers showing the massacre committed by US soldiers during the war.

I was told that the US troops massacred almost all the innocent people in that area.

Sinchon is not the only place where the US troops committed massacres. The US troops who committed crimes in many places on the Korean peninsula give many excuses for their behaviour.

The mystery of many scenes of massacre committed by them is still waiting to be brought to light, survivors being forced to live gagged, blinded and deaf, and the masses on this land....

But now the truth should become known. I felt again that we should re-evaluate clearly what sort of a country the United States really is.

I took the train for Kaesong.

I was heartsick to think that we couldn't advance any further because the railway to the south was cut off at Kaesong.

The railroad tracks south of Kaesong were rusty and overgrown with weeds, but no weeds can grow in our nation's aspirations for reunification.

It was already dark when we arrived at Kaesong Station, but many people were at the station to welcome us marchers.

A brief welcome rally was held at the station and then we began to move towards bus but we couldn't ride in it because the crowd did not break up. Control was impossible as it was dark. I narrowly got into bus with the students of the north, with a straw hat pulled down over my face.

I was very sorry that I had to escape, outwitting them who wished to see me a student from the south.

It took about 20 minutes by bus to go to the place where we could see the wire fence marking the Demarcation Line.

There I could see the concrete barrier which had become a new point of issue between the north and the south at the beginning of the year and was still argued about at that time.

The north side said that the concrete barrier was an obstacle for contacts between the north and south and the south side insisted that it was a mere anti-tank obstacle. Anyway, I was struck dumb with as-

tonishment because it was news to me at that time.

The students were surprised in their own way, asking why I hadn't known the fact that there was a concrete barrier here.

I could see a concrete wall built along the hill through one of the periscopes.

I really felt ashamed that I hadn't known that there was such a structure south of the Demarcation Line.

If the north had not raised the matter of the concrete barrier, the people in the south would not even have known the existence of such a structure south of the Demarcation Line.

What I want to emphasize here is that only the part relating to the concrete barrier which was explained to me was omitted in my written declaration and in the text of the decision.

It was mentioned in the written statement before the issue of the concrete barrier was discussed, but when its existence was confirmed and it was under discussion it was omitted in the decision. This can in no other way be construed other than having an ulterior purpose.

At last the dawn of July 27 came.

It was the day of the 36th anniversary of the signing of the Armistice Agreement. I had announced that on that day I would return to south Korea through Phanmunjom.

We were to march through Kaesong, and then enter the Demilitarized Zone.

Kaesong is a small city. Many people stood in lines along the roadside, waving their hands and cheering me. My steps were heavy, knowing that I

would soon leave the north.

As we approached Phanmunjom, the number of journalists increased and they vied with one another for news coverage. Soon we arrived at the Thongil House in the north-side section of Phanmunjom.

“The International Meeting for Peace and Reunification of Korea” was held in front of the Thongil House at Phanmunjom.

While the meeting was under way I was surprised at the news that Father Mun Kyu Hyon had arrived there. I turned around to find him walking towards me.

I descended from the platform and ran towards him and he hugged me.

For Father Mun has come here...

I asked him how he had been sent over here.

He belonged to a Catholic parish. He said that he had been appointed as the Secretary-General of the Association of Kind-hearted People under the council of bishops of Asia and had been packing for his journey to the Philippines when he had received orders, from the Committee of Catholic Priests for the Realization of Justice, in Seoul, that he should come to north Korea.

The committee denounced my having been condemned unjustly by the “government”, mass media and “National Security Law” because I visited the north out of a desire to reunify the country. In order to clarify its will for national reunification, it had decided to dispatch a priest to the north to accompany me with the sympathy of a shepherd saving a lost lamb and had selected Father Paul Mun Kyu Hyon as a suitable person, because he had visited

the north in June of that year and had desired national reunification and peace more ardently than anyone else and because he was in a position to visit the north as a citizen of the United States.

What a difficult decision and what a thorny path it must have been for him!

Tears stood in my eyes as I thought of the cross he had taken up, instead of going to his new appointment, knowing that a prison was in store for him.

After lunch Rev. Jong Ki Ryol proposed that I should put off my return via Phanmunjom.

How could I do that, I said, when the land of the south is in sight? I insisted that I could not do that and then thought about many things.

Since Father Mun had come to me, the situation was more or less favourable for me, and there was no need to make haste. Before my departure from Seoul I discussed the matter with the members of Jondaehyop. It was agreed that if returning on July 27 was impossible, an attempt should be made on August 15 and if passage through Phanmunjom was not then approved a protest should be made against it by going on a hunger strike. I also thought that I should not act blindly because I was not clear about something in the Demilitarized Zone.

I answered that I could not change my return policy and that I would go to the Military Demarcation Line to size up the situation.

My intention was to cross it if I was not stopped and this was Father Mun's decision also.

My feet were on the northern land, my eyes turned to the south, my mind was with the students and my family who were suffering under fierce suppres-

sion, and my heart was full of sorrow.

I said inwardly that the tragedy of the division should not be continued any more.

I walked to the Phanmun House arm in arm with Father Mun but my legs trembled even before I had walked 50 metres. Down the steps from the Phanmun House and 3 or 4 metres away there is the Military Demarcation Line. Across the Military Demarcation Line there is the UNC section of the Joint Security Area, and beyond it the land of the south.

As I walked to the front door of the Phanmun House, a north Korean member of the Armistice Commission came out and said that the UNC side had not approved my passage through Phanmunjom and that if I went further an unexpected event might happen. He added that, therefore he would be unable to ensure my personal security. This was what was meant by the Armistice Agreement.

If the north violated the Armistice Agreement in spite of the disapproval of the opposite side, the consequences might be grave. So the north could not allow us to go.

This was the great Armistice Agreement which stopped me from going south.

There was silence in the southern section and in the "House of Freedom" three or four cameramen wearing blue arm bands were clicking their cameras. There I declared a hunger strike.

We returned to the Thongil House again and declared the end of the march for peace and settled a public account of the budget for the march and thus finished on July 27 the international march for

peace and the reunification of Korea which started on Mt. Paektu on July 20.

We maintained an objective stand using the word "Korea" which was awkward for us and yet aroused international support and concern through the participation of peace-loving people from more than 30 countries. Compatriots who took part in the international march wanted it to be continued to Mt. Halla. However, they had to stop their march in Phanmunjom where the tragedy of division mingled with resentment and the sorrow of separation.

Through a press conference, I formally expressed my determination to fast until the UN forces and the "government" approved my return via Phanmunjom.

I began fasting with more than 100 fellow hunger strikers, doctors and journalists in Thongil House.

Those who participated got exhausted as the days went by.

On the evening of July 31, I fainted for a while and then gained consciousness again.

We continued to fast, waiting for the approval of the UNC side of the Military Armistice Commission, but the UNC side did not permit our return. On the contrary, they postponed indefinitely the Red Cross talks which were scheduled to be opened on August 2 under the pretext that the situation at Phanmunjom was tense.

Who was making the situation at Phanmunjom tense and what was the reason? Why did the state department of the US, a country far across the ocean, make a statement contrary to my desire to re-

turn to my home?

There was no change in the situation, although our sacrifice increased as our stay at Phanmunjom prolonged.

I discussed with Father Mun about the matter of concluding our fasting. I had made up my mind to return through Phanmunjom without fail on the day of the 44th anniversary of the August 15 liberation.

I declared that my fast had ended and I left the Thongil House and the Demilitarized Zone, regretfully.

As I retraced my journey, seeing the southern land before me, I keenly felt the pains of those who were living separated for 45 years.

We left Kaesong for Pyongyang by train.

The train pulled out of Kaesong slowly and went towards the north. The scenery outside the train was peaceful but not for my mind.

The train arrived at Pyongyang Station late at night. When I got off the train I shed tears for some unaccountable reason.

I was sent to a hospital and stayed there for ten days. It was awfully sultry and the temperature was over 30 degrees.

In the north most of the doctors were women.

I heard that there was no great difference in the standard of living according to occupations, and that the proportion of women, who were more gentle than men, was large in the medical field.

Every one here receives free medical treatment and diseases are treated early and stress is laid on preventive medical care with regular examinations and systematic hygiene work, so I was told.

Everyone in the north is free from worries about education, medical care, clothing, and food and housing since they are provided by the state. The people are concerned about political matters and state policy and work merrily, leading a cultural life.

On the afternoon of August 13, we had a picnic with the students of the north on the Thaesong Golf Course which is in the suburbs of Pyongyang.

There we, like children, held an athletic meeting, had a skill contest and conversed with each other.

We promised that we would meet again on the day when our country is reunified and we encouraged each other, repressing our sorrow of separation.

I cannot forget the students whom I met while visiting many universities, their sense of trust which was deepened on the international march for peace and during the hunger strike we went on in the Thongil House, "Our Desire Is Reunification" which we sang from Mt. Paektu to Phanmunjom and the students who near the Military Demarcation Line were shedding tears, calling my name repeatedly when I was returning....

It was August 14 and I was leaving Pyongyang.

That day we were to hold a farewell meeting with the Pyongyang citizens, go to Kaesong by train and spend a night there before going to Phanmunjom.

The farewell meeting was held at Kim Il Sung Square.

I looked up at the sky over Pyongyang for the last time, bowed and bid farewell to the gathering.

I wanted to say a farewell word to the citizens and I did this in a car equipped with a loud-speaker driving around Pyongyang City.

I spoke in a loud voice to the brothers and sisters in the north who were waving their hands out of their windows and standing on the roadside:

“Though I leave here, I will remember you with fraternal love. We will surely meet again. Good-bye to you until we meet again.”

We arrived at Kaesong Station when it was dark and we stayed at the Folk Hotel.

After supper late at night, we spread a mat in front of the hotel and spent my last night in the north, talking about what we had not talked about with the students until daybreak.

The day of August 15 dawned at last.

They all looked at me impatiently because I was strained and restless.

I got in a loud-speaker car in order to bid farewell to the citizens of Kaesong, and foreign reporters stormed me for news.

It seemed to me that they were only concerned about the possibility of my returning to the south through Phanmunjom. I only wished that they would feel sympathy for the tragedy of the division of our nation and support our aspirations for reunification.

Kaesong is less than 70 kilometres away from Seoul. Kaesong City is full of resentment of the many families whose members have been scattered for many decades, and has a rusty railroad going to the south. From there we went southward.

Our car stopped behind the Phanmun House.

I bid farewell to our brothers of the north in

front of the Phanmun House and walked to the Military Demarcation Line.

I had to keep back my tears several times because I understood that what I had to do there was not to shed tears, but repress them with the determination to win national reunification with my own hands.

I approached the Military Demarcation Line step by step. It was marked by a concrete wall, 7 centimetres high and 40 centimetres wide. How many difficult days I had spent trying to go over it!

The Military Demarcation Line was permeated with the resentment and sorrow of our nation. Standing on it, Father Mun prayed and after him I also prayed for the peace of Saint Francis.

* * *

I, a student of a divided country, firmly pledge on the altar of history and my nation to dedicate myself to the independence of this land which is oppressed by foreign forces, to democracy which is groaning under the repression of a dictator and to the reunification of the peninsula which is suffering from division.

Burn Injustice and Live in Justice

Rim Su Gyong, though in a grey prison uniform, tied with a red rope, her hands locked in handcuffs, is standing honourably at the bar, with a bright smile on her face!

She must justly enjoy the blessing of everybody, surrounded with waves of flowers. But why does she suffer punishment as a "convict"?

She is not a "convict" but a passionate youth whom the whole world and all the nation are highly proud of.

Her words and deeds expressed the unanimous desire of the Korean people to live in a unified motherland free from outside forces and nuclear weapons.

Who can ever hold this desire in check?

Although she stands at the bar today because of traitors to our nation in a society in which injustice is rampant, history will give stern punishment to those who have really committed many crimes.

Rim Su Gyong said loudly that she would willingly accept a 10-year prison term, or any penalty, for she believed that her words and deeds were a little contribution to the cause of national reunification and the sacred work of making the nation one. That is right. History will remember her patriotic

loyalty for ever and give stern punishment to the traitors of our country.

**Mts. Paektu and Halla,
Do You Hear the Loud Cry
for Reunification?**

(From Rim Su Gyong's Statement of Appeal)

An unusually long winter has given way to spring. Spring has really appeared in the sky that is seen through the iron bars of the prison, and the flowers of azalea on Mt. Paektu and of rape on Mt. Halla will soon be in full bloom.

In order to regain our true spring and to meet the spring of a reunified Korean peninsula at the earliest date, the youth and students of this land have stood in the forefront of the reunification movement.

For us the question of division was used as an excuse for restraining democratization, all manner of oppression being justified under the cloak of "defending" the people from the threat of "invasion" from the north, no matter how loudly we cry for democratization. In a national sense the division puts restrictions on the national problem with the word that the US defends our "land", even if we insist on defending our interest in relation to the US. The people who are demanding a just right to live are condemned as "the Left" and "pro-communists".

That is why the youth and students raised the reunification problem extensively in order to jump over the barrier of division, the greatest obstacle of our nation. Various events in the year 1988 spread the debate on reunification throughout the land and opened the floodgate of the gallant reunification movement centring on the student movement. Immediately after the advent of the "sixth Republic" the "Declaration of the Korean Council of Christian Churches on National Reunification and Peace" was published and in March of the same year in the course of the election of the president of the student council of Seoul University, candidate Kim Jung Gi proposed North-South Students Talks and the Grand Cross-Country March. As a result, the reunification problem which had been kept hidden under the dictatorship of the dark "fifth Republic" emerged as a pending social problem.

From then on, with the student movement as its axis, the reunification movement advanced. On May 15 of that year, Martyr Jo Song Man, who was studying at Seoul University, committed suicide by disembowelment in Myongdong Cathedral, crying for national reunification. With that as a momentum, the reunification movement was expanded among people of all walks of life.

Through the June 10 and August 15 struggles for national reunification which swept the country the reunification movement became the demands of the times and the "July 7 declaration" which defined north Korea as a "companion", not an enemy, was made.

The "July 7 special declaration" which said that

north Korea was a "part of the national community achieving prosperity together with south Korea" and suggested "exchange" in all fields for realizing national reunification, seemed to be an "epoch-making event" at that time. Thanks to the "declaration", the free visits of overseas compatriots to north Korea and all "reunification policies" were then established. In view of the ruthless oppression of the forces of the reunification movement and of the "reunification policy" that has lost power, the present "government" is incapable of dealing with the contents of the declaration and so it claims that the "declaration" is a trick to deceive the people who have become enthusiastic for reunification.

In a nutshell, Roh Tae Woo's "regime", rash and irresponsible, not only does not have the ability to keep a public promise but also has no thought of doing so.

Jong Ju Yong, a synonym of monopoly capital bleeding the people white, was not restrained by the "National Security Law" in spite of his having extolled the socialist system of north Korea to the skies on his visit to the north.

The blocking of the meeting of the north and south Korean writers which the Association of National Literary Writers had prepared with north Korea and preliminary talks of a pan-national meeting of "Jonminryon" and the arrest of the people involved in the meetings, the arrest of Rev. Mun Ilk Hwan and Mr. Yu Won Ho, the arrest of Prof. Ri Yong Hui on a charge of planning *Hangyore Sinmun's* news coverage in north Korea and so on, all this shows clearly the immorality and discriminative

nature of the present "regime". The present situation is such that the people are forced to regard the "government" as the only channel of access to reunification and all other activities are branded as "acts benefiting the enemy" or "acts against the state".

The theory of a "single-channelled dialogue" of the "government" is no more than its scheme of rejecting and excluding any and all arguments for reunification that disagree with its "reunification policy": therefore it is an extremely fanatic means of control.

Independent exchange among the people in general is the cornerstone of the reunification movement.

If it has a sincere intention to reunify the country, the present "government" must recognize the injustice of a "single-channelled dialogue" and ensure, with a magnanimous attitude, independent exchanges between the north and south Korean people of all social standings.

The decisive action taken by Jondaehyop in participating in the Pyongyang Festival was to make a breakthrough for independent exchange by foiling the "reunification policy" of the reactionary "government" and to declare that the motive force of reunification is not the "government" but the 70 million people of north and south Korea.

1. I shall first refer to the charge that my participation in the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students in Pyongyang from July 1 to 8, 1989 as a representative of Jondaehyop was to "escape to the area of north Korea by orders from north Ko-

rea, an anti-state organization”.

According to the written arraignment and the decision of my case, when the Korean Students Committee sent the invitation card of the Pyongyang Festival to Jondaehyop on December 26, 1988, Jondaehyop made arrangements for its participation in the Pyongyang Festival, and the formation of the Jondaehyop preparatory committee for the Pyongyang Festival and its activities are described as having been under way on the orders from north Korea.

In the first place, the statement that “orders” were given to participate in the festival in the form of invitation is misleading. Here the words, an invitation and orders, should be clearly distinguished; in other words, it should be made clear whether an invitation was accepted or whether orders were conveyed to it.

An invitation gives the invited an option whether to accept or refuse the request as an independent being, but orders are given by a superior to his subordinate, excluding the chance for refusal and demanding obedience.

The expression, “orders in the form of an invitation”, is a logical fallacy. I understand that it is based on a legal explanation of the 1960s. The situation at the time when the “state policy” was to reunify the country by pushing north against communism and when any information of north Korea was blocked off is totally different from the situation today. In this context, the outmoded practice of former times should be done away with, even though the criticism of the most draconian of laws,

the "National Security Law", and the demand of its abolition were to be made later.

Various facts about north Korea are being reported through the media and the dialogue and attempt for north-south exchanges are being made. Furthermore, because Jondaehyop received the letter of invitation of the Korean Students Committee through the Korean Red Cross Society, an official organ in charge of north-south exchange, in the case of applying the above-mentioned decision, it is construed as meaning that the Korean Red Cross Society and many mass communications played the role of conveying the "orders" from north Korea to Jondaehyop. This is illogical and contradicts the principle of equality in the application of the law.

Not only that, it was not after receiving the letter of invitation from the Korean Students Committee on December 26, 1988 that Jondaehyop expressed its will to take part in the Pyongyang Festival and discussed the matter. In November of the same year, at the election of the presidents of general student councils of all universities the candidate for the president of the general student council of Korea University proposed participation in the Pyongyang Festival for the first time as his campaign pledge. Subsequently his example was followed by many universities; and many candidates for president of a general student council at all universities who proposed participation in the Pyongyang Festival as their pledges were elected. For its implementation each of the universities resolved to take part in the Pyongyang Festival and at the level of Jondaehyop the preparatory committee for the

Pyongyang Festival was formed.

This was decided by the majority of the students according to the independent judgement of Jondaehyop itself and was never done by "orders" from north Korea. Even more so the students who decided for Jondaehyop's participation in the Pyongyang Festival and made every effort for the implementation of the decision were not controlled by "orders" from north Korea.

The aim of Jondaehyop's forming its preparatory committee for the Pyongyang Festival was that the youth and students, the anti-imperialist and peace forces, the motive force for building a reunified country, would promote peace for mankind and national reconciliation by its participation in the Pyongyang Festival and restore national homogeneity by removing the deep-rooted hostile relations that existed for 45 years, and thus make a contribution to national reunification.

Participation in the Pyongyang Festival was to make a breakthrough in independent exchange among our people, to share the situation in the divided Korean peninsula with the world youth and students and find an opportunity to give publicity to the validity of reunification, because the objective of the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students is for "anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship", which accords with the present situation on the Korean peninsula which is still in a state of cold war.

Jondaehyop is, on no account, an "organization benefiting the enemy" against the will of a million students and people. The ideology of north Korea is

not the guiding ideology of Jondaehyop; Jondaehyop is an organization of one million students who desire independence, democracy and reunification. Nevertheless, you label the Jondaehyop preparatory committee for the festival as an "organization benefiting the enemy" and denounce the preparation for Jondaehyop's participation in the Pyongyang Festival as an act by "orders" from north Korea. This is to abuse the majority of students supporting its participation in the festival as fools controlled by north Korea, to ignore the human character of the youth and students in this land, your sons and daughters, and to declare the authorities' will to keep them in ignorance.

The wire fences that divide our country, a legacy of the older generation, weigh down very heavily on our shoulders. The apathy of the older generation who did not show any interest in reunification makes our hearts sick. Worse still, by condemning the young people and students of this land as a force obeying north Korea and its "orders" by means of the reckless and irresponsible "reunification policy", you are confusing us and wielding the "National Security Law" in order to suppress the forces aspiring for reunification. This is an intolerable act against history and against our nation.

