

An Interview with Chung Kyung-mo

Interviewer: Kim Jong-gun

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The Path of a True Unification Movement

Kim We are studying the unification of the Korean peninsula from humanities perspectives at Konkuk University's Institute of Humanities for Unification. I am here today to listen to your thoughts about the unification of the two Koreas, as I know that you have focused on the topic for a long time out of the academic circle and notably in Japan.

Chung It sounds like you have a difficult job. There is no need for research on unification issues that are welcomed by the authorities, but it is difficult to do research that attracts attention from the government.

Kim Yes, it certainly seems that way. Even if we don't deal with sensitive political issues, we occasionally receive complaints from state agencies as well as from ordinary citizens for using the keyword "unification" as a research topic.

The Arduous Journey as a Unification Activist

Kim Have you lived in this house for a long time?

Chung Yes, I have. To be honest, I cleaned up the yard for your visit.

Kim I understand that you are not allowed to enter Korea even though you are a Korean national. Having lived so long in a foreign country, you must miss your home country. In addition, I suppose you may have been treated unfairly in Japan. I would like to hear about the journey of your life.

Chung (Looking at his wife who has brought refreshments) It was in 1951 that I married a Japanese woman; in fact, the Reverend Moon Ik-hwan married us. She is the daughter of the boarding house owner I met when I was studying at Keio University. What a strange connection!

- Kim** So, after you got married in 1951, did your wife join you back home in Korea?
- Chung** No, but she did so afterward. After I quit GHQ (General Headquarters / Allied High Command) and returned to Korea. I believe she has been to Korea twice?
- Kim** Then your wife also changed her nationality to Korean?
- Chung** That's right. This wasn't because we had any kind of motive, but back then, we couldn't go to Korea unless we were Korean nationals. So she abandoned her Japanese citizenship to become a Korean national.
- Kim** How old is your wife now?
- Chung** We are the same age.
- Kim** (To his wife) Are you the same age as he is, ma'am? You're as hale and hearty as your husband.
- Chung** People who brag about their wives are called uxorious, but I should tell this. In all these years of my life, there weren't too many happy moments as I was engaged in this work, but the happiest thing in my life is that I could come back miraculously after I left saying to her, "I'll be back, so wait for me," and get married with her here. I was born in Yeongdeungpo in 1924. At that time, Yeongdeungpo was not part of Seoul, but of Siheung-gun. I grew up there and went to middle school there as well.
- Kim** Looking at your life in this book,¹ you were initially a natural scientist and studied medicine in the United States.
- Chung** I came to Japan to become a doctor. To Keio University, in fact. The pre-med track took two years back then, and Korea was liberated from the Japanese colonial rule the year I finished

¹ Chung Kyung-mo, *Shidae-iji pulch'imbôn: chōnggyōngmo chasōjôn* [The night watchman of the ages: Chung Kyung-mo's autobiography] (Seoul: Hankyoreh Publishing, 2010).

my pre-med. As I am sure you can guess, my family told me to come home quickly, so I told my then-future-mother-in-law that I would definitely be back so she shouldn't worry. And I certainly did come back.

Kim Then after liberation, you came back to Seoul.

Chung No, I was actually in Seoul at the time of liberation.

Kim You welcomed liberation in Seoul, and in what year did you go to the United States?

Chung In 1947.

Kim Oh, you were in Korea for about two years.

Chung It was right after Mr. Yeo Woon-hyung passed away in 1947.

Kim Wasn't the Korean society in complete chaos at the time? There were pro-Japanese collaborator issues as well as ideological conflicts between the left and the right. How did you fare then?

Chung It truly was a time of complete disorientation. Nobody could predict what was going to unfold.

Kim As mentioned earlier, you had studied medicine; did you give up your previously planned life as a doctor to join MacArthur's command after the Korean War?

Chung I wanted to become a pastor, but I couldn't become one, and then tried to become a doctor, but I couldn't become one. In the meantime, I became over 90. [brief pause] What a strange path of life! [Both Kim and Chung laugh.] And now, I've lived long enough to the point where I have to ready myself for death.

Kim Do you have a little difficulty walking?

Chung Not a little, but extreme difficulty.