Now about the view of the "government" on the Pyongyang Festival after the delivery of the letter of invitation from the Korean Student Committee that has been defined as "orders" from north Korea, and about the measures adopted to effect participation in the festival.

In the beginning, the "government" expressed

its opinion of availing itself of the festival as an opportunity of exchange between north and south and gave a positive response to participation in the festival.

At a new year interview in January 1989, the "President" said that he would "ensure exchange between the north and south in any form, and in accordance with this standpoint and policy, make an active use of the Pyongyang Festival as a chance of exchange." Thus he manifested his readiness to permit exchange between the students in the north and south.

In this context, the Committee for Promoting North-South Students Exchange (Kyochuwi) headed by Prof. Jong Yong Sok of Tanguk University as its chairman was formed on January 27 of the same year.

In view of the fact that the Pyongyang Festival was preparing various functions such as seminars, art and cultural events and sports events, Kyochuwi published its intention to form a delegation of 200 students and other young people of south Korea to take part in all events. The press report of February 20 said the "government" had established the policy of leaving the matter of exchange between the north-south students to the discretion of Kyochuwi and of giving active support to participation in the Pyongyang Festival.

On March 11 Chairman Jong Yong Sok of Kyochuwi expressed his hope of making participation in the Pyongyang Festival a success at a public hearing held by Jondaehyop. On March 14, he also sent a letter to north Korea's preparatory committee

for the Pyongyang Festival, proposing talks to discuss the matter of participation in the Pyongyang Festival of south Korean students and other matters relating to north-south student exchange.

After that, the cold waves of the "public-oriented rule", along with the organization of the "headquarters of joint investigation of public peace", brought the above-mentioned policies to nothing. On June 6 when the Pyongyang Festival was close to opening the Minister of Education declared that "the Pyongyang Festival will be a place for political propaganda encouraging an anti-US, anti-south Korea struggle" and that, therefore, he would not permit Jondaehyop's participation in the festival. Jondaehyop changed its stand and decided that it would participate in the Pyongyang Festival merely in the capacity as an observer, that it would not take part in the political functions to which the "regime" was opposed, and that the matter of the formation and scale of the delegation would be settled through discussions with Kyochuwi. The decision was announced at a press conference on June 17. Chairman Jong Yong Sok of Kyochuwi immediately expressed his welcome to the changed stand of Jondaehyop and said that he would recommend it to the "government". The "government" finalized its policy prohibiting participation simply by questioning the character of the Pyongyang Festival and finding an excuse that there was no time to prepare for it as the event was close at hand. This shows that they had no intention of permitting participation from the outset and also it means an annulment of the "July 7 declaration" and at the same time the theo-

retical bankruptcy of the "one-channeled dialogue" doctrine.

It is clear that the above-mentioned contents of the initial policy of permitting participation in the Pyongyang Festival, the "Presidential" statement about the exchange of north-south students, the inauguration of the Kyochuwi and its stand as well as Jondaehyop's decision to participate in the Pyongyang Festival are not defined by "orders" from north Korea.

The will to participate in the Pyongyang Festival existed before the delivery of the letter of invitation from north Korea. Through the trial of several cases it was found that the "July 7 declaration" was a declaration for declaration's sake and that it was one thing and its legal interpretation and its legal application were another. But the "policy" formulated by the "President" is "praised" and the conduct of the popular masses who followed the "policy" is incriminated by the "National Security Law". Under these circumstances the matter is very irritating and we are at a loss as to which way to follow.

As for the validity of recognizing the letter of invitation from the Korean Students Committee as "orders" from north Korea, I believe that this outmoded way of thinking must be abandoned—a way of thinking that labels an invitation as "orders" from north Korea, a fact known to every sensible man through the press which gives relatively objective and detailed news about north Korea nowadays, unlike in the '60s and '70s when such news was completely blacked out.

Now is the 1990s.

It is anachronistic that the decision given by law alone is tied up to the cold-war ideology, and that anti-communist and anti-north Korea ideology still exist now.

Meanwhile, Kim Jin Yop was put into custody on a charge of involvement in the case of my visit to north Korea, because of the recognized system of transmitting "orders" from north Korea which had not even been discussed during my trial.

Kim Jin Yop, a citizen of Australia, was dispatched to Ilsin Christian Hospital in Pusan for missionary work and there he worked as a dentist. He was arrested on a charge of "providing convenience" under the "National Security Law" and now he is in Seoul prison, having been sentenced to a two years' prison term after the first trial.

That is the system of transmitting "orders" invented by the "Security Planning Agency" in the form of a "diagram". Kim Jin Yop is charged to have recommended my entrance into north Korea through the European Democratic Association by "orders" from north Korea. If it was true, he should have received a severe punishment on a charge of "delivery and receipt of orders" and "accomplishing purpose." Nevertheless, he was indicted for "providing convenience".

This is an attempt to denounce the overseas organizations for the national democratic movement as a vanguard for north Korea by connecting them with north Korea and to deceive the public by describing Jondaehyop's participation in the Pyongyang Festival as a result of a scrupulous operation.

Now, I shall state how Mr. Kim Jin Yop was

connected with Jondaehyop.

In June of last year, it was decided that Miss Kim Sung Il, Kim Jin Yop's fiancée who is living in Australia, should take part in the Pyongyang Festival as an overseas compatriot affiliated with the General Federation of World Christian Students. In the course of ascertaining the preparation of participation in the Pyongyang Festival by the Christian youth organizations including the General Federation of World Christian Students which was discussing the matter at that time, she met a student journalist of an English newspaper of Koryo University. The journalist found out the fact that she was to take part in the Pyongyang Festival and got an interview with her and carried its contents in the English newspaper of Koryo University together with her photo. Jondaehyop which was discussing its participation in the festival, with its preparations then in full swing, was naturally interested in the interview with our compatriot who was going to take part in the Pyongyang Festival and was introduced to Miss Kim Sung Il and also happened to meet Mr. Kim Jin Yop, her fiancé.

If Miss Kim Sung Il should have to return home for the purpose of entrance into north Korea, it is against common sense that she discloses her identity through a public interview about her participation in the Pyongyang Festival. When Jondaehyop made known the matter of sending its representative to the festival, Mr. Kim Jin Yop let us know the address of the liaison office of the European Democratic Association, with which he had been in touch as a compatriot. Thus Jondaehyop's connection with it

was not established through a "close operation" but a mere happening. The investigation organs which knew well the simple route of entrance into north Korea punished Mr. Kim Jin Yop on a mere charge of "providing convenience" under the "National Security Law". On the other hand you concocted the diagram of "order" transmission from the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland of north Korea to Jondaehyop and made public the unfounded case of suspects, without clear evidence, thus attributing my case to an operation of north Korea in order to form public opinion.

The "Security Planning Agency" is good at drawing pictures. We are familiar with articles under headlines "North Korean Spy Group" which were illustrated with clear diagrams drawn up by the agency whenever the situation of the country was not in their favour. The diagram drawn by the "Security Planning Agency" this time, too, is an illogical picture full of blunders.

Now, about the European Democratic Association which was declared as "anti-state organization" under the "National Security Law".

When I arrived in West Germany, the people connected with European Democratic Association including Mr. O Su Gap introduced me to Ri Yong Jun, president of the Lotte Travel Company in Frankfurt and because of this they were branded incorrectly as an "anti-state organization" and "spies".

Ri Yong Jun, a citizen of West Germany, engages in tourism, and finds and sends tourists to the Kumgang Mountains, so his connection with north

Korea is purely a business relation.

It is stipulated that an "anti-state organization" is an "association or a society aimed at arrogating to itself 'government' authority and revolting against the state". Far from being an "anti-state organization", European Democratic Association is a lawful association sanctioned by the government of West Germany. It seeks for an independent and peaceful reunification of the country and issues its organ "Democratic Motherland" which is readily acceptable over here.

If it is an anti-state organization, European Democratic Association cannot be protected and recognized by the government of West Germany.

To define it as an "anti-state organization" is an act ignoring and mocking the fundamental law of West Germany that recognized it lawfully. So this is a serious matter in diplomatic relations. If you read its organ "Democratic Motherland" you can understand the character of European Democratic Association clearly.

The publishers of "Democratic Motherland" carry articles aspiring for one country, not a divided country and our overseas compatriots, watch the north and the south of Korea from an objective position, not standing on one side. Mr. O Su Gap, chief editor of "Democratic Motherland" and chief of the general affairs department of European Democratic Association, is under the charge of being a "spy" and is in a state of suspended indictment. This is not just. He graduated from the law department of the University of Foreign Studies, got a master's degree from the postgraduate course of

Yonsei University and went to West Germany for doctor's degree and is studying there.

European Democratic Association, including Mr. O Su Gap, has no connection with north Korea and you should bear in mind that our people will no more be taken in by your plot to describe anyone as a "north Korean political worker" or the organization as a "pro-north Korea vanguard organization" without evidence simply because they are abroad.

In conclusion, Jondaehyop's decision to participate in the Pyongyang Festival represents the will of reunification of one million students. It sent its representative based on its own independent judgement. This has nothing to do with "orders" from north Korea.

2. Next, I shall dwell on the charge that the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students held in Pyongyang was a function for paving a short cut to "Red" reunification by "encouraging the youth and students and people in south Korea in the struggle for national reunification against the 'government' while giving publicity to the economic power of north Korea and the justice of the revolutionary cause".

I think that you should first change your conception when you refer to the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students as the "Pyongyang Meeting", in abbreviation.

To call it the Pyongyang Festival, in abbreviation, is appropriate in an objective sense and the media reported it as the Pyongyang Festival. I want to ask you why only the organs of investiga-

tion and prosecution and court called it the "Pyongyang Meeting" and where you got the word "meeting" from suddenly and what your intention is.

At the first trial I gave my prosecutor an answer that "I took part not in a Pyongyang Meeting but in the Pyongyang Festival". I meant I was against calling it by such a name. To call the 13th WFYS a "meeting" is none other than an intention to spread secretly the consciousness that it was a place for anti-US, anti-south Korea propaganda and to distort the significance and content of all its functions. Objectively speaking, the abbreviation of the Pyongyang Festival is more appropriate than a "Pyongyang Meeting". So I ask you to use the former from now on during the trial. Persistence in the use of the abbreviation of "Pyongyang Meeting" means too one-sided a view for me to expect a fair judgement from you.

If you find it difficult to use the abbreviation, I hope you will use the official name although it is long.

This may be treated as a trivial matter but this is the basis of building up confidence in expecting a fair judgement.

Well, now, I should like to tell you what the World Festival of Youth and Students is.

When the Second World War, the biggest tragedy in modern history, was over the whole world was suffering from the smoke of guns and bombs. The then young people who had felt the disaster of war in the marrow of their bones and confirmed it clearly with their own eyes wished that such tragedy should never be repeated. The desire of the

youth and students, the masters of the future, was to build a world free from war and nuclear weapons, a peaceful world without racial discrimination, imperialism and colonialism. The event that represents this desire is none other than the World Festival of Youth and Students.

The festival is sponsored by the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students, organizations of the world's youth and students, aspiring for peace. It has been held on 13 occasions, and in the course of this period the number of countries, regions and organizations has increased and it has become the festival of all the students and other young people throughout the world, including socialist countries, the Western and third world countries, irrespective of their political belief.

Unlike other international events of a commercial nature which are aimed at winning medals, the festival is characteristic of promoting friendship and mutual understanding. Such a festival could not be the venue of "political propaganda against the US and south Korea" simply because it was held in Pyongyang. It was not an event for "paving a short cut to 'Red' reunification or for proving the validity of a socialist revolution".

Well, then, allow me to dwell on the content of the Pyongyang Festival.

The Pyongyang Festival consisted of various events such as seminars, cultural, political, sports and other events which were conducted on the basis of the idea of anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship, the same slogans that were used at the

previous festivals. The seminar at the centre No. 1 of world security discussed the anti-war, anti-nuclear efforts and the nuclear situation and nuclear holocaust, and other seminars dealt with environment, protection of children, women's rights, religion and various other subjects. The cultural functions which were held at national clubs and other places in Pyongyang City for the promotion of mutual understanding through worldwide cultural exchange included various programmes such as world folk performances, an exhibition of children's pictures, book exhibitions, and an exhibition of folk art. The sports events consisted of friendship games depending on the sport, the "Festival Mile Run to the Peaceful 21st Century", etc. Solidarity meetings and anti-imperialist solidarity events, in support of the young people in different continents in their struggle for safeguarding peace, were held every day. In particular, encouragement given to the national liberation struggles in the colonial countries of Latin-America, Africa and the third world was impressive, and the struggle of Namibia as a newly-independent country won stormy applause.

In addition, international students meeting, an anti-imperialist tribunal and other special functions were held.

A "torch march for non-nuclear peace" in which every one participated was conducted at night, and every street of Pyongyang was filled with the atmosphere of friendship and that of a festival.

Normally, television broadcasting began at six p.m., but during the Pyongyang Festival they tele-

cast all day long. The major TV programmes covered all functions of the festival and also introduced foreign cultures. Central television made a review of world films at night, particularly the films of the USSR and the east European countries, even the "Last Emperor".

As you can see, the Pyongyang Festival aspired to anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship in conformity with the situation on the Korean peninsula which still remained in a cold war state. The festival expressed the unanimous will of the youth and students to contribute to peace on the Korean peninsula and to her reunification and to world peace. That is why the view of the "government" and the decision of the court on the Pyongyang Festival are nothing but an error caused by ignorance and intentional slander and denouncement.

3. Now I shall state my views about the "international march for peace and reunification of Korea" held on July 20-27, 1989.

The event was proposed by the International Liaison Committee for a Denuclearized, Independent Korea and won the approval of the world's peace champions and human right organizations. It was held on the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the signing of the Armistice Agreement between the US and north Korea on July 27 and it demanded the replacement of the armistice agreement with a peace agreement and peace and reunification of the country.

The preparations for the peace march were made mainly by peace-loving people from 16 UN member

nations that had taken part in the Korean War, and all our overseas compatriots actively supported the idea and passed the resolution to take part in it. "The Union of Korean Youth in America" (Hanchongryon) was one of them.

According to the plan, the march was to start from Mt. Paektu to Phanmunjom in the north and from Mt. Halla to Phanmunjom in the south with a view to filling the Korean peninsula with the outcry of national reunification. In fact, however, the march did not take place in the south because of large-scale repression and the authorities' refusal to issue entrance visas to foreign participants. Worse still, they distorted the peace march that had been prepared by the world's peace-loving people, with their headquarters in London, as having been sponsored by north Korea as part of its "camouflaged peace policy". They branded the Hanchongryon in America that responded actively to it as an "organization benefiting the enemy" controlled by north Korea and labelled Rev. Jong Ki Ryol who was a member of the standing committee of the international preparatory committee for the grand peace march as a man who was active by "orders" from north Korea. This is a sheer lie.

The "international march for peace and reunification of Korea" was sponsored by the international preparatory committee for the march, not by north Korea. The expenses needed for it were raised by this committee by means of donations and the details were announced publicly at Phanmunjom immediately after the march. The organization which guided and assisted the march in the nor-

thern region was the Korean Committee for Anti-nuclear Peace. Immediately before starting the peace march, they requested joint sponsorship with the international preparatory committee but the request was declined. Hanchongryon and the Korean Committee for Anti-nuclear Peace offered necessary assistance but they were not the organizers.

Rev. Jong Ki Ryol, a minister of the University of Maryland, is not a "man who is active in touch with north Korea" but a patriot who is for peaceful reunification as an overseas compatriot and who thirsts for the unity and reconciliation of a divided nation in the Christian spirit and devotes his efforts to the realization of this cause.

4. Now I shall refer to the wrong decision that I "played the role of a propagandist" for north Korea during my 45 days' stay there.

Many journalists at home and from abroad and also overseas compatriots who observed my activities will be witness to this statement of mine.

I make it clear once more that I have done nothing that will cause any anxiety of our one million students and the people.

I did not blindly follow north Korea, nor did I believe in her idea and system. If I had done so, I should not have returned to this land. Such an argument of the public prosecutors' is absurd and is an encroachment upon my rights and harms my reputation.

During the Park Chung Hee's "regime" I finished primary school and under Chun Doo Hwan's "regime" secondary and high schools. Under their anti-communist national policy I received a thor-

ough anti-communist and anti-north education and took part in anti-communist composition contests and drawing contests. In my pictures the faces of north Korean people had been painted red, not the colour of the skin. I had described north Korea as a living hell where no man can live even a moment.

But as a matter of fact, north Korea is a land where "people are living".

They are working merrily and living happily, being proud of their social system.

Some may ask if these people do so because they are isolated from the surrounding world and imbued with the idea that they alone live a decent life. It is true that the primary task of north Korea is "to establish the independence of the Korean nation". Seeking independent development, however, cannot be described as isolation from the surrounding world or as forcing people to be deceived.

If you think that north Korea, as a "completely isolated" society, is blind to the international situation and its own problems, you are mistaken.

The people in the north seriously understand their own problems and do not hesitate to point them out in earnest. Of course, their attitude towards these problems is completely different from that of the capitalist countries in the West which are trying to point out problems for the purpose of slandering north Korea.

They are proud of having reconstructed the war-ravaged land by their own efforts. Although they feel an ever-present burden of possible invasion by the United States, they believe that they have been able to safeguard and develop the socialist system

because they have accepted the decisions of the Party. They are living in the hope that they will be better-off if they make a little more effort.

To them labour does not mean hardships coming from low wages that are below the minimum cost of living, wages for those who have to work overtime and around the clock, but pleasant endeavours to make their wishes come true, sacred endeavours of those who think that working and sweating is their natural duty.

An eight-hour working day is ensured not only by law but is effected into reality. Education, medical care, cultural benefits, food, clothing, housing and everything else they need are provided by the state. Therefore, they do not know the difficulty of living. Their educational policy is geared to making all the people intellectual. Everyone has an opportunity to receive higher education free of charge and is rewarded according to the quality and quantity of his or her work done, not according to academic backgrounds. A higher education is not a criterion for a privileged class and it is natural that there is no stiff competition in entrance examinations. They take jobs according to their desires and ability.

In the countryside they do not do farm work heaving a sigh under the burning sun; they do farming in a planned way, even young women working merrily, steering their machines. People need not go to see the doctor; doctors visit people to examine them periodically by the section doctor system according to the district or workshop, concentrating on hygienic conditions and preventive medicine.

People with the same skill in the same kinds of

work receive the same treatment irrespective of sex, and according to the degree of their skill there is some difference but there is no distinction accorded to any special class.

Since they are provided with the material essentials for life, they are leading a bright life in a spiritual atmosphere.

I, who had received only an anti-communist education, got a shock at the mere fact that people were living there. It is said that the present educational content of primary schools has changed a great deal from what it was when I was growing up. The song "Our Wish Is Reunification" was left out of the fifth-grade textbook of primary school some time in the past.

During my stay in north Korea I once said I had thought that north Korean people would look like a monster. Hearing this, a child of a primary school sent me a poem. I would like you to hear it:

*Elder sister Rim Su Gyong, let's pose
for a photograph,
And see how my face differs from yours.
Let those who said I had a horn look for it
Till sunset.
Let's have our picture taken together.*

If only you could have seen how shocked the child was at my words and how innocent she was.

I tried to approach north Korean people with fraternal love and to look at them as objectively as possible. I met many students and brothers and sisters rather than the high authorities of north

Korea. This aimed at removing the feeling of mutual hostility and heterogeneity and at restoring the nation's homogeneity.

My prosecutors claimed that my argument was self-righteous and biased.

But I think it is the walls of a deep-rooted mutual distrust in our minds and a hard-frozen hatred and confrontation that are obstructing reunification. While criticizing whatever I saw and thought there, I treated them warmly with brotherly love in order to restore a normal national feeling frozen hard by mistrust and hatred.

The most important thing for us is first to understand the reality of north Korea objectively and in the course of this recognize what should be recognized. We should first of all try to solve our own many problems, and then point out the problems of north Korea. This is the right order. If you, instead, ignore the reality of the north and the south and merely go on with mutual reproach and confrontation, you will never be able to expect an improvement in the relations between the north and south. I only endeavoured to understand and look at the north Korean society objectively from a more positive and active stand by shaking off the one-sided attitude towards north Korea, an attitude distorted by an anti-communist education.

I am not and cannot be an agitator or north Korea. The course of action I discussed with my comrades before leaving Seoul was, first, to adhere to the independent stand thoroughly with the pride and dignity of representing the students of Jondae-

hyop, second, to maintain an objective stand, without praising or denouncing one side, and treat the north Korean people with brotherly love, third, to return through Phanmunjom without fail and so on.

I only acted according to this course of action and never played the role of an agitator for north Korea.

5. Now about the charge that "the content of the dialogue I had with students in the north was an addition to the military interests of a communist organization of north Korea, a voluntary contribution aimed at supporting the communist organization of north Korea, an anti-state organization."

In the first place, the written arraignment and the decision say that I voluntarily informed Kim Chang Ryong, Jong Myong Sun and others of the actual conditions of universities and Jondaehyop, the activities of the student movement, etc. This is totally unfounded. They were not in a position of hearing my report, nor was I in a position of reporting to them. Moreover, there was nothing I reported to them. This is no more than a "charge" concocted up by the "Security Planning Agency" which is good at drawing pictures and at assembling them. I had only worked and talked about the university life of the south Korean students with students in the north till late at night during the international peace march and hunger strike in the Thongil House. It is natural that a student from south Korea should meet her north Korean counterparts and have a conversation with them about their university life. If such a conversation was a guilty act then I would

like to ask you what subject is there for conversation and how should I act. I explained officially the activity and system of Jondaehyop, the valiant organization of one million students, the reunification movement in south Korea and all students movements at a press conference. Nevertheless, I was greatly shocked at your intention to incriminate all my activities in north Korea and to say I broke the law under a false charge "that I made a report to members of the communist group of north Korea, an anti-state organization." The campus custom I talked about with students in the north, the introduction of Jondaehyop at an official press conference and so on were distorted as an act of giving military interests with a view to supporting north Korea. These facts were exaggerated as criminal acts that deserved to be punished with the help of the distorted expression that "a modern war is a total war and information war involving infiltration and subversive activity". I, the person concerned, was dumbfounded at this and cannot help calling it crude.

6. I shall make a statement about the charge that, during my contact with members of north Korean communist group, I "received orders to spread propaganda that north Korea had no intention of 'Red' reunification by force of arms and to continue to conduct the anti-US, anti-'government' activity according to north Korean methods of reunification, for instance, for the withdrawal of US troops, as agreed upon in the joint declaration of the north-south youth and students, after returning through Phanmunjom".

I wonder how the public prosecutors' office and

the court found me guilty of a crime of which I myself have never heard before. I am indignant at such a false charge.

I demand that it should be made clear where, when, and from whom I received these orders if ever I did.

Allow me to point out contradictions in the charge.

First, north Korea declared its policy of independent peaceful reunification, not communistic reunification by force of arms. I have never received from anyone any instructions to propagate that north Korea has no intention of "Red" reunification by force of arms nor have I ever thought of doing it. I shall tell to the world the looks of our brothers in the north I remember and their desire for reunification, no matter who may accuse me. I can never forget our brothers in the north who came running to me to squeeze my hand, the wrinkled face of a seventy-year-old woman who, with my hands in hers, shed tears ceaselessly, the tearful faces of scattered families who could not pay a visit to their native places which were within hailing distance, but were looking sorrowfully at me who came from the south, the looks of the people who were shouting "national reunification" in great excitement and the pledge to national reunification that was made with the students in north Korea looking down at the undulating Lake Chon on the summit of Mt. Paektu. I shall tell loudly of their will for peaceful reunification, their hopes, emotions and joys.

You cannot really denounce these as being ordered by north Korea.

Secondly, the agreements expressed in the joint declaration of the north-south youth and students were, as the declaration itself shows, not made in accordance with north Korea's reunification policy, but on the principles of independence, peace and great national unity—the three principles of national reunification—already agreed upon in the July 4 North-South Joint Statement. It was agreed that the youth and students should stand in the forefront of the struggle for the country's reunification.

Thirdly, I returned through Phanmunjom not by their orders but on my own strong will.

From the point of view of the north Korean side, my return through Phanmunjom was not in the least profitable for them but liable to incur a loss in diplomatic matters and in their relations with the south, so they objected to my intention. The text of the decision of my case states, as if it were true, that "Rim Su Gyong knew the fact that north Korea made her return through Phanmunjom in order to form a united front with the students in the movement in south Korea and planned an anti-'government' struggle." But when I discussed the matter with Mr. Pak Jong Ryol before my departure from the south, I had made the plan to return through Phanmunjom at any cost and published my plan on my arrival in the north. Because the problem of returning through Phanmunjom was an important and difficult thing as shown at the time of Rev. Mun Ik Hwan's visit to north Korea, I declared my intention in the form of a one-sided notification on the responsibility of Jondaehyop, without discussing it with the north. The north was very embarrassed at

my "open" decision to return through Phanmunjom and their objection was already published.

Which is more important, the diplomatic question on which a reconcilatory atmosphere is being created, north-south relations which cannot be easily achieved or "the planning of an anti-'government' struggle by forming a united front with the students in the movement" can be judged only by common sense. It is nothing but an invented argument aimed at reducing the meaning of my returning through Phanmunjom in defiance of difficulties.

My return through Phanmunjom which is symbolic of national division showed the will for reunification of all youth and students internally and abroad and was also a great act in order to create a turning point in the struggle for national reunification. August 15 is the day when our country was liberated as well as the day which marked the beginning of the disgraceful history of division. On that very day after 45 years I, a young woman of this land who was destined to pull down the wall of division, passed through it to proclaim the beginning of the history of reunifying the country, although neither the government of the north nor the "government" of the south allowed it and also the UNC side of the Armistice Commission did not approve of it.

I would like to say one thing as a person who trod both the northern and southern portions of the Demilitarized Zone. I felt heartsick when I passed them. It was not because the officer of the UN Forces, whom I met first, told me to return to the north again. It was not also because investigators of the

“Security Planning Agency” were waiting for me to arrest me.

When I passed the northern part of the Demilitarized Zone, the slogan “Independent reunification” attracted my attention. Contrary to this, in the southern part of the Demilitarized Zone I noticed a slogan “Let us search for spies and tunnels”.

Even a building in the south bears a sign “For destroying communism.” If I say that the soldiers of the north are trained, seeing the slogan “Independent reunification” and that the soldiers of the south are trained with the aim of searching for spies and tunnels, it would be hasty conclusion. I wish that the word “reunification” could be seen also on the south side of the Demarcation Line.

Fourth, the invented charge that I was instructed to continue an anti-US, anti-“government” struggle reveals none other than their vicious intention to bind me hand and foot by such criminal accusations that I was instructed by the north and implemented it. But I shall fight more proudly and vigorously against US imperialism and for independence, against dictatorship and for democracy and national reunification. As long as the United States puts on pressure for the import of agricultural products, a condition that threatens the right to existence of our peasants while saving their own farmers, and continues to exercise military authority over Korea through the commander of the US forces in Korea who still retains his operational command prerogative, interferes in Korea’s political, economic and military affairs, the anti-US struggle for independence will continue.

We shall also continue to fight to foil the reactionary offensive aimed at wiping out the forces of the national democratic movement, to defeat the pro-US conservative alliance for a long-term office of the present "government" and permanent division of the south and the north and to win democracy.

7. How, then, should reunification be achieved?

The "reunification proposal" of the "government" written in my decision text says that "reunification should be achieved peacefully on the basis of a liberal democracy politically while ensuring the right to have private property and to respect liberty and the initiative of a private economy and enterprises economically". In view of the discussion of reunification now lively under way and of the "reunification proposal" of the "government" which was formulated on August 15 last year, the argument that the method of reunification contrary to that "proposal" should be punished is undesirable, and such a logic infringes upon the principle of peaceful reunification stipulated in the "constitution".

The "reunification proposal", which has been mentioned above, means that north Korea should be absorbed by the system of south Korea.

Though peaceful reunification was mentioned in the last part of the sentence, peace can never be achieved by this method.

Reunification under the one-side system can be possible only when it eliminates the forces that maintain the system of the other side.

The liberation of our country from Japanese imperialism on August 15, 1945, coincided with the tragedy of division. During the 45 years of division,

both sides have set up their own state power and are governed by means of totally different systems.

If the southern people are forced to be reunified under the system of the north, they will refuse it and vice versa.

Under a situation in which distrust, hostility and heterogeneity are at their heights, if one side insists on reunification under its own system, it must eliminate the forces that are opposed to this system, and therefore such a reunification contradicts the proposition of "peaceful reunification".

The "proposal of reunifying the Korean nation" proposed by the "sixth Republic" on August 15 last year put forward the principles of "independence", "peace" and "democracy".

Reunification under a democratic system means reunification under the system of liberal democracy. A policy that refuses to recognize any characteristics of the system of the other side precludes the possibility of any dialogue or approach, still less that of reunification.

This means a retrogression from the July 4 North-South Joint Statement, the gist of which is independence, peace and great national unity, and also from "July 7 declaration" published by Roh Tae Woo himself.

He declared that "if the north gives up its line of reunification by communizing the south and ensures freedom and human rights the south Korean 'government' will also take epoch-making measures".

Asserting reunification under the south Korean system while demanding that the north give up its "line of reunification by communizing the south" is

ironic because under the present situation in which freedom and human rights are totally trampled upon in the south, it is not convincing to demand that the north should ensure freedom and human rights.

If you want to talk about such things with confidence, the present "government" must refrain from making such shameless statements abroad that "in the south there is no political prisoner". They must release all the political prisoners, abolish the "National Security Law" and other anti-reunification, anti-democratic evil laws and ensure democracy in all fields of society.

The world is now freeing itself from the cold war and advancing towards co-existence and co-prosperity.

I advocate reunification under a confederal system which agrees with the rapidly changing world situation.

Various forms of talks are now in progress between the north and the south and dialogue means the meeting of persons and can be effective only when their existence is recognized.

This principle of dialogue gives us the possibility of reunification.

Confederation should be instituted based on the three principles of independence, peace and great national unity.

The principle of independence means that the reunification of our nation should be achieved by the efforts of our nation—the 70 million people in the north and the south, free from foreign interference.

The principle of peace means reunifying the coun-

try peacefully by removing the danger of war and easing tension as a prerequisite to reunification.

The principle of great national unity is to build a reunified state based on national unity, regardless of the differences in ideas and systems and recognizing them.

This is the idea of peaceful reunification that is feasible.

8. Next, about the accusation that "I repeated the propaganda and agitation required by the north Korea's strategy towards south Korea such as the demand for the withdrawal of US troops and nuclear weapons and the abolition of 'National Security Law'".

As far as the withdrawal of US troops and nuclear weapons in south Korea is concerned, cold war tensions have been eased to a considerable extent and, in this context, signs for the relaxation of military tensions on the Korean peninsula are present.

A discussion about the withdrawal of US troops has been regarded as taboo for over 40 years, but now people of all walks of life suggest it. It is reported that even the "government" has operated a "working group for security policy measures" and is discussing the matter officially.

Last January "measures for merger and abolition of US air bases in south Korea" were published by both south Korea and the United States. This attracted public attention to the matter of the withdrawal of US troops by stages. This matter is no longer taboo nor does it constitute the content of propaganda and agitation based on north Korea's strategy towards south Korea.

The same can be said of the conclusion of peace agreement that is proposed by north Korea.

The Armistice Agreement which was concluded between the United States and north Korea on July 27, 1953 includes the stipulation that it should be replaced with a peace agreement. Recently, the "working group for security policy measures" of the "government" has discussed the matter of building up military confidence between the north and south.

Withdrawal of all US troops in south Korea is under official discussion and approaching our nation as the order of the day, along with the trend for peace, the trend against a cold war.

US troops that have been stationed in south Korea for 45 years since liberation from Japanese imperialism still remain here, and all the unequal treaties concluded between south Korea and the United States contain clear stipulations that provide the vested rights to them rather than our people. Under the present circumstances in which the south Korean "government" has to pay for all the expenses of their military stationing and even for individual accidents, they can swagger about all the more.

They have plundered, done violence, raped, fired at blindly, intimidated and even murdered our people. However, their crimes have been excused on the ground that they are "defending our country". This is nonsense.

That they have been stationed to defend us from "the threat of invasion" from the north is an excuse which is no longer convincing. It is high time we amended all the contents of the unequal South Korea-US Administrative Agreement.

Objective data prove that there is scarcely any possibility for the north to invade the south in view of their military strength and trends.

US troops stationed in south Korea are no more necessary for us and they should leave this land.

Next, about the "National Security Law" which is used as an instrument for oppressing the 40 million people in this land.

This law is oppressing innocent people in all spheres of society to such an extent that the present age can be called an age of the omnipotent "National Security Law". It defines the freedom of learning and ideas of students and scholars, the freedom of speech, the exercise of the rights of workers and the freedom of expression of artists which are stipulated in the constitution, as a crime of not informing to the authorities, and defines the freedom of conscience and the north as the enemy. By so doing, it encroaches upon the principles of peaceful reunification.

As long as the "National Security Law" exists, all sorts of talks and contacts which are being conducted between the north and the "government" with the north as an equal party and the "reunification policy" cannot be tolerated and it also makes the judicial officers who use this law suffer between their conscience and positive law.

This law stipulates that "north Korea is an anti-state organization illegally organized for the purpose of claiming the title to 'government' and of rebelling against 'the state'".

"Anti-state organization" is an object to be suppressed, not the other party with which to dialogue

and compromise. However, Red Cross talks, parliamentary talks and sports talks have been held and even now the south indulges in "summit meeting between the north and the south".

This is a clear contradiction.

Since the division of Korea along the 38th parallel, the "Republic of Korea" has never exercised its rule over the north of the 38th parallel. Judging from its policy towards the north, the "National Security Law" is as good as invalid.

Endeavours for patriotism, reunification and democracy must not be punished as a criminal act.

I demand that the "National Security Law" should be abolished and all the innocent people who have been imprisoned by the "National Security Law" and other evil laws be fully released.

It is a disgrace to our nation that the "National Security Law" which was adopted by force in the 1940s still exists in the 1990s.

We must see the fact that the present system is not maintained by the "National Security Law" and the fact that democracy is now destroyed by the abuse and violent use of this law.

The south side should deal with the north with a more magnanimous stand and understand reality objectively while keeping in step with the peaceful trend of the world situation and not by the practice of old times or old policies.

9. I shall dwell now upon the advance publication of the cases of suspects by the "Security Planning Agency" and judgement from public opinion.

In 1989 the "security-oriented rule" was created by the all-mighty "National Security Planning

Agency" and a reptile media.

The "security-oriented rule" was engendered by commercial competition among the media and by the political and ideological connection between power and the media. Under this situation, the attitude of the press in reporting my visit to the north totally ignored my aspiration for reunification and its future and they even denounced my visit as an act against reunification without evidence and reported misleading information without confirmation for the purpose of arousing public opinion.

Needless to say, this was strictly controlled and fabricated by the "Security Planning Agency".

Generally speaking, people remember the first news they hear, and even if the truth is brought to light in the course of a trial they have already lost interest in the matter because a false report has been made. Therefore, they only remember the first news that they heard.

Furthermore, the assessment and viewpoint of the case are presented in such a manner that the judgement of the case by public opinion is tantamount to having already reached a conclusion.

For example, they say that I feigned myself a graduate of high school in order to leave the country, that I made contact in Japan with those who work in the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (Chongryon), that I made a speech in north Korea that was written by the north side, that the joint declaration of youth and students in the north and the south was written by the north side, and that forces in the background wirepulled the Jondaehyop's participation in the festival. These

accusations are preposterous. As for my school career, the travel company undertook all the formalities for the issuance of my passport and my exit for the purpose of saving time. I presented my student certificate in order to buy the air ticket at a reduced price, so why should I deceive my school education?

The report of my contact in Japan is not even worth refuting since I met no one during my 8-days' stay there.

The diagram showing the order system from the Committee of Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland to the "Korean Youth Federation" in the United States, "Reading room of the Korean nation" in Australia, European Democratic Association and Jondaehyop which was published with heavy headlines by the "Security Planning Agency" was not recognized even at the stage of prosecution.

My activities in north Korea were completely open, and overseas Korean and foreign journalists covered the news of my activities. Nevertheless, I was denounced severely by a false report controlled by the "Security Planning Agency".

It is said that only films given by the "SPA" can be televised and not films by foreign news agencies. How these films were edited can be judged by common sense.

The publication of the cases of suspects said that I was brainwashed by the hospitality of north Korea and did as instructed by the north and added childish and crude explanations that I am usually imprudent and have no common sense. This is a clear infringement upon my human rights.

It was also reported that 19 people connected with my case were arrested and that all of them had been closely connected with my visit to the north and had been active in it, but in the trial they were sentenced on charges that had nothing to do with my case.

Three persons including Sin Hyon Gyong, ex-chairwoman of the Girl Students Association of Hanyang University and Yu So Jong were arrested and prosecuted on charges of offering convenience under the "National Security Law" on the pretext that they remitted money to Japan to be used for visiting the north. However, later it was judged that Sin Hyon Gyong and Yu So Jong were innocent.

The "National Security Law" was applied to O Yong Sik, ex-chairman of Jondaehyop under the pretext that he aimed at forming a "research institute of south Korea-US problems", which had not even held an opening ceremony, and Kim Hyon Jang and Mun Bu Sik who were released from 7 years of prison life were arrested again after 7 months and Kim Yong Ae, the wife of Kim Hyon Jang, even miscarried because of her torture by the "Security Planning Agency".

Those who were guessed to be slightly connected with my case were arrested and forced to confess through a cruel investigation. Even when it was found that they had no connection with my visit to the north, still they were accused of other charges and it was exaggerated through the media that many people were connected with me. This was aimed at deceiving the people. Advance announcement of the cases of suspects by the "Security Plan-

ning Agency” is a fraudulent drama to distort the truth and a fabrication to deceive the people and to condemn the national democratic movement forces through the media.

The “Security Planning Agency” is in reality an instrument to repress democratic forces and suppress the masses’ right to live normally by publishing fabricated incidents whenever the tendency towards democracy is increasing. The “SPA” which abuses omnipotent power and is a den of intelligence—politics and operational activities which suppress the elementary rights of the people—must be immediately disbanded.

The media should not work as intended by the present “government”, which thinks that control of the media means secure power, but be honest and frank as a genuine media which represents the will of the masses.

10. Lastly, I shall state why I denied the first trial.

In the first trial, I was sentenced to 10 years’ penal servitude and 10 years’ disqualification under the “National Security Law” because I took part in the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students, which is aimed at solidarity against imperialism, and for peace and friendship, and shouted for national reunification while visiting the north from arriving at the Pyongyang Airport, on June 30 last year to returning to the south through Phanmunjom on August 15 of the same year.

When I returned to the south in spite of all difficulties, I met investigators of the “Security Planning Agency”, not my parents and students of Jon-

daehyop. I was dragged to the Namsan basement by the "SPA" after my stay in a hospital of Seoul University. This was forced upon me in order to prolong my prison life for a disguised investigation.

The investigators forced me to make a false statement day and night and infringed upon my human rights with their wild words and coercive acts.

I was locked up in the basement of "SPA" five days longer than Father Mun who accompanied me through Phanmunjom at the same time.

I was handed over to the public prosecutors' office and was interrogated even on Sundays and till midnight. Such a meaning of psychological burden continued so I have placed relatively great hope on this trial.

Of course, in the trial, my way of life and thinking for 22 years, 45 days stay in the north and the aspiration for reunification of one million students of Jondaehyop, faith and the patriotic decision of the Committee of Catholic Priests for the Realization of Justice could not be judged and I thought that I would not be punished under the "National Security Law", a most evil law, and that I should stand trial honestly in order to bring to light distorted facts and invented charges.

Contrary to my expectations, however, the attitude of the court itself was the violence of those in power.

On the day of the first trial, I was dragged to the judges by prison officers without breakfast before it was time to even wake up. In the course of the trial right-wing organizations and policemen

committed cruel violence to my family and students who demanded a fair trial. An order of custody for 20 days, the longest court term, was issued without hesitation so that the students, who had shouted slogans, were forced to spend the end of the year and New Year's day behind bars, shivering with cold, which was an inhuman sight.

Worse still, the judges ordered the court to be cleared of more than 50 observers at one time and the case was tried in camera. I cannot but think again of the present judicature at the sight of the judges who always took a biased stand.

During my stay in north Korea I got restrained by a framed-up public opinion of the south and on my return back to south Korea I was again suppressed by the publication of the investigation results which were full of fabrications. And even in the court of justice in which I tried to reveal the truth my human rights again got trampled on.