- Kim** What happened? Did you have a cerebral infarction? Or...
- Chung** I had a cerebral infarction twenty years ago. At the age of 70 in 1994. Strangely enough, in the year Reverend Moon passed away, I collapsed from a cerebral infarction. Kim Il-sung also passed away that year.
- Kim** That's right!
- Chung** Indeed, so many strange things happened to me in 1994.
- Kim** I read in the book that Reverend Moon met with Kim Il-sung and told him that 1995 should be the first year of unification, but all of what you just described happened before that. Was your family originally Christian?
- Chung** My father was a pastor of a new church, but afterward, he quit the post and served as an elder of Yeongdeungpo Church for a long time.
- Kim** Then did you keep going to church when you were young?
- Chung** Yes, I was quite fervent when I was young.
- Kim** I had assumed as much since in your company was the Reverend Moon Ik-hwan.
- Chung** Strangely enough, it was while working at GHQ that I started the unification movement, objecting many things the Americans were doing there. Reverend Moon and the Reverend Park Hyung-kyu joined me in the movement. That doesn't mean that I had a deep Christian faith or thought. As I got older, strangely, I came to dislike the Christian ideas I had espoused before.
- Kim** The Reverends Moon Ik-hwan and Park Hyung-kyu were engaged in the unification movement while carrying out pastoral activities, but now the Protestant movement in Korea is extremely anti-communist and conservative.

- Chung** Korean Christianity is thoroughly anti-communist. I believe that anticommunists are opponents of unification. In the meantime, my own sentiment toward Christianity in Korea turned... Should I call it my antipathy to Korean-style Christianity? Anyhow, I stopped being the type of Christian that I used to be, like the one attending service every Sunday with the Bible in tow. I planned to be a pastor when I was young, but I couldn't be a pastor, nor could I be a doctor. My life has unfolded so strangely. (Looking at the book the interviewer is holding) Has that book been published recently?
- Kim** This book, *Tchitkyōjin sanha* [The Ravaged Land], was published by Kōrūm Publishing in 1986.
- Chung** (Handing Kim the Japanese volume titled *Tachisakareta sanga*) This is the original, in Japanese. To tell you the truth, *The Ravaged Land* was published as a pirated edition without my approval. Is it Kōrūm Publishing?
- Kim** Yes, it is.
- Chung** They published it without seeking any kind of permission from me. But I heard the book made quite a bit of money.
- Kim** Yes, this was a must-read at the time. (laughs)
- Chung** I've never blamed the parties involved for not paying me royalties. I heard it really helped the movement. People who frequent jail are often called jailbirds, right? I had heard that activists, students or otherwise, who were already in jail would hide this book as if their lives depended on it when all their other books were confiscated, and then they would transmit it to the newbies.
- Kim** You spoke about Kim Gu, Lyuh Woon-hyung, and Chang Chun-ha, as you do in *The Ravaged Land*. You also presented a perspective vastly divergent from the South Korean view of North Korea in the current divided state, so this book appears to have been one that could change the perception of history

of those who entered college after receiving normative education until the end of high school.

Chung Indeed, the book conveys things completely different from what South Koreans learn at school. It must have been difficult for those who read it and believed that it said truths to lead normal lives. The book has been both a curse and a blessing. I, the author, have suffered all my life, and my wife who married a Korean man has also had a difficult life all along.

Kim Reading your book, *The Ravaged Land*, and your other writings shows us that you have a large amount of literary knowledge. Who would even imagine such a scene as that in which the three of them meet in heaven and talk about what they think of the Korean peninsula issues? I think you have an amazing ability to unfold stories in historical contexts.

Chung History is a record of human activities. No matter what activities they do, there must be literature in them, right?

Division of Korea by the United States and the Development of the Korean War

Kim You joined MacArthur's headquarters during the Korean War and served at the Allied Military Government Committee until 1956. Was there any particular reason that you decided to quit?

Chung I was subjected to a military trial. It isn't possible that they thought I had made any official anti-American comments, but since there were plenty of occasions on which we would go out for drinks and such, I might have mentioned something critical about the U.S. without really being aware that I was doing so. I mean, we did drink together. One day, they summoned me, and there were five or six people gathered. Then they gave me notice: "Your presence in such a sensitive post as Panmunjom is incompatible with the best interests of

the United States.”

That’s how I was fired. It was in the year 1956, when McCarthyism was indeed at its height. So, one could not work for such an organization unless one was a complete “square,” as the Americans call it. Back then, even conscientious scholars such as Mason Norman committed suicide. And Charlie Chaplin. He couldn’t have been a communist, but was banished to England. I was also expelled and came back to Korea.