I clarified my rejection of justice to the court judge who did not even know how to follow the basic formal procedure, because I could not stand any longer to see the reunification will of Jondaehyop and of myself, as well as the religious conscience of Father Mun Kyu Hyon who had lived free under trying social conditions, trampled down.

Now all prisons are filled with people who are hogtied by the "National Security Law" and those who the police are searching for are wandering about the whole south.

In order to abolish the "National Security Law" and to hasten even a day of gaining freedom of speech, publication, assembly, association, learning,

ideology and conscience and peaceful reunification, we must reject the "National Security Law" in all its aspects and prove the danger and corruptness of it more objectively, while standing justifiably at the bar.

History may be valued differently according to your point of view, but the truth will inevitably win. This is what history teaches us.

Up to now I have itemized the contradictory and unreasonable contents which convicted me of "crime" in my written arraignment and verdict.

However, what is most important here is to understand what I saw practically and felt, whom I met and with what point of view I approached the north Korean society and citizens there.

In these, I hope the success of my visit to the north and the prospects of the reunification movement will be clarified and my visit to the north will be reassessed.

**"I Cannot Forget My Declaration of
Determination to Reunify the Country
Which I Made on the Top
of Mt. Paektu"**

(The Last Statement of Rim Su Gyong Made at
the Prosecution Trial of the Puppet Seoul
High Court)

With stabbing pains and the sorrow of national

division felt in the very marrow of my bones in the dock, I am going to tell my attitude towards the trial of the so-called "case of Rim Su Gyong's smuggling into the north."

A 200-page-long written arraignment enumerates my "crimes" by applying them to as many as 11 legal laws.

Then I will tell, wondering, how all these can be treated as terrible, criminal acts.

We, one million youth and students of Jondaehyop, wanted to make sure, through participation in the Pyongyang Festival, that the north is really a "living hell" and a bellicose group that seeks, with vigilant hostility, only a chance for a "southward invasion".

Because we could not expect anything from the existing generation who had handed over to us our separated motherland for more than 45 years, because we could not entrust reunification to the "government" which formulated "anti-communism" as the "state policy" and because we could not hand down to our juniors, to the younger brothers the split motherland, we youth and students, united into one, are trying to hasten national reunification on the principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity.

In addition, the resolution to participate in the Pyongyang Festival was adopted in order to have talks with the youth and students the world over about the division and reunification of our nation, to make them realize that our country is one, not two, and to speed up national reunification with our compatriots in the north; and this was an indepen-

dent and original decision of our youth and students.

Nevertheless, the authorities insist on my participation in the festival with a "directive". It is an unpardonable act which defies the reunification desire of the one million students of Jondaehyop, and it is nothing but a poor pretext to brand the festival preparatory committee of Jondaehyop as a negative organization.

The "government's" disallowance for participation labelling the Pyongyang Festival as a "propaganda forum for the anti-US, anti-south Korean political forces" can be said to show clearly the absence of a reunification will of the existing "government" and the deceit of the "President's July 7 special declaration".

At the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students held in Pyongyang in the northern part of our motherland, the youth and students became united so as to build a world free from nuclear weapons and a world free from war, a world for the future of peaceful global communities, instead of a "political propaganda forum", and they intended to shape such a future. Their festival gave wide publicity to our country's reunification since it was held in one part of our divided country with the attendance of many foreigners.

I cannot forget even now our fellow countrymen in the north rushing up to me to catch my hands as if I were their daughter or younger sister who had come from the south, the 70-year-old grandmother who took my hands with tears in her eyes due to the sorrow of being unable to visit her home village

which is within calling distance, the emotional meeting with students in north Korea and the determination to reunify the country I made while looking over the blue waves of Lake Chon on the top of Mt. Paektu.

Under the good name of the "investigation statement", the "Security Planning Agency" made a personal attack on me and created a slandering scheme against me saying that I acted as a "puppet propaganda vanguard" of the north after being brainwashed by the propaganda of the north, but my parents brought me up so well in terms of physical and spiritual quality that I had not envied others at all so why should I be a puppet.

There are some things that I cannot forget like the warm meeting with the students in the north, the bitter grief I felt in the tears of a grandmother who could not visit her home village though it was in hailing distance and the outcry for national reunification we shouted together with many people, not the luxurious car or hotel.

I have been introduced as a "deeply-inclined" leftist and hence the prosecution has used this expression in 6 pages of the written arraignment.

However, even though I don't know what the criteria of "left-consciousness" are, I am like your own sons and daughters and a woman student of this age who was born in a separated land and has grown up commonly with the grief of this separation.

Born in a very modest family, I am a simple student who neither neglected study at school, nor

betrayed my parents, nor neglected religious life and who is still ambitious to become a writer.

I dare to ask you, the noble persons present here, and the existing generation who handed down to us the 45-year-long separation of our country:

Is the north really an "anti-state organization" or a national community? What makes us exist in utter confusion?

In my opinion an "anti-state organization" means a target to be overthrown by physical forces and it must not be recognized.

Then, why does the "President" insist on a "summit talk"?

On August 15 last I walked across Phanmunjom, which contains our nation's lamentation and tears of bitter grief, together with Father Mun Kyu Hyon who is sitting beside me.

As I crossed the Military Demarcation Line, the separation wall made of cement, after one step, the man I first met on the southern side was a major of the "UN forces". And strictly speaking he shouted at us with a megaphone.

"You are now illegally coming to the south. Go back to the north at once."

Showing him my passport and my citizen card I said, "I am a national of the 'Republic of Korea' and a Seoul citizen. Why should I go back to the north?" And two kilometres away to south from that point, at the end of the "UN forces'" guarding area, that major shouted again.

"I am telling you again. You can go back to the north even now, otherwise, if you take one step more, you will be arrested and taken into custody."

Upon hearing these words, I felt pains as if the sky had fallen down.

“Whose land is it I am now standing on?” Apparently I had walked down to the south of the Military Demarcation Line and so I must be free there, but a step more will make me not free and will put me under arrest. Then where on earth am I standing? Whose land is this really?

As you see, how can they declare the northern part to be the “governing area” and use the expression of “anti-state organization” when even the southern part of the Military Demarcation Line exists out of their reach?

The successive “governments” enforced the “National Security Law” for the security of the “government”.

As I understand the “National Security Law” stipulates as follows:

“‘The communist collective of north Korea’ is an illegally-organized anti-state organization which claims title to ‘government’ and aims at insurrection.”

I don’t think such a provision is right.

I think the “National Security Law” of our times has been used up to now as a means of oppression upon the national, democratic movement forces, rather than a means of oppression by positive law.

I refute the punishment on me according to the “National Security Law”, and do not recognize my “crimes”.

Today we meet the day of the 19th year of Martyr Jon Thae Il’s burning to death, so I feel even more innocent.

On this morning I had been drawn by force to stand court as a "prisoner" whose human rights have been ruthlessly trampled down, instead of being a defendant.

And even at this moment a large number of youth are bleeding before the altar of democratization and reunification of this land and are even sacrificing their lives of their own accord. Thinking of them, I, though worthless, am also going to sacrifice myself on that altar.

Concluding my speech, I hope that this trial is aimed not at punishing me for my "criminal acts" but at becoming a chance for examining and announcing whose purpose is the question of our reunification and whether it should be achieved. Taking this opportunity, I speak by asking you to strive to make my trial an occasion to realize the dream to build a reunified country in which the 70 million north and south Koreans will really become one.

"I Want to Be a Daughter of a Reunified Motherland"

(The Last Statement of Rim Su Gyong Made at the Prosecution Trial of the Puppet Seoul High Court)

The "South-North exchange through one channel" the "government" is talking about is a typical exam-

ple of its tricky policy on reunification. The "Exchange through one channel" now in enforcement is a policy to check exchanges and it is one of the new ruling methods to permit exclusively non-political exchanges which suit the intentions of the "government".

It is nothing more than the old deceptive tactics of the Park Chung Hee or Chun Doo Hwan "regimes" which formulated anti-communism as their "state policy" and restricted any exchanges between the north and south, in principle.

Owing to the reunification fervour of the nation, they are obliged to advocate reunification talks and exchanges between the north and south, but Roh Tae Woo "regime" which stands for anti-reunification is a "regime" which cannot carry out those reunification policies.

As for the possibility of a "southward invasion" by the north, it was proved a long time ago to be groundless according to a scientific analysis.

The military expenditure rate of the south and north is four to one, that is to say, the south is as much as four times stronger and it is armed with up-to-date equipment. Moreover, more than 40,000 US troops are stationed in south Korea and they have over 1,000 nuclear weapons. The whole world regards disarmament and the building of the peaceful structure as the best way to exist and so a peaceful atmosphere is now being created for these goals. In the present situation armed provocation may be equivalent to a fool dashing into a fire with gasoline on his back. This notwithstanding, they continue to make baseless statements that the

north is still dreaming of "a wild design to communize the south by troops", and "making desperate preparations for war"; this is nothing but a curse with which the present "regime" tries to rationalize its oppressive domination and to justify the south Korea-US military exercises including "Team Spirit" training which they practise to support the aggressive nature of the United States. Such an anachronist advocacy is accepted only as an incredible thing.

Without a settlement to the political and military issues in which a sharp conflict is now occurring between the north and south, any kind of exchange or contact will end in a single round.

I insist on an immediate abolition of the "National Security Law" which has been used as an oppressive means in this separation age.

Under the reckless enforcement of the "National Security Law" real security is not guaranteed, but instead democracy is being destroyed by means of violence.

They have adopted a policy directly contrary to the "National Security Law" while binding the reunification will of the popular masses to the outdated "National Security Law" so as to oppress them. This shows in itself how deceitful and unreliable is the reunification policy which they have put forward.

If the "President's July 7 special declaration" and "one-nation community reunification policy" of the "sixth Republic" are to win public confidence, they must completely abolish the "National Security Law" which stipulates that the north is the enemy,

ease the military tension for the acceleration of peaceful reunification, guarantee independent exchange and release immediately all the conscientious prisoners confined in jail. Talking by the present "regime" about "peaceful reunification" without fulfilling all these conditions first is nothing but a disclosure that it is deceiving the people and is against reunification.

The current "government", which suppresses the reunification movement by making use of the "National Security Law" while talking about "peaceful reunification" only in word, is a "regime" which has neither the reunification will nor the ability to reunify from its existence. It is an anti-reunification, anti-popular "government" that freezes the division so as to preserve its own vested rights.

As long as the "National Security Law" exists any talks about reunification will not advance or else will not be permitted.

The north can be no longer stipulated as an "enemy". The 70 million people of the north and south are companions who advance together towards reunification, and the north is a national community, not an "anti-state organization". The northern part of the country where I have been is not a "living hell" in which the people are groaning under forced labour and starvation. The popular masses are leading peaceful and content lives. I did not see there one beggar, nor a speculator dreaming of making a fortune at one stroke, nor a capitalist who regards the blood and sweat of the workers as objects of exploitation. The livelihood of the peasants is not threatened by the indiscreet import of liber-

alization. No exam hell, difficulty of employment, pornographic literature and flesh traffic could be found there. The popular masses are provided with housing, medical treatment and education free of charge, are working hard and leading happy lives without any food shortages and living without being interested in things belonging to other people.

Now we must accept the north open-mindedly. We must not unconditionally reject the north simply at the mention of it, worn out by the anti-communism and anti-northern ideology, but advance honestly, hand in hand.

We must be companions going ahead together for the reunification of the country.

On last May 19 the opening ceremony of the fourth-term National Council of Student Representatives (Jondaehyop), an iron-willed organization for national salvation, took place at Jonnam University in Kwangju, the town of light which was meeting the 10th year of the Kwangju Uprising. It is said that, despite the strict police blockade 50,000 students assembled in Jonnam University, Kwangju.

In spite of the public peace investigation authorities' plot of alienating Jondaehyop from the people by branding the former as a "force instigated by the north" or "violent force", it, as a representative organization of the youth and students in south Korea, both in name and reality, has been struggling for 4 years for independence, democracy and the reunification of the country. Jondaehyop is in no way a "group benefitting the enemy" against the will of the people and one million students. It will, in the van of the struggle led by the youth and

students, fight on stoutly in defiance of any suppression and schemes until it overthrows the pro-US "government" and builds a society in which the popular masses become the masters, until it reunifies the country on the principles of independence, peace and great national unity. The more the suppression of Jondaehyop increases, the more vigorously our combatants will fight, just as steel gets harder when it is tempered. Availing myself of this opportunity, I heartily congratulate the opening ceremony of the fourth-term Jondaehyop and wish it will develop into a prouder organization.

On the other hand, I express my deep regret over the death of a fellow student Sin Jang Ho, a member of the general student council in the Ryongin and Songnam areas, who on his way to Kwangju to participate in the opening ceremony of Jondaehyop leapt from a train in order to avoid inspection and search by the police and died an honourable death. I also express my condolences to the widowed mother and family of the late Sin Jang Ho, who might have wept bitterly at the sudden death of him.

Mothers of this land have had to shed too many tears. I, too, may be a disobedient daughter to my parents.

But I think my parents did not want me to lead a life full of idleness, submission and egoism in this land.

My father and mother who come to the Seoul prison every day to see me for less than ten minutes, I wish you would not weep any more. You know better than anyone else that it is not because I committed a crime that I stand in this court, don't you?

I want to be a daughter of a reunified motherland as well as yours. And not only I but also all the one million youth and students in Jondaehyop aspiring to national reunification are your children.

We intend to present never-to-be-wilted carnations of independence, democracy and reunification to my parents and also to a large number of those who have their children, living for the motherland, in prisons and to the parents of this land who have experienced the death of their children who devoted their youth to the altar of the motherland and nation.

The participation of Jondaehyop in the Pyongyang Festival let us know the essence of the deceitful "one-channel contact" and approach reunification quickly by creating a breakthrough in the independent exchange.

In addition to this, through the falsehood of reunification policy of Roh Tae Woo "regime" we clarified who really does not want reunification and, by bringing the true nature of the "National Security Law" into relief in an all-round way, put its abolition under wide discussion. Through the festival participation we declared honestly to the world's youth that our country is one and hence won their active support and solidarity.

In particular, the agreement on the "Joint Declaration of Youth and Students in the North and South for the Independent and Peaceful Reunification of the Country" can be said to be a very great success.

This will be an important cornerstone in the future reunification movement and we will conduct the struggle for national reunification based on the

principles of eight articles agreed upon in the joint declaration. Amidst the interest of all the people the northern part is regarded as the land to be reunified, without fail, instead of a restricted land where one cannot go. Although the present situation is unfavourable, a hundred times more pleasure compared to the pain we are now suffering will eventually come to us. Therefore, we must never feel lonely or weak, but preserve a resolute attitude and fight on bravely until we meet again on the road of struggle.

Following the several senior martyrs who have died for true independence of this land in the past, the spirit of Kwangju, murdered brutally by military troops just ten years ago and a large number of the seniors who have conducted ceaseless struggles against the successive dictatorial "governments", I, though worthless, will sacrifice myself on the altar of our country.

Let us all advance on and on vigorously towards the emotional day of the reunification of our motherland, holding high the banner of independence, peace and great national unity.

"I Cannot Accept Punishment by the 'National Security Law' "

(The Last Statement of Rim Su Gyong Made
at the Prosecution Trial of the
Puppet Seoul High Court)

I deem it necessary to tell you first of all by what

process I had to go through to stand in this court.

As all of you already know, I stand here to disclose the truth of the enforcement of the terrible "National Security Law" against me for the only reason that I participated in the Pyongyang Festival and shouted for the reunification of the country all the time from my arrival at the Pyongyang Airport, on June 30 last till returning to the south via Phanmunjom on August 15.

On the very day I left Phanmunjom on August 15 last, those waiting for me were the investigators of the "Security Planning Agency" (SPA), not my parents and family, and not my fellow students.

The first thing they did was to confine me in a small room and start searching my body from tip to toe.

Then they transferred me to the Seoul University Hospital but it was not a hospital. It was just like the underground inquiry section of the "SPA." They kept an eye on every movement I made with a camera even following me into the toilet. I was never allowed to go outside or to look out of the window. This was a cunning tactic to disguise the investigation so as to extend the duration of detention.

Two days later I was moved to the Namsan basement of the "SPA" and there I was forced to undergo a more severe investigation.

Day and night I was molested by several investigators without getting any sleep and had to spend days in terror because of their unmentionable insulting remarks and acts.

After I was sent to the Seoul prison, the psy-

chological burden was never removed because of the continuous investigation by prosecutors.

Black-listed now at the Seoul prison, every movement of mine was being recorded and watched, and my human rights downtrodden. That's why I have relatively great hope on this trial.

As I have already said in previous statements, I attend this trial with the expectation that this trial will aim not only at punishing me for my individual actions applicable to so-called "criminal acts" but also at correctly examining the main issue, the problem of our country's reunification, and how it should be decided, and with the expectation that 70 million Koreans in the north and the south will be united into one so as to become the foundation of a one-nation community.

Since the trial is now under way, it is my opinion that the attitude of the court authorities, shown from the beginning, is the violence of those in power and this is far from my expectations.

At the first public trial I was dragged out of bed without even having breakfast.

By mobilizing the right-wing police the court authorities committed acts of merciless violence on the students who demanded a fair trial and issued an intolerable order to put them in prison for the maximum number of days which is hard to understand.

In addition, they issued an order to more than 50 students to leave the court at one time and, in the end, went as far as to refuse attendance.

I cannot help thinking of the phase of the present "Ministry of Justice".

I know very well that many "incidents" fabricated in the past were all tried in an anti-democratic way.

The looks of the families present in the fraudulent trials who were serving as best men or bridesmaids so as to make public that "the case was decided at a public trial, not a secret one" were similar to the looks of my family and a number of priests and nuns, so I think.

My parents, who come to the Seoul prison every day only to see me for less than five minutes, calling my name even on Sundays in front of the gate of the Seoul prison before returning home, cannot serve as a best man or a bridesmaid at this fascist trial which plays the hypocrite of a public trial.

This trial cannot sentence my way of living and consciousness formed in the last twenty-two years, as well as the reunification desire of the one million students in Jondaehyop, on the religious belief and patriotic unity of many priests of the Committee of Catholic Priests for the Realization of Justice.

However, I have done my best to keep attending this trial with the intention of disclosing the truth which has been distorted and concealed.

After seeing the various attitudes of the court authorities, I have come to understand many things.

I have realized how foolish and futile I have been to try to clear up the truth in front of these court authorities who have such attitudes.

I want to demand.

I strongly demand that the "Ministry of Justice" judge the right and the wrong, standing on the side of the real masses as a stick for the popular masses.

I cannot accept the punishment meted out by the

“National Security Law” so long as I am not guaranteed democracy and the freedom of speech, publication, assembly, association and ideology.

Moreover, I cannot undergo this trial by the present judge because he does not know how to prepare for even the minimum formal acts.

I hope I have made these things clear.

“Justice Will Inevitably Win”

(Part of the Last Statement of Rim Su Gyong
Made at the Prosecution Trial of the
Puppet Seoul High Court)

At the first trial I was sentenced to ten years of penal servitude but at the second trial the prosecutors demanded 15 years, which is five years more than the first.

I don't care how long the punishment may be, whether it is ten years or fifteen years. It does not matter to me at all because I clearly know that the reunification aspirations of the one million students in Jondaehyop, the triumphant success achieved in the reunification movement, as well as the religious beliefs and patriotic decision of the priests of the Committee of Catholic Priests for the Realization of Justice cannot be judged by the procedures of only a few trials in a court.

I don't feel any need to refute the contents of the wilfully written indictment by the prosecutor

which has no scientific evidence and the text of the verdict made at the first trial that copied the indictment just as it was and declared me guilty.

If they had confidence in the maintenance of law and order and the contents of the verdict, they would not have refused admission into the "Republic of Korea" of An Tong Il, a Korean journalist in the United States and Rev. Jong Ki Ryol of the University of Maryland who were selected as witnesses in this trial.

All this means they themselves are disclosing the pure fabrication of this trial. In the case of Rev. Jong Ki Ryol, in particular, it is evident. According to my arraignment he is stipulated as "the man who received orders from the north". So, refusing his entrance into the south, despite his insistence of coming to the south and making the truth clear by giving evidence, shows of course that the incident itself is a frame-up.

Rev. Jong Ki Ryol is one of those who kept close eyes on me during my stay in north Korea, discussing matters together with me, while promoting the "International March for Peace and Reunification of Korea". He accompanied me not only during the period of the march for peace but also during the hunger strike at the Thongil House in the northern area of Phanmunjom and the treatment in the Pyongyang Hospital for Foreigners. On August 15 last year, he personally came to Phanmunjom to see off Father Mun Kyu Hyon and me.

Journalist An Tong Il is the man who covered my participation in the Pyongyang Festival and other activities from my arrival in Pyongyang on

June 30. His writings were contributed to monthly magazines and published in pamphlets.

You can have access to the practical truth through the evidence of third persons who observed my conduct in the 'north' from my arrival in Pyongyang till my return via Phanmunjom from an objective viewpoint, instead of recognizing the contents of the prosecutor's written indictment which has no scientific evidence. Nevertheless, the "government" refused to issue them visas. I wonder what they were afraid of.

Both of them are US citizens, and journalist An Tong Il paid a visit to south Korea only two months ago. In spite of this, the refusal of issuing visas to them shows clearly that the "government" has no intention of disclosing the exact truth of this matter and is afraid of doing it.

As mentioned above, the trial has been conducted with the sober truth hidden. But because I had confidence in the advance towards a reunified country and trust in my fellow countrymen bearing repeated anguish and human suffering, I accepted with gladness single participation in the Pyongyang Festival as a delegate of Jondaehyop, so now I shall accept any kind of punishment gladly.

Because I believe that the shameless will of the youth and students towards reunification and the historical significance of the reunification movement will be assessed correctly and that I, a common student, made a small contribution to the reconciliation and unity of the nation, I will be glad to accept a worse punishment than ten years' in prison.

I am firmly convinced that history and common

people will not condemn the reunification will of Jondaehyop and mine, nor the religious belief and the patriotic decision of the priests of the Committee of Catholic Priests for the Realization of Justice, and even now when I stand in this court I know my mind will not change.

The youth and students of this land have too much to do. A society where oppression, exploitation and injustice are rampant is pointing a sharp knife at the people who call for freedom, equality and justice. The cold wind of the murderous "security-oriented rule" is blowing on our people but our youth and students will not have their spirit damped, nor will they fall back. They know too well the historical lesson that justice wins inevitably.

You Can Bind Her Body but You Cannot Destroy Her Hope for Reunification

Letters and diaries are materials which show the inner world and dignity of individuals.

The letters of Rim Su Gyong written in prison to one million students in Jondaehyop, her family and relatives impart to all of them her assured conviction of the eventual reunification of the country and kindle the fire of encouraging them to carry on the struggle.

Although she is staying in a tiny cell the space of which is less than 3 square metres and in which even sunshine is hardly admitted and seeing the sky as small as her own palm through an iron-barred window, no force can dampen the hope of Rim Su Gyong for reunification, since she keeps on living more gallantly.

Since she is prepared to sacrifice herself in order to put an end to the tragedy of division and for the country, she sings songs, full of confidence, in the same way that she expressed her thoughts earnestly by requesting her motherland not to forgive her if she were to fear the enemy's bullets. Today, as well as tomorrow.

Overcoming the agony of a divided country,

*Let's sing clear now.
Reunification is not only our wish
And reunification is the only way for our
survival.*

*Even if my body is to be torn apart to get my
divided country to become one,
I'll advance proudly to have my body torn to
pieces.
Long live the struggle for reunification!*

I Wish to Be a Support for My Motherland

(Letters Sent to Fellow Students in
the North from Prison)

Spring

In spring, at the news that a male acquaintance had arrived in the north, stipulated as the land of taboo, I fancied a forthcoming meeting with fellow students in the north and the future of a unified country. I did not think that this year would pass frozenly in the cold wave of the "security-oriented rule" which coincided with the patriotic visit to the north by Rev. Mun Ik Hwan who has lived for democracy and reunification for 70 years. With indignation stirred up in my heart I asked myself what I should do, in this period of anguish, for the divided country.

Summer

In summer, I left Seoul, feeling as if I were stepping on thin ice. I did not feel warmth even in the scorching sun. A full ten days later I also stepped on prohibited land following his foot prints towards reunification. Yes, I realized. The north which is the other side over the barbed wire, can no longer be a land of taboo. Besides this, that summer was hot there. It began getting hotter along with the shouts for national reunification and the affirmation of one nation. When I crossed the Military Demarcation Line at Phanmunjom, full of our nation's grudges and sorrow, I felt the heat at its zenith. I decided not to have this grudge, sorrow and wrath repeated or passed on so I bit my lips.

Autumn

In autumn, I spent more than 20 days in an underground cell which seemed to be far longer than the 22 years that I had lived, and it was too dreadful to look back on again.

When I was allowed to see the sky again after ending my life in that cell, I noticed that the season had already changed. Going from the Seoul prison to the infamous building of the prosecutors' office in Sochodong which has been stained with the blood, sweat and sorrow of the people, I, in a grey prison uniform and bound with red strings, was escorted

everyday, and saw the fallen leaves rolling and the wrinkled faces of peasants harvesting rice.

A fantastically fabricated "incident" was made public.

Winter

In winter, the first snow fell beyond the cold iron-barred window. But this winter is not cold. Though my body is confined in a solitary cell as wide as 3 square metres, my mind is always among my fellow students and in the struggle. I do not feel cold in the court where I writhe to prove the truth or even in the prison isolated by high, grey walls. The cold wave of the "security-oriented rule" has not yet ceased but I will overcome this winter for I hear great outcries for national reunification being raised that are warmer than ever before.

And on New Year's Day

And on New Year's Day, the phrase New Year's Day is accompanied by a word of hope.

In the hopeful new year I wish myself to become a support for the future unified country. I greet the New Year's Day hoping that the phrase "the hope of a New Year is national reunification" is no longer heard but that Korea becomes one. I am not sure how many new years I should greet before I am released into the world. I send my conviction of victory and warm New Year greetings to the conscientious

convicts throughout the southern part of the country who hardly have a bowl of rice-cake soup and to the comrades who are being searched for by the police, who are still walking along a chilly morning road. I send my love which never cools down to my fellow students in the north with whom I go hand in hand for reunification, to my overseas compatriots who dedicate their youth and lives in memory of the motherland and to 70 million brothers in the north and the south who will become one in the end. By doing this I am going to begin New Year's Day.

Ushering in the first year of the 1990s which will achieve true liberation, I sing in a high tone:

*Overcoming the agony of a divided country,
Let's sing clear now.*

Reunification is not only our wish.

*And reunification is the only way for our
survival.*

*Even if my body is to be torn apart to get my
divided country to become one,*

*I'll advance proudly to have my body torn to
pieces.*

Long live the struggle for reunification!

National Reunification Is Not a Dream but a Forthcoming Reality

(Letter Sent by Rim Su Gyong to Fellow
Students from Prison)

Dear one million fellow students in Jondaehyop, I am Rim Su Gyong who, on behalf of you, met the one million students in the north and shared with them the ardent desire of all our youth and students for reunification before coming back home.

Looking down at Lake Chon, the students in the north and from the south who have already merged into one shouted the slogan; "Let's go together to Mt. Halla from Mt. Paektu and again to Mt. Paektu from Mt. Halla, and let's meet each other all over the Korean peninsula!", instead of the slogans, "Let's go to the north! Come to the south! Let's meet at Phanmunjom!"

Jondaehyop, the steel-like organization of national salvation, always has a place in the hearts of a million students in the north, and our song "March of Jondaehyop" has become a song that the youth and students in the north and south sing.

By enrolling Martyrs Ri Han Ryol and Pak Jong Chol as honorary students at Kim Il Sung University, and Martyrs Nam Thae Hyon and Pak Hye Jong at Kim Hyong Jik University of Education and many other martyrs who had passed away for the sake of independence against US imperialism and of the

reunification of the country at their universities and colleges, they brought their desks in the first row of their classes, put their cards on them, kept their textbooks and notebooks open there and wrote their names in the first places of the roll books as if they were alive, and studied together with them.

In such a way the fellow students in the north constantly think of the students in the south and are longing for national reunification, and I conveyed the reunification will of a million students in Jondaehyop to them. The brothers of alien nations who participated in the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students and the International March for Peace and Reunification of Korea considered that ours is really one nation and one state, not two countries. No one can deny or hinder the oneness of the north and the south.

On historic August 15 of the 45th year of longing for reunification, I crossed the Military Demarcation Line at Phanmunjom and came back to the southern part of the country with elation and joy and, on the other hand, with sorrow caused by the approaching tragedy of a divided country, and with the promise to meet again at the warm reunification plaza with every part of the northern half of the motherland and its brothers and a million students to which or whom I had become attached. But what had awaited me here was the outcome of an investigation of an incident fabricated by the "Security Planning Agency", which is the stooge of a dictatorial "government", a trial of public opinion and prison.

At the news of you, my fellow students in Jondaehyop who are unyieldingly fighting against

the hard suppression, I am living on firmly always believing in you.

My dear fellow students, let's march on and on to greet a new day of reunification linking Mts. Paektu and Halla always thinking of the students in the north and achieving national reunification by 1995 at least, though you may feel it difficult to live in the present situation.

There is hanging a motto "Independent Reunification!" in the north side of Phanmunjom and a watchword "Let's find tunnels and catch spies!" at the entrance to the south side of Phanmunjom. When you have witnessed a 240-km-long high reinforced concrete wall built at great expense with concrete bars and cement along the MDL on the south in the Demilitarized Zone at the time of the Chun Doo Hwan "regime", what do you think is the mission of the youth and students?

We should pull down the concrete wall, the symbol of division, take the barbed wire away and boldly criticize the anti-reunification policy of the present "government" so as to show clearly our determination to build a unified country on the principles of independence, peace and great national unity.

A unified country in the future is not a dream but an approaching reality, and it is near at hand. Let's promise a determined struggle by each one of us, while looking forward to reunion with you, the proud students in Jondaehyop.

October in the 45th year of
wishing for reunification

The Truth Never Alters

(Letter Sent by Rim Su Gyong from Prison
to New University Students)

I warmly congratulate you on passing your entrance exams. I also congratulate you on your admission which will come soon.

It is the present situation that the teachers' aspirations for a national, democratic, and human education against the "government security-oriented education" which is infected with the ideology of anti-communism and anti-north have been trampled down by the assault of the Paekkol Corps, and our life has become hopeless and many people are locked in prisons. So the significance of your entrance is all the more fresh to me. You will all have to be excited by the pass in exams with a regrettable mind for the dying friends and your old parents getting old. You should also accept the pass by feeling a sense of responsibility to bring back to the rostrum the love of teachers who have left for a true education. So you should make up for the disenchantment and fulfil your responsibility for history.

The mission of students who have lived as masters of the 1990s is not to lead a life only to study and to be regulated by calculated relations with other people, so I think. We, the makers of history,

should look squarely at every aspect of stark reality with modesty.

As a senior of the university though I have only a little experience, I would like to talk to you that you should feel the agony of the motherland and rise against it. This is what I really want to say though I cannot congratulate you personally on your entrance.

You must live on in this dark situation of our times where you will have too much work to do and so you may feel utterly exhausted sometimes. Try to look back on the past 1980s. Don't forget the Kwangju Uprising smeared with the blood of thousands of young people, and the many youth who laid down their lives or were forced into prisons, those who burned themselves to death, and others who were victims of tear gas or of torture. We must terminate the murderous security-oriented rule.

We had known that the brothers in the north with whom we shared the same blood, had red faces. Now we should observe the facts with our own eyes open. If we reverse the history of violations of the "Law of Maintenance of Public Order" in the days of Japanese imperialist rule it becomes the very history of our independence movement. It is the same case with the time and place we live in. The incidents against the present "National Security Law" naturally make up a history of our just, national movement for democracy.

A history varies with people according to their different points of view but the truth never alters. In addition, truth always emerges victorious. This is an instruction that history has given to us.

You must love your university. You should form true human relations between yourselves and make yourselves presentable to history and the masses.

I congratulate you again on your chance to open eyes towards a new history.

January 8 in the 46th year of
wishing for reunification

We Will All Declare Ourselves Not Guilty

(Letter to the Inauguration Meeting of
the Fourth-Term Jondaehyop)

I am looking up at the May sky.

It looks as though the scowling sky is stained with blood and the spirits of martyrs, unable to close their eyes, wander thru the sky of the divided motherland and look down at this land. Our sky remains unchanged during the last 10 years. However, the mark of red blood is getting thicker and the souls of martyrs only increase.

Our land, too, has not changed at all, compared to that of 10 years ago. On this land there are still those who are living by selling the nation and seeking only their own greedy interests, and in which the present slaughterers in power are trampling down the people, and a handful of monopoly plutocracy are making wicked smiles while having the

workers' demand of or elementary rights to existence crushed. This land is still bound around its waist by the barbed wire of the frozen Military Demarcation Line which has existed in tears and indignation. Nevertheless, the masses of people no longer remain silent even though they are watching history repeat itself. They can never forgive this any longer. It is very important. If there is something that has changed since that day ten years ago, it is the breath of the awakened popular masses. It is the students' struggle that has cast a ray of light on this land during these days of a dark age. Today, on a day in May, I send my unstinted praise and cheers to you, my fellow students, who have defended and developed the rock-firm ranks of national salvation without allowing any kind of disorder. Silence will never be kept this May which began with the raids of the riot police on the Hyondae Heavy Industry Co. Ltd. and the "KBS". This May which greets the tenth year of the Kwangju Uprising will be filled up with the roars erupted from every nook and corner of the south on the Korean peninsula.

In these circumstances we should encourage one another not to be ashamed of ourselves before the noble spirit of our slain brothers. I believe that our ranks which started from the origin of light, an eternal, holy place, will be united even more compactly like steel, and I pay my utmost respect to, put my trust in, and send my greetings of pleasure to you.

Unlike the former days when I took confident strides hearing congratulatory speeches and festive songs together with the senior students, I can do

nothing but extend congratulatory greetings justifiably. The destination of the students who have to keep on living in this dark age is none other than a front line or prison because we have already started in the same direction.

Yesterday, I stood at the bar. My fellow students whom I met at the large court No. 417 of the Seoul Criminal District Court, gave me constant, fresh encouragement. You, the chairman of Jondaehyop, fought the regime so I met you in court. Though I was wearing the number card of a prisoner on my breast and in a prison uniform, I still felt a boundless trust and comradeship in your warm handshake. As long as we are with fellow students, we are not lonely at any time or in any place. Although we are forced to stand in court, bound in red rope, we are already free people.

The jury of the power elite shall of course convict us of crimes but we will all declare ourselves innocent with pride in the court of history and the nation.

Under the sky of Kwangju where the spirits of martyrs are still wandering the students carry the consciousness of history. So, let us swear to stand in the van of the struggle for history and the people. I will keep pace with you wholeheartedly, the fourth sail of the steel-hard ranks of national salvation.

May in the 46th year of
wishing for reunification

Because We Are Not Alone...

(Rim Su Gyong's Letter to the Newly-Appointed
Chairman of the General Students'
Council of Sogang University)

How are you?

It's an afternoon in November when I still feel cold from the wind. I write this letter after hearing the good news.

I think you must have had a lot of trouble and made great efforts. But I reckon it to be a start for us who have a great deal of work to do. We shall come up against lots of more difficulties but will rise up with confidence because we are not alone. I firmly believe that my every word and act will be absorbed by the river of history if I follow the footsteps of forerunners with the attitude of advance and more advance and continuous renovation.

In a month and a few days this year will expire.

In the new year, let us try to build a true world in which we will not repeat a tragedy by taking many arduous and difficult days in the '80s as lessons.

It is my eternal hope to lead a modest life, a life of sacrificing myself without hesitation.

As I have failed to lead such a life, I am learning a lot here.

Because I yearn for the outside world and my fellow students, I have affection for and entertain

expectations of myself and try hard to fill in what I lack.

The greater the happiness is, the greater the effort is to obtain it so sometimes a word of frustration may visit me. But let us always keep in our hearts the words of conviction and victory.

Do your best for your parents. It is also an important job for us to win our intimate people over to our side.

For the sake of mother's happy smile.

Congratulations to you from the bottom of my heart.

November 10 in the 45th year of
wishing for reunification
Rim Su Gyong

**I Am Deeply Grateful to Those Who
Are beside Me during This Most
Difficult Time...**

(Rim Su Gyong's Letters to Her Parents)

To My Dear Mama and Papa

It is autumn and the sky appears only to be getting bluer and bluer through prison bars.

It is embarrassing for me to know of the change of seasons without really seeing them.

An indictment will be brought against me this

afternoon. It seems to be nearly finishing this 50-day-long investigation which was sickening to me.

I have a firm belief in the righteousness, justice, and truth of my fellow students so I shall never abandon them.

I am not sure what kind of crime will be convicted against me but it is obvious that it will be little different from what has been investigated by the "Security Planning Agency". They don't want to lose face and only by exaggerating this incident to the maximum, by whatever means, can they win.

In a few months I will have a nephew or niece but shall not see his or her face.

You must be careful because they will keep a watch on our house. Dear sister, you, particularly.

Mama and papa, you must have worried about me a lot. I am sad at the thought that you have to spend sleepless nights because of your youngest daughter. I am dying to see my friends and even more the members of my family. Part of this letter might be expunged, I think.

I congratulate you, my father, on your birthday.

October 6

My Dear Mother,

I am bored to death during the holidays here. It's because I am forced to be detained in a cell of a little more than three square metres. I have been here only for a month but I feel as if I have been living here for a long time. It's not as difficult as I expected it to be to live here.

I love the time of morning exercises the most.

It's a short time for me to be released from confinement. In that time I can shout as much as I like and look up at the blue sky though being encircled with high walls and wires.

Dear mama, I wish that you would become stronger in spirit. Whenever I turn away after seeing you in tears, I become sad too. Think that you have sent your difficult, youngest one to the army for about three years or to a faraway foreign country to study.

I am fortunate in having many good people around me.

I read an article by Rev. Mun Ik Hwan in the morning paper. Though sentenced to imprisonment for ten years, he has been dauntless in trying to tell what he meant, disregarding the penalty given by the court.

There is little difference in the publication of the investigation by the "Ministry of Justice" and the "Security Planning Agency" which act as henchmen of the present "government", compared to the written arraignment of the prosecutors because all they want to do is to impose "undesirable crimes" on me in order to secure their "justness" in their own way.

They can never stand on our side.

If you pin any hope on them, you had better discard it.

I miss my friends very much. If my friends in the university call you, tell them that I am missing them very much. About 40 of them visited me on last Friday but did not see me, since I had gone to the public prosecutors' office.

Other prisoners of conscience conveyed me the

songs my friends had sung and the slogans they had shouted.

Dear mother, this youngest daughter continues to trouble you because I am charged with at least seven kinds of false "crimes". After I get free, I will do my daughterly duties as much as a hundred times, though my sister told me to do them only twice.

Mama, don't worry about me because I am quite well. I wish you to get along very, very well.

October 9.
Sincerely yours,
Su Gyong

To My Mama and Papa on My Twenty-First Birthday

It is dimmer here in this tiny space under the sky of November. It drizzled until last night.

These days I sit up till late at night preparing for the trial. I saw a picture of Father Mun Kyu Hyon in the morning paper.

Since the concurrent examination was accepted, the burden on me has become much lighter. I am forever grateful to him. Yesterday the junior students brought me a birthday cake and I found tears running down my face upon returning to my cell. I could neither light the candles nor blow them out nor cut the cake....

I had a meaningful celebration of my twenty-first birthday.

I had a nice "banquet" even here, though not rich

in goods and dishes, but it was made of affection and sincerity.

I really thought a great deal. My birthday in this cold cell meant greater happiness and indignation than the other usual one.

Why do I remain here, what suppresses me here? Though my body is caged in a jail, my soul is freer than anybody else's.

My heart aches at the thought that my mama must be grieving over me on my birthday.

Nowadays I give you my parents a time of tears and sighs. However, my dear mama and papa, you know well that your youngest daughter has not betrayed your expectations, and that I am always with you in mind, don't you?

No one is more grateful than those who stay beside a sufferer in a most difficult situation. Convey my best regards and thanks to my fellow students and professors, to persons who give me lots of help, and to many fathers and nuns who pray for me at all times.

I think in these days you, mother and sister, in particular, must be very busy, but you should not forget that you must live while carrying much wrath in your hearts. Words of love, reconciliation and forgiveness are unnecessary for the henchmen.

I know today is the first anniversary of my brother's wedding. I was very sorry for my failure to contribute to his wedding last year... I cannot imagine my brother becoming a papa soon.

I hope that you mama and papa will live in a cheerful mood, and ask you sister to collect more material for me although it is hard for you. I wish

my new sister good health, and goodbye to all. Excuse my untidy handwriting.