I’ve lived in such a world, but looking back now, it was a natural path for me. If I lived with my head down, kowtowing to the American people, I couldn’t be part of the unification movement. It’s impossible to admire the United States while being involved in the unification movement. But when the Americans first came, I really believed that we were liberated thanks to the Americans. However, the liberation that they brought was not really liberation, but the division of the Korean peninsula, right? The “division system” was and is more vicious than Japanese colonial rule. Under the colonial rule, at least the rich and the poor didn’t set out to kill each other. But the division system caused innocent people to end up killing one another.

How was the division system established in this country? The American people fought an internecine war once, didn’t they? That’s the Civil War. For four years from 1861. Lincoln gave the famous Gettysburg Address after the war. So what caused the Civil War? It’s heavily detailed in the book *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. This book also shows how terribly the African-American slaves were persecuted. That’s why it has sold so splendidly all over the world. Virtually everyone believes that the Civil War began as a means to liberate the African-American slaves, but it really wasn’t. What the North then claimed was protectionism. Back then, the United States just started industrialization, right? Industrial products from Europe were to be imported into the U.S. However, if industrial goods entered the North without any regulation, the North’s economy could be threatened. So they had no choice but to insist on protectionism. On the other hand, the South’s main industry was cotton textiles. The Southerners used slave labor to grow and collect cotton and export it to

the UK without tariffs. British people made cotton products from imported cotton without tariffs and exported them back to both the North and the South of the United States without tariffs. You know, the economy is always the issue. Protected trade for the North, free trade for the South. That's why the North and the South fought that disastrous internecine war.

Didn't Japan also fight a civil war? Do you know when Japan fought a civil war? To think about inter-Korean affairs, you need to know why the United States fought its Civil War and why the Japanese fought their own civil war. It was the time of the Meiji Restoration in Japan. More specifically, two provinces, Joshu and Satsuma, joined hands to topple the Tokugawa shogunate. Then the people of the shogunate had to protect it because they had vested rights in it. That's how the Japanese civil war broke out, upon the question of whether to destroy or protect the shogunate. When we think about inter-Korean issues, we should always keep in mind not just the problems of Korea, but also the cases of other countries.

I also read the works of Professor Kang Man-gil, who teaches history at Korea University. How did our country's division system become ossified? Kim Sung-soo's family must have wielded quite the influence before. In my opinion, Kang Man-gil doesn't talk much about inter-Korean issues, does he?

Kim

He served under President Kim Dae-jung and afterward in various capacities. And even after that, he talked openly about the issue of division.

Chung

He sent me a book, a thick book titled *Yöksaga-üi shigan* [Historians' Time]. Kang Man-gil is a great historian and an extremely erudite man. However, the book sees the history of Korea after the liberation as made by Koreans, without any discussion regarding how the Japanese people influenced it, or why the Americans came to Korea and created the division system. This is also the case with Professor Han Hong-gu, who also wrote about the democratization movement of Korea. I read several books by Professor Han Hong-gu, I wasn't there when the Lee Han-yeol incident occurred, but I learned so much about the circumstances at the time of the incident and related precedents after reading various books written

by Professor Han Hong-gu. I was in Seoul during the April 19 Revolution. At that time, students were indiscriminately shot and more than a hundred people were killed. However, even Professor Han's books do not address how the Japanese were involved in our country's problems or how the Americans came to Korea to create a vicious system. I can't blame Kang Man-gil or Han Hong-gu, though. If they behaved like me, Kang Man-gil would have been less likely to remain in his post at Korea University. Professor Han Hong-gu would have had difficulty teaching anywhere. That would be no exception for researchers like you.

Kim

Maybe it's because you've been through so much within the system, such as the U.S. Military Government in Korea.

Chung

Do you know of George Kennan? Anyone in Korea who thinks that the issue of North and South Korea needs to be resolved should not forget about George Kennan in their lifetime. When the Japanese were occupying our country, the Taft-Katsura Agreement was secretly signed between Japan and the United States. Around the time, the U.S. just joined the rank of empires after colonizing the Philippines, and Japan on its part was trying to swallow Korea. The negotiation between the U.S. and Japan via the Taft-Katsura Agreement was that so long as Japan didn't touch the Philippines, it was up to Japan to do whatever it wanted with Korea. George Kennan attempted to reenact this idea. It was in 1947, just before the Korean War broke out, that George Kennan became Chairman of the Policy Planning Staff at the U.S. State Department. In the United States, the most salient question at the time was how to prevent the Soviet Union from coming down to the Korean peninsula. How did the U.S. take on the Korean problem? In order to prevent the Soviet Union from moving south, it needed to put Korea once again in the hands of the Japanese people. Further to this, there have been numerous examples of dealing with the Korean issue to maintain the power balance.