November 8
Sincerely yours
Su Gyong

To Mama and Papa

It snowed in the morning.

It was just on the way going to meet my lawyer when I could get snowed on. It has ceased now.

I think that now there is a lot of gossip due to a series of incidents in the court. However, you do not need to be nervous about them. As I have told you, I want you always to live in a dignified manner in any place and at any time.

Anyway my case had been decided prior to the procedures of the "trial". I expect you to remain exemplary to many observers, rather than to retreat a step back and look about.

How much you will have to worry about me in the future....

One word of your encouragement for my friends and fellow students will become inspiring strength to them. That my junior students are beaten and dragged away is precisely what I myself have to suffer. You must brace up. I don't want discord to occur in my family because of such a trivial happening.

I will soon be able to go to school while performing my daughterly duty to my parents. I think until

then you will have many things to worry about and lots of troubles. Please endure to the end persistently thinking of your pretty youngest daughter.

December 7
Sincerely yours
Su Gyong

Bloom All Over, You the "Flower of Reunification"!

The lofty patriotic devotion and reunification will of Rim Su Gyong who is dedicating herself to reunification greatly impress all her fellow countrymen and a large number of people the world over who love peace.

Speaking highly of her visit to Pyongyang and of her making a breakthrough in the wall of division by her patriotic deeds, many people are joining together in their solidarity with her struggle in court and prison and striving hard to obtain her release.

Loud cheers are shouted and wild applause is evoked, coloured strips of paper and confetti are thrown, the chorus of the song "Our Wish Is Reunification", as well as shouts of the slogans, "Abolition of the 'National Security Law'" and "National Reunification" are heard whenever Rim Su Gyong enters the court and this makes the fascist clique shudder.

Voices of solidarity sent from all over the world and the encouragement and praises of her fellow students and famous persons of all strata of society towards the righteous struggle of Rim Su Gyong are precisely the wishes of her compatriots for reunification and an expression of intense love for and trust in her who has left a big impression in realizing reunification.

In this affection and confidence, Rim Su Gyong, the "flower of reunification", will always be in full bloom, stronger and even more beautiful.

Letters sent by the German female writer Luise Rinser, people of different strata in south Korea, and her fellow students in Jondaehyop in praise of Rim Su Gyong, as well as questions and answers and the memoirs of Im Jong Sok, the former chairman of Jondaehyop, and a letter from Jon Mun Hwan, the former chairman of the Jondaehyop preparatory committee for the Pyongyang Festival, are introduced here.

"I Will Always Stand on Your Side"

(Letter to Rim Su Gyong from
Luise Rinser, Germany)

To Rim Su Gyong in Pyongyang

Dear Su Gyong,

I cannot calm down my surging excitement at the news of your just deed.

Sending you my regards, full of admiration, I express my conviction that I shall always stand on your side.

How proud of you I am for your decision, so courageous for a girl!

Your deed will be recorded on a glorious page of

history in the name of all the women and youth of
Korea.

Yours always,
Luise Rinser
July 5, 1989
In Rome

The Most Beautiful Flower in the World

*You have trodden the same path
As Paekbom (Kim Ku's nickname) once tra-
velled for reunification.
How beautiful you are!
You are the flower
Which cannot be found in other parts of the
world.*

Mun Ik Hwan
in prison

“Release Rim Su Gyong!”— This Is a Chorus of the Nation

Paek Ki Wan

Reading an article written by Rim Su Gyong,
who returned home from Pyongyang, on my way

to Ulsan by train to give a lecture at a workers' gathering to be held there, tears streamed down my face before I became aware of it.

I was moved to tears by her account, appreciating it as an epic poem, her account that she had visited the north "in order to promote peace for mankind and national reconciliation, remove the 45-year-long confrontation, restore the homogeneity of the nation, and finally contribute to the reunification of the country by taking part in the Pyongyang Festival as a member of the youth and students who are the hardcore of the anti-imperialist, peace forces and the motive force for the building of a reunified country" (from her letter of appeal) and her account that she had done it not at the instigation of others but exclusively from an independent and national stand, showed that she had challenged the big barrier of division, tearing down to pieces everything which was available in these days of division, allowing only independence to exist.

If we can say that the touching events of the liberation struggle, mounting against the brutal suppression, are an epic from an artistic view, then nobody can deny that the current, daring enterprise of Miss Rim is the greatest epic since the August 15 event. I hold that the reckless act of arresting the heroine of this epic by abusing the "positive law" is a traitorous act which is destroying the high spirit of our nation.

The train was still running, but Miss Rim's story made me meditate more deeply. In the Kumgang Mountains or at Mt. Paektu, and wherever she went, the people of the north approached her eagerly just

to touch her hands once, and there were many moments of emotional excitement when she was nearly swallowed by the sea of people.

I felt that the train was going northward, though it was really running southward, so I stood up several times only to sit down again, and wiped away the tears streaming down.

You have won anyway, Miss Rim! You are in prison now, but you should know that the prison bars before you have already been broken. It is because you have already liberated yourself, and become an iconoclast who is realizing this in the struggle for reunification. Your letter of appeal will probably move innumerable people to tears, when it is published. And it will make all of them aware of what a great and noble work the struggle for reunification is.

“Release Rim Su Gyong!”—this is immediately the chorus of our nation.

Good health to Su Gyong who is challenging the barrier of national division.

Rim Su Gyong, Her Sincerity and Truth

(An Article by Kim Jong Gyun, a Professor of
the University of Foreign Studies)

What is the truth of Rim Su Gyong? It is reunification. If we betray, deny, blame or accuse her

purity, her spirit and her courage of a young woman, we will be punished by history. Courage becomes a sword against hypocrisy and a standard in front of the truth. Purity will remain as it is at any time and at any place.

Her truth is, secondly, also reunification. She is aspiring after becoming one; she is never clamouring for reunification through "communization" or by the "Republic of Korea." Rim Su Gyong was a lion and a tiger with an unfathomable passion who tried in the van to reunify the country. No one should try to use her case as a means for prolonging the "regime" or as an instrument of political strife.

The truth of Rim Su Gyong was nothing but reunification. Making the nation one was everything to her. She meditated in a sincere desire to make the nation one instead of talking about ideals and slogans, separated from many complicated relations and she thought this all over and acted as a real human being should. Is this not a true academic life of a student who pursues the truth?

We should not betray Rim Su Gyong, nor should we forget her. We should not make any "charge" against her, either. Some day reunification will come because our desire is reunification as we say. I firmly believe that our desire will surely be met and she will be remembered by us as a pillar of reunification.

Our country has been divided by outsiders, but we must reunify it by our own efforts.

On this late autumn and early winter day when the year is drawing to an end I am standing in the courtyard looking at the leaves falling from the trees, desolately. If there was something to sprout

as on spring days, breaking the falling leaves of the maple tree which have piled up one after another like the events of a year, then that would be a new life.

A seed with life must sprout and grow up in a blessed place. We cannot plunge into despair as long as we yearn for the rising moon while looking at the setting sun. A nation which cultivates spring even in winter shall never perish.

Su Gyong Taught Mothers That Reunification Is Their Task

(An Article by Ri Hyo Jae, the Chairwoman
of the Federation of Women's Unions)

“I want to live in a reunified homeland, mother.” This is what our daughter Su Gyong cried out. Nay, it is a cry of our sons and daughters, all those of the rising generation which she represents.

This cry arouses the national conscience of the preceding generation which has been hardened just like the barrier along the Demarcation Line.

Su Gyong and her generation blame themselves for national indignation and shame caused by the country's division and keenly feel the pain of the nation as their own.

Writhing in agony, they challenged the abnormal state of the territory which is under threat as a base for a nuclear war and the abnormal state that the

consciousness of division prevails, and stepped forward as the vanguard of reunification to make the divided territory into one.

Su Gyong made a firm resolve to her motherland that she would sacrifice her heart and soul "on the altar of the nation as a student of divided country for the independence of this country which is suppressed by outside forces, for democracy which is groaning under the repression of a dictatorship and for the unity of her compatriots suffering from division." And she put this into practice.

She went to Pyongyang in order to ascertain that the compatriots in the north and south are from the same stock and brothers, though they have lived with the feeling of retaliation and confrontation, hatred and distrust for over 40 years. She returned crossing the Military Demarcation Line in order to declare to the world that Koreans are the real masters of this country divided by US troops and to clarify the determination of the rising generation to break through the division and reunify the country by peaceful means.

Seeing the beautiful scenery of Lake Chon on Mt. Paektu she felt in her bones the misery of the Korean peninsula and the sufferings of her compatriots and cherished a hope for the future. "What is that blue water of Lake Chon cherishing? Mt. Paektu which has been guarding the life of the nation commanding a view of the whole peninsula and our history which has been intertwined with all sorts of hardships and misery—this is what the Lake Chon apparently cherishes, all this sorrow and anger. How happy we will be if our minds become as blue as the

water of the Lake Chon abandoning self-interest and greed which have maintained national division!”

Su Gyong’s national conscience reflects the depth and beauty of Lake Chon in our minds.

I once saw a video-recording of Su Gyong and Father Mun Kyu Hyon crossing the Military Demarcation Line, a recording by the Committee of Catholic Priests for the Realization of Justice. I cannot forget her peaceful image walking with Father Mun over the Military Demarcation Line of national grudge under the scorching sun of a midsummer day on August 15, 1989, not minding the close observance of the GIs.

Both of them were walking at a light pace through the US army barracks in which a bloody atmosphere prevailed. After passing through the barracks, Su Gyong turned around and raised both of her arms towards the north, as if shouting “Long Live National Reunification!” It was a gesture of victory over the division tied to the cold war. That ecstasy of victory was immediately distorted and suppressed by the “National Security Law” and the “security-oriented rule,” but she is full of confidence in victory.

Nevertheless, in her last statement at the second trial she said that she was accepting the heavy penalty with pleasure.

The efforts their sons and daughters are making with full confidence in reunification of the nation and their ardent love for their compatriots will make mothers join in the struggle for one nation. She is awakening us to the idea that reunification is a task for mothers.

Because she is proud of becoming “a daughter

of a reunified nation," Su Gyong is shouting at court and behind bars that the south and north is one, calling on all mothers to become mothers of one nation. She teaches us that the women of this land are the driving force of the reunification movement.

June 25 the 46th year of
wishing for reunification

Su Gyong Seen from the Visitors' Gallery

(An Article by Father Jang Yong Ju)

Frankly speaking, we worried about Su Gyong, because she was too young and looked fragile. But her commanding, resolute posture at the court relieved us from anxiety in an instant. Her quiet and clear answers to the cross-examination of the prosecutor were enough to stir the audience, though the examination was so severe as to arouse anger and disgust from those attending the trial. It was a disgraceful scene where the prosecutor, who was defending the unjustifiable power, was punished by the conscience of the stainless, younger generation.

Looking at Su Gyong standing for trial, I felt that she was not standing trial but that the anachronistic behaviour of the present rulers, who are hell-bent for preserving the "regime" masquerading under the cloak of "security" was on trial.

When I saw Su Gyong, who had shown such an admirable willpower in court though she looked fragile, I felt I would rather directly face her than observe her indirectly in court.

At the first sight of her I could hardly believe my eyes. Is this pure, innocent young girl Su Gyong? Her looks and behaviour were quite different from her dignified and mature countenance in court.

I realized in a flash that such dual characteristics of a human being were not caused by any hypocrisy or contradiction.

I remembered the fairy tale *A Naked King*. A king wore nothing over his body, but no one dared to say he was naked except a child who said without hesitation what he saw, "The king is naked."

We can learn much and discover beauty and truth from the pure mind and innocent behaviour of children. Their minds are so pure that they can judge what is meant and they are so able to discover what is right and wrong that they have the courage to criticize what is wrong without hesitation. As she was so innocent like children, Su Gyong could achieve an unimaginably great success in the work for our nation. She has such a pure mind that she had the courage to accuse the preceding generation of evils produced by the unjust social structure.

There are innumerable meetings in a man's life and some meetings are as swift as the wind while other meetings remain in the memory for a long time. Apparently my meeting with Su Gyong will remain in my memory forever.

Nobody Will Trample upon the "Flower of Reunification"

(An Article by Im Jong Sok, the Former
Chairman of Jondaehyop)

There was a long hesitation before we decided to take part in the Pyongyang Festival. We were fearful because we thought it might be framed up as an "event of spies." Therefore we worried that it might provide an excuse for oppression.

It took us many days to decide the question, considering it again and again, sometimes being sceptical and at last biting our lips. After long mental agony we made a decision "to go to Pyongyang."

We made a grim resolve to devote even the last drop of our blood, of hot-headed young people, if we could hasten the day of reunification even by a minute or a second. With such a resolution our delegate Rim Su Gyong whom our one million students are proud of, started on a short yet long-distance journey. And at last she came into full bloom as the "flower of reunification" under the sky of our northern part. How glad I was at that time! And how many tears did I shed!

Our Delegate Rim Su Gyong was truly dignified and proud. She shouted, danced and sang of reunification. She devoted her soul and body entirely to disseminating reunification. I thought in secret how

would I have behaved if I were her. I found myself unequal to the task in many ways. Without such sincerity no one can imitate it.

In her phrase the homeland appealed to us to expose the split plot and reunify the country, and with her fist it appealed to clear the dark sky of oppression and open up the sky for reunification. The youth and students from 180 countries must have imagined the reunification of the Korean peninsula seeing that our Delegate Rim Su Gyong was so full of confidence. Koreans that are 70 million in the north and the south must have confirmed that they want reunification with each other and felt brotherhood with the help of Rim Su Gyong.

The moment Delegate Rim Su Gyong trod the land of the north and south at the same time, crossing the Military Demarcation Line in a step, our country became one and the Military Demarcation Line was no longer an unconquerable boundary.

“Ah, ha! It is so simple!”

“Oh! That’s it!”

I am not growing sentimental now. To change the confrontation structure into a peace structure and develop an all-out open-door policy and free travel, is the road towards reunification. This is what Delegate Rim Su Gyong shouted at the top of her voice and personally put into effect.

But our Delegate Rim Su Gyong, who regards reunification as her whole life, is now living under a sky which is torn to pieces by iron bars instead of a reunified sky.

August 15, the 45th year of wishing for reunification! The history of the country will remember

that day. And, I cannot forget that day forever for another reason. I can never forget the lamentation and indignation of the day when our innocent girl Rim was handcuffed. The distress of that day cut me to the quick even at this moment, the distress in which we were forced to hand her over to the "SPA", our comrade who had returned with a great stride of reunification, breaking the promise we had made to welcome her with the cheers of one million students. The American soldier who had waved her to go back, the "regime" that put Rim Su Gyong into a cold prison and its stooges, I hate all of them. I will fight against them, because they are the ringleaders who hinder the reunification.

I believe firmly in history.

History never knows the fact that injustice defeated justice. We will win. Now that all our countrymen are entering into action with a consciousness of being masters, the success of reunification is very optimistic.

Delegate Rim Su Gyong said, "Reunification is not a dream but a reality in the near future." That is right. Reunification will be achieved in the near future.

I will never beg the "regime" to release Delegate Rim Su Gyong, because I am convinced of the desire of my 40 million countrymen for reunification. The general situation has already changed in favour of reunification. The victory of reunification over the anti-reunification forces is unshakable. Rim's aspiration for reunification which lets her live full of vitality even in the area of a prison that covers only 3 square metres proves this. It shows that who-

ever has cherished the hope for reunification is free wherever he or she is. We can confirm this once again in the letter of appeal of Delegate Rim Su Gyong. Reading one word after another and one sentence after another, her resolve will become my own before I am aware of it and we will face an atmosphere of reunification wherever we are. "Nobody will trample upon the flower of reunification blooming here."

I miss you, dear Rim! I wish you good health.

In Yongdungpho prison
July, the 46th year of
wishing to be one

Prison Interview with Su Gyong

(An Article by Kang Mi Suk, Chairwoman of
the General Association of Students in
Seoul Women's University)

Delegate Rim Su Gyong moved our hearts and gave us great hope and courage through her participation in the Pyongyang Festival! Whoever lives on this land may want to see her. I, too, wanted to see what kind of woman she is and what the north, which is also our homeland, looks like. I wanted to meet her and ask how prison life is, holding her hands tightly.

Before the trial the students in "the general as-

sociation of students in Seoul" (Sochongryon) gave publicity to the correctness of Miss Rim's participation in the Pyongyang Festival and launched a struggle to meet Rim in prison with a view to abolishing the "security-oriented rule" and releasing Delegate Rim.

In this struggle I was chosen to have a prison interview with Rim as a delegate of the Sochongryon.

On November 8, I at last left for the Seoul prison.

I felt deep down in my soul indignation at this society which has imprisoned and made false charges against those who had fought for the independence, democracy and reunification of the country. Clenching my fists, I made up my mind to fight more devotedly in order to build a democratic society.

The first meeting with Delegate Rim Su Gyong!

When I entered the interview room with my heart throbbing, Delegate Rim and her mother seemed to be very happy as if they had met after a long separation. I understood that she was indeed very glad to see her mother for the first time after returning from the north. Her image was as fresh as the morning dew and as warm as the spring's sunshine. Another impression I received was that she was beautiful, taking after her mother. She sustained a clear and bright look like an infant child. When I asked her how prison life was, she answered that she was well. She expressed her worry about her comrades outside saying that they might go through hard times in the cold season. She went on to say that she was busy preparing for the trial

and she liked the song *Road to Patriotism*.

She approached me, who was worrying about her prison life, smiling with joy full of hopes of 70 million people and said jokingly: "There is a vacancy, so you may come in." In her easy and graceful attitude I perceived her strong will, the will of a lion for reunification whose youth and lifetime confidence were linked with reunification, and I appreciated the meaning of the saying "Every inch of the colonized country is in prison", and I felt my heart rent. Su Gyong's mother grasped my hands with joy. Her every word showed that she was proud of her daughter. Delegate Rim talked warmly with her mother always with a bright smile on her face.

Looking at her mother, who had overcome many difficulties facing the cruel oppression of the Roh Tae Woo "regime", similar to steel tempered in hot flames and by hammering, I then realized how steel is tempered.

Her resolution to share her misfortune not only with her daughter but also with one million students, not limiting her worries only to her daughter, was clearly visible in her every gesture like thick dregs in water.

Unexpectedly Gorky's novel *Mother* flashed across my mind, so I felt Rim's mother becoming familiar to me like the mother in Gorky's novel. Meeting time flew by very fast. Parting from each other, we saw tears swelling up in our eyes. Wishing Rim good health, I made up my mind to fight more energetically so as to release her and abolish the "security-oriented rule."

Such a strong will and conviction, with which

she always wore a bright smile even in prison made me believe that Delegate Rim was the “flower of reunification” and “angel of reunification.”

Delegate Rim made great strides in the struggle of national reunification and will remain forever in our hearts.

I shall do my share in the fight to realize her return to her one-million students and her family, who will embrace her, so as to satisfy all those who want to see her in the streets or in the middle of the struggle.

Representing the sonorous voice of one million students whose minds are together with Delegate Rim, here I would like to sing vigorously the song *Road to Patriotism*, Rim’s favourite song.

*Born in a colonized fatherland,
If I have anything to do for my nation
Though I live a day on this land,
It is to drive the Yankees out.
Oh, following the martyrs fallen unknown
On the great road to liberation
I’ll be the first to rise up and fight.
Singing and helping each other
I will follow the only road to patriotism
Long live the anti-US, national salvation
struggle!*

I Promise You Sister That I Shall Be an Honourable Son of the Fatherland

(An Article by Ju Hyong, a Student of
a High School)

When I think of you sister who is overcoming a cold prison life with a heart burning with a thirsty desire for reunification, I blame myself writing cards in a warm atmosphere.

Today, I listened on TV to the news about the arrest of Brother Im Jong Sok, the former chairman of Jondaehyop. At the news of his arrest, a man who has been known as "Im Kil Tong" (named after Hong Kil Tong, a legendary man in an old Korean tale—Tr.) among our students, I feel something vacant as well as indignation. Why are many brothers and sisters who truly love our fatherland and nation suppressed and forsaken in this society?

I am a first-year student of a high school. What makes me, a mere novice, become angry?

Sister, I was deeply moved when I saw you on TV, when you arrived in Pyongyang, first of all because you were the first south Korean student to set foot on the soil of the north and, secondly because our women are taking a big share as a driving force which is socially active in our nation's

history.

When the "indignation meeting of Kwanggohyop to crush suppression" was held a few weeks ago, I bought a celluloid board on which your picture and Chairman Im Jong Sok were printed. Written on it were the mottos "Let us release Rim Su Gyong, the flower of reunification through struggle" and "Let us defend Jondaehyop, the iron ranks of national salvation, at the cost of our lives."

Sister, a little more patience and I shall do my best to release you even though I may not be capable of doing it.

Sister, you must remember that you are backed by the students and patriotic people of the south and the north. You are a sister of all of us and an honourable daughter of our fatherland. Someday I want to hear the story about your visit to Pyongyang and your participation in the Pyongyang Festival.

I promise you sister that I shall be an honourable son of our fatherland.

I wish you good health.

You sister are the flower of reunification who can show your face proudly under the sky of our fatherland.

High school student Ju Hyong

The Bright Face of My Youngest Daughter that I Saw in the Interview Room

(An Article by Kim Jong Un,
Rim Su Gyong's Mother)

Yesterday I went to the Seoul prison to see Su Gyong. Her face that I saw through the glass partition of the interview room was always bright. When I entered the interview room she was rather concerned about my health and asked me, "Mother, why is your face all drawn?"

I was moved to tears by her concern about me when she was saying that she could not help me out of my difficulties because she was in prison, but I should tell her everything without eating my heart out.

She must feel cold and lonely on such a day...

I felt proud yet uneasy about her when she was facing me with a bright smile lest her family or outsiders should worry about her. Apparently it is an unavoidable fact that I feel heartsick as her mother whenever I see her returning to her cell after the prison interview of the fixed seven minutes, though I meet her almost every day. I feel the same whenever I look round the room which Su Gyong had lived in.

There remains Su Gyong's well-thumbed books

and her pictures just like before in her empty room after she left home last June 21, saying that she would make a tour of the south coast for a week and return home. Whenever I see her pictures in her school days or turn over the leaves of her books, tears swell up in my eyes. My daughter had been praised in the neighbourhood for she was tender-hearted, good at studying and talented. Why should such a nice girl stay in a chilly cell even now without being able to return home?

On June 30 when the news about Su Gyong's participation in the Pyongyang Festival became known and journalists rushed in, I was surprised. When she left home ten days ago for journey to the south coast after taking one hundred thousand *won* from me, I could not imagine, even in a dream, that she would go to Pyongyang via Tokyo and Berlin.

Have you really gone to Pyongyang alone without fear? On that day I could not believe such an extraordinary event.

However, the girl student who appeared on TV was none other than my daughter Su Gyong. Watching my daughter who was saying in a sonorous voice before a crowd of Pyongyang citizens, "I am Rim Su Gyong, a fourth-year student of the French department of the University of Foreign Studies in south Korea," I trembled for fear. The news about Su Gyong who took part in the Pyongyang Festival as a representative of Jondaehyop were carried in newspapers and appeared on TV every day.

Some time later, a letter which Su Gyong had written to our family before leaving the south was

delivered to me through Jondaehyop. I felt heartsick thinking about her who apparently left a letter without giving any hint directly to me after distressing herself for several days.

Why should my honourable daughter be accused?

In the days which I spent listening to the news about Su Gyong's activities in the north, I felt as if I were treading on thin ice.

I found my comfort, even with a little joy, when I heard the news that a representative of the Committee of Catholic Priests for the Realization of Justice had arrived in the north to accompany Su Gyong when returning home.

Father Mun decided by himself to practise asceticism to help Su Gyong.

In the meantime another news report gave me a great shock. Su Gyong fell into a faint, exhausted while going on a hunger strike to achieve her return home through Phanmunjom. At this news I wept loudly afraid of not seeing her again. I bit my lips thinking that I shall die if Su Gyong dies. And at the news that she recovered, I shed tears of joy grasping my eldest daughter's hands, feeling as if a lost child had revived. "Un Gyong, let's brace up. We have to eat our fill and maintain our health."

Immediately after she returned home, accompanied by Father Mun Kyu Hyon through the Military Demarcation Line of Phanmunjom on last August 15, Su Gyong was arrested and delivered to the investigation bureau and afterwards imprisoned in the Seoul prison.

I had been a mere housewife who managed a household and supported three children, but I reali-

zed many things, when going to the prison alternately with my eldest daughter and attending every trial.

When she said proudly in court, "If I am guilty, it is because I visited Pyongyang with an enthusiastic desire that our fatherland should be one," I realized that her words were not empty talk.

Is it right that the "government" which clarified in its "July 7 declaration" that the north is no longer the enemy but a national community, threw a visitor to the north into prison and forces a girl in her prime to serve a prison term, in the days when a criminal who murdered many people is released by amnesty and enjoys freedom?

My daughter who had shouted in Pyongyang, "I hate a divided country, our fatherland is one", is now locked up in a small cell of three square metres wearing a grey prison uniform.

Parents love their children no matter whether he or she is handsome or ugly. So, how painful can a mother be to see her daughter accused of a "felony" by the "law"?

The anguish seems to dry up all my blood and make tears stay in the bottom of my heart, but I can say proudly to everyone that Su Gyong is my honourable daughter and someday everybody will understand that she loves our country more than anyone else.

I Shall Tread the Thorny Path with a Smile

(Extract from a Journalist's Interview with
Im Jong Sok, the Former Chairman
of Jondaehyop)

Question: What is your impression of greeting August 15 in the underground?

Answer: Due to Rim Su Gyong's returning home via Phanmunjom, my feeling with regard to the 45th year of division was unusual. My heart is throbbing at the thought of the fact that she made a breakthrough in the wall of division and passed it treading my land from the north to the south with only the wish for reunification in her mind.

Question: If Miss Rim were in front of you now, what would you say first?

Answer: I might hold her hands in mine for a good while or hug her.... I think tears of emotion might be running down my face first of all.

I would say wonderful. The greatest success gained by Rim Su Gyong at the Pyongyang Festival was that, under the grave situation in which the "two Koreas" plot was being made, she declared in plain terms to the youth and students from 180 countries, who will shoulder the future, that the 70 million Korean people in the north and the south

did not want division and that "Korea is one" as well as the fact that she conveyed the message calling upon the world's peace-loving people to strive for peace and reunification of Korea. I would like also to speak highly of the fact that she conveyed the south Korean people's desire for reunification to our fellow countrymen in the north and, feeling the ardour for reunification of our compatriots in the north in every fibre of her being, she confirmed at first hand that our nation in the north and the south desires reunification.

Question: What was the original plan of Jondaehyop about the method of Miss Rim's return home?

Answer: After we dispatched Miss Rim Jondaehyop made it clear that "she should return home through Phanmunjom at any cost, not through a third country." This was decided before dispatching her.

Miss Rim had promised that "she would come back through Phanmunjom treading the soil of our own land."

Her determination to realize it without fail was firm.

Question: What was the reason for Miss Rim's forcing her way through Phanmunjom in defiance of the authorities' strict ban and at the risk of her personal safety?

Answer: That was the first action of its kind in the 45-year-long division and a token of our will to put an end to the history of division.

Miss Rim's passage through Phanmunjom clearly showed that, in order to bring peace to the Korean peninsula at an early date, the Armistice Agreement which is aggravating tension must be changed into a peace agreement so as to ease the tension. It was a confirmation of our nation's concern about division and reunification.

Question: In connection with Miss Rim's visit to the north the authorities regard the policy-makers office of Jondaehyop and its "preparatory committee for the Pyongyang Festival" as "hardcore elements" and as "backgrounds" and is now concentrating on investigation of these organizations. What is the role of the policy-makers office and how are important policies decided?

Answer: The policy-makers office is a part of the formal structure of Jondaehyop. It might have been explained in the collection of material about Jondaehyop the government has already secured.

This system has been in operation since last year. So it is an ignorant act to call it "the backgrounds."

Question: The authorities seemed to suspect a "delivery of directives" from the north or to find a relationship with anti-government organizations overseas in the course of dispatching Miss Rim to the north. Would you please make this matter clear?

Answer: It is already well-known that Jondaehyop had exerted much effort to participate in the Pyongyang Festival.

From the outset we made preparations to participate in it and it was strongly opinionated among us that someone had to be sent there. When we were looking for an appropriate person Miss Rim volunteered. There were ample conditions for our independent judgement and decision and no need to receive a "directive."

We had received no help from a dissident organization overseas.

Question: Why do you think you are suspected of having "received directives" from the north? Have you done anything that gives the authorities any evidence for thinking this way?

Answer: I think the authorities take issue with my telephone conversation with the north. I had three calls in all with them. On June 21 I was called on the phone and asked if we could take part in the "Vienna Meeting." I answered it might be difficult although we made preparations.

When I had hung up the phone I remembered that I did not say when I would call next time. So I rang up the next day and promised to make a phone call on the 24th. During the phone call on that day they told me in turn with an emotional voice to take part in the Pyongyang Festival without fail, and then I, choked with emotion, told them that I would do so without fail.

Question: Do you think the words and acts of Miss Rim as the delegate of Jondaehyop in the north correctly spoke for the interests and policy of Jondaehyop?

Answer: She correctly spoke for our one million students' will of reunification and their attitude towards reunification. I am proud of her independent and honest attitude, though some of the media was not.

Question: What is the historic significance of the "joint declaration of the youth and students in the north and the south" published on the occasion of the Pyongyang Festival?

Answer: It was very important that an agreement was reached on struggling for the signing of a peace agreement and the adoption of a non-aggression declaration and on making 1995 the year of reunification. I consider that the declaration of the youth and students of the north and the south has laid a new foundation for the future of the reunification movement.

Question: Can you say that the declaration represents what has been discussed by the youth and students in the south about the matter of reunification?

Answer: The signing of a peace agreement, the adoption of a non-aggression declaration, disarmament, opposition to a "two Koreas" policy and the establishment of a reunified state based on a confederation manifested in the declaration are the common views of our youth and students.

Question: What is the difference between the doctrine of reunification proposed by Jondaehyop and that pursued by the "government" and the con-

federation of Koryo proposed by the north? Would you explain the difference in detail?

Answer: A unified, confederated state proposed in the declaration means one nation, one state and two systems. But the "union of systems" pursued by the present "government" means one nation, two states and two systems.

This is proved by "cross recognition" and "separate entry into the UN" pursued by the present "government". The policy of getting the north and south recognized as different states by the major powers is not a reunification policy but a policy of division.

Question: On the occasion of Miss Rim's participation in the Pyongyang Festival the "government" suspects Jondaehyop as a "leftist pro-communist" organization and is concentrating on destroying it. The "government" has issued orders to search the students involved, after declaring the "preparatory committee for the Pyongyang Festival" under Jondaehyop as an "organization that benefits the enemy". What was your necessity to send a delegate bearing all those burdens and also I want to know whether your arrangement was well-timed.

Answer: Jondaehyop has spared no effort to create a new epoch in the reunification of our country ever since 1988. But all those efforts failed because of the non-cooperative attitude and obstruction by the United States and the "Roh regime."

The basic objective of the dispatch of Delegate Rim Su Gyong was to clear the north and the south of antagonism and distrust and open wide the door

of independent exchange and dialogue for reunification by realizing the participation of Jondaehyop in the Pyongyang Festival.

It is not because of the dispatch of Delegate Rim Su Gyong that tension between the north and south has grown worse and that the wind of "public security" is blowing. The "Roh regime" which is going against the trend of national reunification is to blame for it.

Question: Many people are interested in the view of Jondaehyop regarding the north. What is your view of the north?

Answer: The north regards socialism as a social principle but what is more important is that it is half of one nation and half of the land that should be one and the same. If we raise the matter of hostile relationships or insist that we cannot live together just because of the differences in ideologies and systems, it is as good as giving up reunification.

Only when we have the viewpoint that we are one and the same nation can we end the state of confrontation and pave the way to reunification.

Question: A movement to acquire a correct understanding of the north has been in progress centring on universities for a few years now and it is gradually spreading. What is the basic purpose of it and what success do you think you have gained in that movement?

Answer: The basic purpose of it is, as the name says, to get to know the actual situation in the north. For 45 years since the division of the country

we have been pestered with the blind propaganda of anti-communism. That movement has helped us to get slowly out of the mire of anti-communism.

The movement should take a step forward. We need a movement which can give us systematic knowledge of all social aspects of the north, more than just, partial or fragmentary information, that is, of the principles that govern the whole of northern society, history and their outlook on reunification.

Question: Has Jondaehyop any intention to send delegations for "cultural exchange" or "tourist groups" if the "government" gives a formal approval?

Answer: First, my conclusion on this question is that Jondaehyop will surely consent to even non-political exchanges. The most important thing in north-south relations at the moment is to put an end to the state of political and military confrontation. We cannot have a dialogue with an open heart so long as both sides keep their guns levelled at each other. Non-political exchanges can achieve genuine success only when they coincide with efforts to put an end to such confrontation. Therefore, non-political exchanges should be made along with efforts to find solutions to political and military problems. Non-political exchanges between the north and south shall ascertain each other's situation and will to reunification and thus promote their reconciliation and unity and their efforts to end the political and military confrontation. It is the basic policy of Jondaehyop that efforts should be made to solve poli-

tical and military questions peacefully and, at the same time, non-political exchanges should be encouraged.

Question: In which direction do you expect the reunification movement to develop?

Answer: What is essential for the future of the reunification movement is that this movement should develop on a mass basis. The June 10 struggle and the struggle for north-south students' talks on August 15 last year (1988) were limited to students and other young people in the front ranks.

I think the task of putting the reunification movement on a mass basis is a task that was not fulfilled in the '88 and the '89 but must be carried out by all means.

Question: You are well aware that you are wanted by the police on charges of violation of the "rules on assembly and demonstration" and of violation of the "National Security Law". Which of your words and acts do you think have brought such a charge against you?

Answer: All the assertions for independence, democracy and reunification are violations of the "National Security Law" and all the actions that displease the "government" authorities are violations of the "rules on assembly and demonstration." This is our reality at present.

It is, in fact, difficult to enumerate all the accusations that I have violated such wicked laws.

Question: If you think it unjust to be under police search, what is your reason?

Answer: The search instruction itself is unjust. The present "National Security Law" seems to have been enacted to define fellow countrymen as "enemies" and persecute blindly those people who have different ideas and ideals. This law is wicked anti-human law that not only goes against the interest of the nation but also oppresses even the elementary right of freedom, the conscience of human beings.

Question: Jongyojo (National Labour Union of Teachers) is one of the most pressing matters awaiting settlement at present. How does Jondaehyop plan to deal with it in the future?

Answer: I think the establishment of a just educational policy geared to independence, democracy and reunification is the task of the whole nation, because through education is realized the ignorant policy of defining the people in the north as enemies and burying the popular masses in fabricated logic.

The defence of Jongyojo will be an important struggle to destroy the anti-communist and anti-north ideology.

With the opening of the school season I shall organize a full-scale solidarity struggle.

Question: Last but not least, I am interested in what you are thinking, Chairman Im, at this moment.

Answer: I am sorry I have not fulfilled the duty entrusted to me by one million fellow students.

I feel like a bird in a cage.

Counting on my fingers I am waiting for the day when I can work with my one million fellow students.

“Long Live the Proud Struggle for National Reunification!”

(Extract from the Diary of the Chairman of
Jondaehyop Which Has Been Carried in the
South Korean Monthly Journal *Mal*)

July 1

Eighteen hours in a cave were a very long time, indeed.

Sitting up all night in a cold and dank place which was so narrow that one could hardly stretch one's legs, I and my chief made a decision.

We pledged not to be captured and to wreak our friends' vengeance a thousand fold when we got out of the cave.

After many thoughts, I came out with my schoolmates with the intention of breaking the siege.

At last we rushed out with a great roar. All of the group of chairmen and most of my schoolmates succeeded in escape by way of a lightning breakthrough.

I could hardly describe our joy of victory.

This is our strength. We will certainly win if we trust each other and join efforts. There is nothing to be afraid of.

My schoolmates shouted:

“Long live Jondaehyop!”

“Long live our one million students!”

Let us hasten national reunification by participating in the Pyongyang Festival.

July 5

Yesterday immediately after a press interview I came down to Kwangju.

I dropped in at the National Joson University. Together with Jang Jin Song, chairman of the general association of students, I went to the hospital of Jonnam University to offer prayer for the repose of the soul of Martyr Ri Chol Gyu.

Martyr Ri Chol Gyu must have had endured savage torture, with his heart burning with patriotism!

Martyr Ri Chol Gyu who is appealing to us to fight bravely, condemning the enemy with glaring eyes that he could not close even after his death! Standing in front of Martyr Ri Chol Gyu who had tried hard to lay bare the aggressive nature of the United States and had died a glorious death, I felt sorry and ashamed because I failed to punish those enemies who killed him.

I came out of the hospital, pledging that one million students would fight vigorously.

Martyr Ri Chol Gyu, rest in peace!

July 7

"The Day of Korea" of the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students.

Under the sky of Pyongyang the minds of all people aspiring to world peace and the reunification of Korea must have been united.

How good it would have been if our one million students could have taken part, and if all our 70

million brethren in the north and south could get together and dance in celebration of reunification!

National reunification.

The mere mention of these words makes my heart throb.

If the country is reunited,... My heart swells with this thought.

But why are we living separated now? Why should we shed blood to become one?

What is to be done to achieve reunification that cannot be forgotten even in dreams?

Who, on earth, divided our mountains and rivers and made us feel sorrow?

The earnest appeal Delegate Rim Su Gyong shouted today will become the cry of 70 million tomorrow. A smile beaming on her face today will spread all over the faces of 70 million tomorrow.

Who can deny the fact that the sky over the south and the north is blue and our countrymen in the two parts of Korea are as one in their hearts?

Long live the proud struggle for national reunification!

July 20

I feel admiration for the teachers of Jongyojo who are stoutly opposed to being ruled by police, and I also admire the high school pupils who are craving for a genuine education.

I remember what a misguided education I had received, learning by rote the writings of the pro-Japanese traitors. Education which crams down mathematical rules, lays emphasis on grammar in the

study of foreign languages, teaches a completely distorted and fabricated history, and inculcates pro-US flunkeyist ideas in pupils instead of the spirit of our ancestors is not real education. There are many teachers who are eager to give proper education, genuine education. Teachers, you are praiseworthy, indeed. Your efforts will brighten the future. We ask you to set up Jongyojo lest our pupils should roam about with sorrow in their hearts. One million students will join you.

July 30

A morning paper carried two photographs. They were of my parents whom I have been eager to meet and whose minds I wished to set at ease. My mother who might sit up restlessly the whole night with worry about her son and my father who is said to be looking for me in all the schools in Seoul. After looking at their photographs for some while, I cut them out with care and inserted them in between pages of my book.

Dear father and mother, how are you getting along?

I am quite well.

During my stay here, in Kwangju, after I left Seoul I have thought about many things.

I did not forget that both of you, though strict with me, have always taken loving care of me ever since my childhood so that I am now humbly determined to stand firm on the side of justice.

I shall give you pleasure whatever I do.

Whenever I was asked what my dream was I used to answer it was to make my parents happy.

Even now I regard it as my aim to do so.

I think in my own way that you will feel happy if I lead an upright and cheerful life.

I feel happy that I stand honourably on the side of justice even at this moment when I am being searched for.

Please show your concern over the future of the nation and encourage the students with generosity and great love.

And give some courage to me also.

Honestly and bravely....

I shall go this way bravely and honestly as you both have taught me.

Papa and mama, don't worry. I wish you good health.

July 31

At this moment the popular masses are suffering from a worsening plight, from exploitation.

So long as I remain in the heart of the country and nation there can be no frustration. I must overcome the trial with my firm will.

Let me think of the destiny of the country and my duties.

There are one million students behind me.

To do his best with confidence in victory to the last moment is the duty of the chairman of Jondaehyop.

Let me learn the way of living of senior fighters who are said to have fought without losing their conviction and even cutting their frostbitten toes off in the cold prisons.

August 20

My father's birthday was 15 days ago and today is my mother's birthday, but there is no way to convey her my best wishes. My youngest brother's birthday was spent without any celebration. How can I send a message? Probably the letter will be intercepted and the telephone will be wiretapped.

All will be present, including Yu Mi, Po Ra and So Ra. I want to see them.

Damn the land which keeps relatives apart! That's why it is a colony.

On my birthday last year I wrote in blood and left for Yonsei University for the successful implementation of the June 10 talk. This year the police are raiding the campus. It is really preposterous. My birthday celebration can be put off but how undutiful it is not to be able to send a letter of congratulation to my parents on their birthdays!