Now you (pointing to the interviewer) are here to understand inter-Korean affairs, but you don't know much about George Kennan. That doesn't mean that I'm disappointed, but I have asked the same question to every

person who has visited my place. Not many knew about George Kennan. However, I can definitively say that the Korean War was caused by George Kennan.

Unfortunately, Kang Man-gil's writing doesn't even devote a single sentence to this. Han Hong-gu's writing has never mentioned it, either, even though it is such an important point in the modern history of Korea. Why? If they spoke out as I have, it would have been difficult for Kang Man-gil to remain at Korea University, and it also would have been difficult for Han Hong-gu to be a professor anywhere. You have read my book; you must understand that the heart of the Korean problem lies in it, but take caution in your speech.

Kim

So you're saying that Kang Man-gil or Han Hong-gu deliberately avoided commenting on George Kennan's blueprint even though they know about it?

Chung

There is no way that Kang or Han would not know this. But they didn't mention anything explicit about it. I don't mean to blame them, but this is the core of the Korean issue. When you trace back the trajectory of modern Korean history, the first person you come across is Lyuh Woon-hyung, who passed away in July 1947. Next year will be the seventieth anniversary of his death. Since I've mentioned Lyuh, it would be fair to mention Kim Gu. Kim passed away on June 26, 1949, before the Korean War. Both Kim and Lyuh argued then that the United States should be blamed for the Korean issue, even though George Kennan was not directly mentioned. This is why both of them were assassinated. This tells how tough the Korean issue was and has been. I thought I should be very cautious about telling this story. What I'm trying to tell you is never to speak up about this story. However, people like you who are in a position to teach others should at least know about George Kennan.

Lyuh Woon-hyung died on July 19, 1947, after being shot. Behind the assassination was also the power of the Kim Sung-soo family. Ultimately, the assassination was carried out because Lyuh stood in confrontation with Kim Sung-soo. Again, this is such a forbidden issue to mention. Even when it's the truth, it is virtually impossible to talk about it openly. To

comment on it officially. Still, to think about how the Korean War erupted and how to solve the remaining problems, we need to know what killed Lyuh Woon-hyung, Kim Gu, and Jang Chun-ha. The Reverend Moon Ik-hwan awakened at the death of after Jang Chun-ha. I am a bit awkward to say this with my own mouth, who would you say could inherit Moon Ik-hwan's ideas? Who went to Pyongyang with Moon Ik-hwan and issued the April 2nd Joint Statement with the North?

Kim

It was you, indeed.

Chung

Lyuh Woon-hyung, Kim Gu, and Jang Chun-ha. All the three were killed. The Reverend Moon Ik-hwan was not shot to death in Korea. There is an organization called Korean Democratic Unification Union in Japan. He died because of this organization. But I'm not going to tell you that one needs to risk one's life to carry out the unification movement. I'm just telling you to be careful.

A while back, I received a call from Mr. Lee Bu-young, who was then leading the Association of Memorial Service for Lyuh Woon-hyung. He read what I had written. I told him that July 19th of next year (2017) would be the seventieth anniversary of Lyuh Woon-hyung's death. But I knew that I wouldn't be there. I declared that I would never step foot on the Korean soil again. I mean, I'm sure that Mr. Lee Bu-young knew that I couldn't go back to Korea and I didn't intend to go. By the way, he replied that they would make an official seat for me in the center of the first row at the celebration ceremony.

I spent my entire life struggling with endless hardships. My wife, who could have lived a comfortable life if she had not been married to such a strange Korean man as me, has lived a hard-pressed life all the time. As a Korean, I think we should deal with essential issues to properly address inter-Korean problems. However, it is impossible to get ahead socially and economically by doing so.

I was worried when I heard that you were coming to me to learn about Korean issues. You must say what you have to say. However, if you say what you have to say, you can't tell what impact it will have on your life. We must be very cautious in dealing with the issue. I mean, be careful not to

follow in the footsteps of Lyuh Woon-hyung, Kim Gu, and Jang Chun-ha. Anyone who thinks about unification should know the truth about how the division system has been solidified in our country.