Papa and mama, please forgive me.

I will console myself with the tidings that you are strong and healthy. I think I will have to be undutiful until we greet a new day, a good day. I will struggle more devotedly, enduring and preparing to hasten the advent of that day.

September 9

The result of the investigation into the case of Delegate Rim Su Gyong—our pride, the “flower of reunification”, has been published by the “Security Planning Agency”.

She is charged with “delivery of directives”, “infiltration and escape”, “meeting and communication”, and “encouragement and praise” which are

said to violate the "National Security Law". Delegate Rim Su Gyong who filled the air of the north with stirring aspirations for reunification has suddenly become a "felon".

We find it so ridiculous that it is not even worth refuting. The "National Security Law" openly denies reunification. The law for national security will ruin the nation.

It defines as the enemy half of the nation with whom we should cooperate. Is it possible for us to achieve reunification without violating this law?

Lip service is being given to reunification, but, in fact, those who think only of the interests of the United States and themselves are keeping our territory divided by means of the "National Security Law".

Therefore, in order to achieve reunification, it is only natural that we try to destroy this draconian "National Security Law".

And what is the "Security Planning Agency"? "National Security" is nonsense. Whenever democratic sentiment is at its height, "a spy incident" is invented by this agency to kill democracy and threaten the lives of the people. Needless to say, this agency must also be dissolved immediately.

Be the fact as it may, the announcement of the agency is absurd. Jondaehyop did everything in its power to participate in the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students in order to confirm the will of the north and south for reunification and to unite with the world's people in their call for peace.

Already at the end of last year, Jondaehyop officially announced that it had intended to partici-

pate in the festival. Since then we were in active preparation, making use of all channels for dialogue with the "government". The "government" authorities finally said, "All right. We will send you." But on the eve of the festival, they refused to give permission. How can we now hold a dialogue with such a "government" or trust it?

After the "government's" ultimatum, Jondaehyop made preparations for the participation in the festival on its own accord.

In the course of this, Jondaehyop inevitably came into contact with an organization overseas. They say that this was "directive delivery". This is utter nonsense.

All of us know that our Delegate Rim Su Gyong made great efforts, in order to be worthy of the mission of Jondaehyop.

Reunification is the trend of the times and the irresistible current of history.

There is only one option open to our 70 million countrymen, that is, recognizing each other, achieving multilateral exchanges, easing political and military tension, and gaining world recognition of our country as one Korea. This will lead to national reunification. Reunification is no longer a vague vision but a reality just beyond a new horizon.

Longing for the New Day of a Reunified Country

(Letter of Jon Mun Hwan, Former Chairman
of the Jondaehyop Preparatory Committee
for the Pyongyang Festival)

Papa and mama, how are you?

I am extremely happy when I can tell you, although in writing, how I am getting along right now.

It seems that I have been living somehow in flight for four months.

Our compatriots in the north are identified as the enemy; patriots who call for democracy are arrested and detained and I, being searched for by the unjust "National Security Law" which is hardly compatible with reunification, cannot talk to you and the rest of my family over the telephone or write a letter to you, although I have worked hard in my own way longing for national reunification, the unanimous desire of our people. This is the state of things under the present "regime" which talks about the "era of the common man".

Papa and mama, I feel my eyes becoming wet whenever I think of you who must have become several years older because of worrying about me during these months.

However, I wish you to remain as firm as always

since you have taken great care in bringing up my four brothers and sisters overcoming many difficulties.

I want all of my family not to be discouraged despite the terrible trouble we are experiencing now, and appreciate and care for one another so as to be in good health.

This will be the source of great strength which will enable me to withstand the trials that I will face in the future without losing courage even under difficult circumstances.

My heart was extremely heavy after I had seen you for the last time at Hanyang University on June 25.

Even now I remember with an aching heart the melancholy sight of you who had covered such a long distance to come to Hanyang University clouded with tear gas just to see me for a while and then had to return so soon.

Reading the articles about you, papa, and me which were carried in the newspapers for several days after I had slipped out of Hanyang University with my fellow students, as if we were heroes of a tragedy, I could not restrain my rising sadness and indignation with the press which had described the relations between father and son as if they had been hostile relations between the one who was chasing and the one who was being chased, and with the present reality in this land.

Papa, we, you and me, cannot be the objects of pity and sympathy as those around us assert, and the tenacious feelings of love and trust which are

flowing in our hearts as kinsfolk, should not be distorted by any unjustifiable press.

I am firmly confident of the fact that you and mama are having a hard time of it trying to find me because you want to protect me whom you have brought up as the apple of your eye, and that you never think that what I have done is wrong.

In February last year (1989) I was elected President of the General Student Council even without having had any consultation with you and never had the courage to tell you quietly about my intention, failing to fulfil my duty as a son. So I presume that you were greatly surprised and worried about me thinking that I was having my own way on the impulse of the moment.

However, it is not because of momentary heroism or ephemeral, youthful ardour that I have chosen this somewhat difficult yet worthy road as you suppose worriedly.

There had really been a lot of trouble and distress until I ran for the presidency of the General Student Council. It seems that my anguish started, as I vaguely understood for the first time when I was in the third year of high school, that the world was not all good.

I made up my mind to enter a university to see what it was like.

I wanted to ascertain whether what was taught at the university could really relieve my distress and whether the university was a Utopia where there were no cliquish rivalries between friends but love and friendship were evident, an ivory tower of truth.

Through the meticulous concern which you, papa, showed for me on the day before I took an achievement test, when you slept by my side for a long time so as to encourage me, I could feel deep down in my heart the love and hope which you pinned on me.

My new life started when I passed my examinations for the Sinbang Department of Sogang University. First of all, the warm encouragement of you and mama, who said, since you were sending me for the first time to study at a university in Seoul, "We'll support you even if we shall have to get into debt for this, so study hard," made my small heart beat at the joyful thought that I had fulfilled my duty as a son, even if it was just a little bit.

I had great desires as I started my new life in a boarding house which, at the mere mention of it, seemed to be full of romance and I cautiously confided my past to new friends of the same department as mine with whom I had got acquainted for the first time and heard about their past life too. At a drinking party, I heard from my seniors about various professors and about which subjects were interesting and so on. The university, however, was not a place where only romance and genuineness existed isolated from this society.

Papa and mama, your word to study hard as well as the earnest request "not to approach even the vicinity of demonstrations" which you did not forget to explain to me, this unwritten law, gradually began to lie heavy on my mind. When I saw, a short time later after I had entered the university, riot policemen shooting tear gas shells and, making

a scandal at our small university, I involuntarily felt a strong resistance to them. This is tantamount to the feeling which we all have of the need to guard our peaceful home when some suspicious people are trying to destroy it.

On May 1, 1986 one of my seniors in our department got hit in his head by a shell shot by riot policemen while he was taking part in a demonstration and a surgical operation was performed on his brain.

At that time I carried him as far as the indoor stadium since he was unconscious, blood streaming out of his head and he seemed to be out of this world. My clothes and hands were stained with blood, and I could not leave the street in front of the indoor stadium for a good while even after my senior had been taken to a hospital and I kept standing there exposing myself to the rain.

At that time I could not understand fully why our seniors called for the overthrow of dictatorship even at the risk of their lives. However, hatred for the Chun Doo Hwan "regime" came to occupy a corner of my heart, the "regime" of a man who refused to meet the demand for democracy, the desire of all the popular masses, forced riot policemen of our same age to try to stop our struggle, but he himself was holding a seat of power which he had seized illegally.

It was said that when the father of my senior, who had been shot by a tear gas shell, came from his native town and saw his son, who had undergone an operation on his brain, beat his chest out of bitter grief, saying, "Why do they leave him alive now that

they have crippled him? They had better kill him.” When I heard this, this world appeared to be really dreadful and I seemed to fall into an abyss.

A sense of disgrace of my own position made me feel that it was not something to be proud of, although I was aware of having the privilege of being a student but nevertheless all this began to grow in my mind little by little.

The questions—“What am I living for? What is the way to live a genuinely honest life?”—which I had kept quietly in my mind from my high school days, again distracted my mind leading it into confusion. To live for my parents, for my family and for myself—was this all I had to do? I asked myself. As a matter of fact, I consoled myself with the thought that my family was most important for me and that it would be all right if at least I led a fair and proud life. Nevertheless, I doubted whether this thought, in the final analysis, was a selfish view to defend only my own status, and this continually pricked one corner of my heart.

I was wrath against such a society and reality in which those who had not graduated from a university could not win promotion and everyone pursued only his or her own interests, rather than being a community in which people were altruistic. I also came to think that democracy could not be attained in this land so long as there was a dictatorial regime which arrested, accusing them as Leftists, my seniors who called for justice and set themselves on fire in order to carve out the future of the country and the nation.

The event which made me, when I was in confu-

sion owing to various agonies, decide how I should live was the "case of Konguk University" which produced an unprecedented number of detainees in the history of the student movement.

That day I could not go to Konguk University because I had to take examinations in two subjects.

At the time when many of my seniors and fellow students were suffering at Konguk University from the suffocating tear gas and shooting water from fire hoses, I had to suppress my tears in a corner of the university at the thought of them who only a few days before had conversed with me with a kindly smile. It was only then that I began to realize clearly which way I should follow.

I made up my mind that I should inherit the justifiable student movement of which the genuineness and moral features had been confirmed by the popular masses in our current history and strive to realize independence, democracy and reunification of this land without fail by adding my efforts, though small, to this cause. True, I was afraid that my resolve might result in disturbing the peace and tranquility of myself and of my family. However, I could not change my mind because what I myself had seen and felt was extremely awful. The vigorous call of my heart for justice became my source of strength which enabled me to overcome everything.

When I became a second-year student I treated with love and affection my juniors who were in agony as if following in the wake of me, for I had felt the same way and had been distressed myself. I was very happy in the first term of the second year when I was tired and busy. I also took pride in the

fact that I was really doing something for my country and the nation, although my endeavours were insignificant. And when the June Popular Resistance in 1987 broke out at last, I confirmed with my own eyes that I was right and was sure that although the masses hesitated momentarily in face of the armed force of the dictators, they would eventually rise up in spite of subordination and oppression.

It is true that I was disappointed and discouraged when the hope of the popular masses for democracy was frustrated at the "presidential" election and Roh Tae Woo, who had been a central figure of the "fifth Republic", came into power. However, I could not abandon my original intention. In 1988 when the struggle for north-south student talks was launched, I went out into the streets and joined the vanguard for reunification but was dragged into a police station in the eastern part of the city for the first time.

Papa, we students want that the dictators, evildoers and owners of enterprises must resign from doing evil for the sake of the popular masses and that all the people must have the right to build an honest socio-economic structure by uniting their efforts.

Take the June Popular Resistance in 1987 for example. Where was the distinction of age and sex and where was the difference of class and people in shouting out "Put an end to the protection of the constitution" and "Down with dictatorship"? In June, 1987, the masses of people rose up.

My wish and the voice of university students are that our 10 million peasants farm merrily and 10 million brother workers who, with the specious name

of skilled industrial forces, suffer from unfair, inhuman treatment receive just payment and people of all walks of life, in perfect harmony, drive out foreign forces and dictatorship and build a reunified, genuine and democratic fatherland so that they can lead an equal and better life.

Father and mother, this is what I could not talk to you about openly even once, the course of my agony which I have suffered during my university life.

I wanted to confess my heart and consult with you about my running for the president of the General Student Council. But I was afraid that you would not permit it because we are from public official's origin. I cannot but regret this even now.

When I, already overburdened with my university affairs, was entrusted with the post of the chairman of the festival preparatory committee on the advice and recommendation of other presidents of the General Students Councils, my responsibility and duty grew more serious. Between university affairs and festival preparations, I was really busy and tired, however I was living worthwhile days. The reason why I decided to take the responsibility of the chairman of the festival preparatory committee is not only because of my ardour for reunification but also because of the problem which involves my family.

Grandfather came south after liberation due to unavoidable circumstances and grandmother and father suffered much because of the June 25 war. I think all these are the consequences that resulted from the division of our country. I, therefore, was eager to devote body and soul to the reunification

movement for granting grandfather's wishes and also for working off the grudges of my grandmother and father. In the beginning of this year (1989) I thought our university students would be able to visit Pyong-yang through Phanmunjom for the first time since the division. Leaving the division between south and north as it is, the present "regime" tried to maintain their vested rights under the pretext of a divided situation with the anti-communist and anti-north ideology still foremost. Otherwise, how could the "government", after having promised to send students to the festival at the beginning of the year, reverse its position, on the excuse of complicated practical problems and procedures or the lack of time, when the festival was near at hand and go as far as betraying the popular masses by making up a "security-oriented policy" which is absolutely different from the "July 7 declaration," published the previous year (1988)?

Ever since old times it has been said that the mind of the people is the will of Heaven. History is a witness to the fact that dictatorial power, which deemed themselves able to maintain their place of power by force of arms without accepting the will of the people, have always collapsed. Such being the case, I firmly believe that the present "regime" will not last long.

Though the present "regime" blocked our young people and students from participating in the festival by every kind of method, we had to realize without fail the reunion of the students between the south and north in 1989 which had failed in 1988. This is why I sent Miss Rim Su Gyong as a dele-

gate of Jondaehyop to Pyongyang.

You must have had great shock and anxiety when you heard this news. However, I believe the dispatch of Rim Su Gyong to Pyongyang is only too justifiable for the reunification of our nation.

For achieving reunification we must meet each other. It is only when people meet each other that pent-up distrust and hostility will disappear like when snow melts. Shouldn't all of us resolve what was wrong so far in our minds?

Now the "Security Planning Agency" is clamouring as if Rim Su Gyong was sent to Pyongyang as a delegate of Jondaehyop by order from the north. I suppose you must be worried much on this point. But, father and mother, the claim of the "Security Planning Agency" is arbitrariness and a mere lie. The "Security Planning Agency" defined the festival preparatory committee as an organization benefitting the enemy and this is a pure falsehood which is contrary to reason. The participation of Jondaehyop in the festival was already announced in public early in 1989, and it was also one of my election pledges in 1988.

In addition, the "government" said officially at the beginning of the year that it would send about 500 university students to the Pyongyang Festival. It even formed a Committee for Promoting South-North Students Exchange with which we had several meetings. If the north had instructed our participation in the festival and manoeuvred it, was it done by an order of the north that the "government" announced its position to take part in the festival at the beginning of the year?

In order to realize the meeting of the university students by whatever means we gave up the position of individual participation of Jondaehyop when the June 10 Talks in 1989 was dispersed, and suggested, taking a step backward, that we would participate in the festival under an agreement made with the “government” on all matters—contents of participation, number of delegates and schedule in Pyongyang. However, the “government” authorities did not accept this.

If the festival preparatory committee is an organization benefitting the enemy simply because it declared it would participate in the festival and if I myself who have made efforts to bring success to the students’ participation in the festival violated the “National Security Law” then the Committee for Promoting South-North Students Exchange, with which we had consultations on practical procedures for the participation of the festival, must be an organization benefitting the enemy and the “government” authorities themselves which made public their position of participation in the festival in the beginning must be arrested. It has been clearly exposed that the reunification discussion of the present “regime”, which promised to ensure free travel between the south and north on the basis of the “July 7 declaration”, was mere lip service.

Since there appeared no immediate possibility of participation in the festival due to subsequent oppression and blockade of the meeting place, I gave directions to Pak Jong Yol, who was the chief of the festival policy-making office, around late in May to prepare a delegate of Jondaehyop carefully. So

Pak Jong Yol, after having held several meetings of the office, recommended Rim Su Gyong to be reliable for this job and trustworthy and so Chairman Im Jong Sok and I decided that she would be the Jondaehyop delegate.

Many persons may wonder why we prepared in secret the informal dispatch of the Jondaehyop delegate for a month before consulting with the "government" to the last. I shall explain about it. It is a fact that a passport needs a fortnight to be issued at the earliest and it takes at least a week to arrive in Pyongyang via abroad. So we had no alternative but to make preparations in advance as the last measure.

Therefore it is groundless to say things about so-called underground forces of Jondaehyop in the course of selecting Rim Su Gyong as a delegate. What is more, they are launching false propaganda that Chairman Im Jong Sok and I are mere robots. However, as the intelligence agency itself admits, the authority of the chairman of Jondaehyop is responsible for all the decisions of Jondaehyop.

As is shown in the letter which Rim Su Gyong had written before leaving the south, even at that moment when she was flying, on the 21st, there was little confidence that she would be able to arrive in Pyongyang and I myself could not map out a reliable route, though I made her leave for Japan. I just told her that I would inform her by phone later. After this, we chose the European Democratic Association from among the overseas democratic organizations which had been acting as an agent for the meeting to help us participate in the festival. The association

accepted our proposal and sent her to West Germany.

If a delegate of the young people and students in the south did not attend the Pyongyang Festival, people all over the world would have pointed us with scorn.

They say that the joint declaration announced in Pyongyang sided intact with the assertion of the north, however this is completely opposite to the truth.

When Rim Su Gyong was leaving, I told her that we would make public the draft of the joint declaration on July 4 in the south through a press conference and promised her that we would inform her of the content through foreign media.

This is why Chairman Im Jong Sok and I announced the draft of the joint declaration at a press conference on July 4 in the University of Foreign Studies, among even a grave cordon of riot police, after getting away from Hanyang University.

In order to dissolve Jondaehyop which won confidence and was born in the struggle for democracy in June, 1987 the intelligence agency arrested O Yong Sik, chairman of the second Jondaehyop, illegally and is making up a plot and accusing him, while torturing him, of having received 20 million *won* from Jochongryon (the General Association of the Korean Residents in Japan) during the struggle for realizing the student talks on August 15, 1988. If there existed such a fact, why did they keep silent then and announce it as if it were a reality only now after a year has passed?

Sending Rim Su Gyong all alone I felt irritated and worried about her and in particular, I do not

know what excuse to offer to her parents. However, Su Gyong's father and mother! Su Gyong has come back after having done a great job which no one else was equal to. She is the very person who will be recorded in our nation's history forever, in the future. Please do not be dissipated and I wish sincerely that you will take good care of her. The sufferings and tears which Su Gyong's and my parents are undergoing and shedding will become an initial compost which will harvest a good future of a reunified fatherland.

Father and mother! I am not such a sentimentalist nor an idealist who is fallen into the reunification-for-reunification principle. There are a lot of problems to be solved before reunification is achieved and I do not think they will be solved in a day or two. But as long as we regard the north as the enemy which we have to smash with arms, we will not be able to take even a first step towards building a reunified country.

Was there a time when our nation fought each other, arguing capitalism or communism before liberation? There was no time when priority was given to ideals or ideology other than our future. The unanimous desire of our nation, in order to be free from the rule of the Japanese imperialists, was to drive out the Japanese imperialists from our land and restore our country's independence.

Father, we must not stand in the way of the future of a reunified country by indulging in isms and ideologies without paying attention to the future of our nation, the reunification of our fatherland.

There have existed different systems and ideolo-

gies for 45 years in the south and the north. Is it possible to achieve the reunification through one system and one ideology while ignoring the reality? If one side forces its own will on the other, it will, after all, incur a danger of resorting to arms. For all that, we cannot stay on as we are while giving up reunification. It is because, as we experienced through our past history, without reunification, a genuine democracy will never come into being, the future of our nation will be accompanied continuously with a tinderbox situation, and the future of the entire nation will not be guaranteed. It is on this point that we must, I think, achieve reunification by the method of a confederal system.

In this way all compatriots in the south and north will narrow the gap between their thoughts and views through free travel and unite both systems and ideologies into one.

The military forces and weapons of each other must be reduced to the maximum so that war will never break out again on this land and all nuclear weapons must be destroyed because no one knows when they will explode regardless of our people's intentions.

Furthermore, the US army in south Korea must leave this land.

What is most important is to achieve reunification by our own efforts, by the efforts of our nation itself.

By relying on the power and armies of foreign countries our independence and peaceful reunification will never be attained.

Father and mother, what I have said so far may

sound too much to you but I believe this is the only way for our country to be reunified and the way which our people must follow. It is probably a small shout now but it will be the voice of all our nation, in the near future.

I have sent letters to you twice. I wonder if they have arrived properly. Now I am going to end my letter.

Father and mother! I am healthy just like I was before and I am going to live more vigorously in the future. Pray, do not worry about me and please take care of yourselves and the rest of the family.

Father and mother, I wish you good health.

Looking for the new day of a reunified country...

Love from your second son Mun Hwan

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