In 1956, I was at Panmunjom with the American people. At that time, I predicted to the American people at a drinking party why the U.S. military would lose the Vietnam War, which ended in April of 1975. I mean, isn't it natural for the Vietnamese to win? The U.S. divided Vietnam at the 17th parallel, and viewed Vietnam north of this parallel as a communist puppet. However, South Vietnam was eventually absorbed into North Vietnam. You could say that the Vietnamese fought a great fight, couldn't you? How brave the Vietnamese were! They fought with hostility against the United States at first. Isn't that obvious? Why did it draw a dividing line in someone else's country, and a faultless one at that? Forcing the two sides to fight to kill each other. What a nonsense is this? I don't remember exactly when I said that to the Americans, but no matter when, I must have said it in a way that the American people could understand.

The same applies for our country. I mean, what did our country do wrong to have a line drawn at the 38th parallel? Who drew the line at the 38th parallel? I wrote about this in the book as well, but Stalin and the United States didn't discuss it with each other. Stalin didn't even know what took place. The United States handled it all alone. The U.S. alone drew the line at the 38th parallel, and brought about this tragedy.

Did the U.S. have any discussions with Ho Chi Minh when they drew the 17th parallel in Vietnam? They drew it however they wanted to, just as they drew the line at the 38th parallel. Why are Africans suffering now? Look at the map of Africa. The dividing lines run amok, this way and that way. It's all done by the white Europeans. That's why Africans are still suffering. Imperialism is the division and domination of another country's land at will. That's imperialism. What I'm saying now is that you should deeply realize the truth, but refrain from garnering suspicion from others. I am doing this because I have to pretend to know something. I never wanted any kind of social reputation, and when

everyone else was financially comfortable, I was not. But I didn't get caught by them, and I wasn't victimized by torture. I didn't get slapped by them. So, they may be very unhappy about it. They should have been able to drag me in at least once, slap me around, and trample on me, but they couldn't. I mean, I acted very wisely so that they couldn't catch me. And yet I said everything I wanted to say.

The Problem of Pro-Japanese Collaborators and His Adversities in Japan

Kim

The phrase “second liberation” appears frequently in your book. Even now, in Korea, the argument that keeps emerging again and again in the process of social conflict is that the vestiges of pro-Japanese collaborators have not been eradicated. In sum, it is believed that conflict factors in South Korea are triggered by the problem of pro-Japanese collaborators in Korea. What do you think of this problem?

Chung

It was Kim Gu who argued that the vestiges of pro-Japanese collaborators should be eradicated. This argument was inherited by Lyuh Woon-hyung, Jang Chun-ha, and Moon Ik-hwan. However, they all died an unfortunate ways. I'm sorry to say this, but the people who rode the rising tide while defending the pro-Japanese group were Kim Sung-soo, owner of the *Dong-A Ilbo*, and his family. Later, when Park Chung-hee emerged in control, it was the *Chosun Ilbo* that benefited the most from the power of the Kim Sung-soo family. At the time, Sunwoo Hwi was editor-in-chief of the *Chosun Ilbo*, and his informant named Chi Myong-gwan advertised me as a bad seed in Japan. Chi has been a real pain in the derriere for me.

Kim

Since you came to Japan, you have been in charge of a weekly magazine, created an organization called “The Power of Seeds,” and published various magazines. However, I think it can be said that you've lived an extremely anti-Japanese life. You have lived in Japan for a long time; have you ever felt threatened in Japan?

Chung

Such forces are on the rise right now. You know the novel *Jang Gil-san* by Hwang Seok-young? That's a total of ten books. It took me twelve years to translate. But I can't get them published now. There is no publishing company in Japan that will release it. *Jang Gil-san* itself is not ideologically anti-Japanese, but I am, so to speak. There are such invisible pressures on me.

Kim

As we talk about humanities-based unification, we say that the agents of unification should include not just Koreans in Korea, but also the Korean diaspora such as the Koreans in Japan, China, and Russia, for example. You are in exile in Japan with a Korean nationality, and if you look at the Koreans in Japan, you can witness nationality issues as well as conflicts between members of the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan and those of the Korean Residents Union in Japan. What do you think of these conflicts and potential communication?

Chung

While I've been working for unification, I have unavoidably made numerous enemies. Since I was once a Christian, I will cite the case of Jesus. He had only enemies all around, such as the Pharisees and Sadducees, while working for three years before death. That's because of jealousy. I've been the target of jealousy of the right wing in Japan, and also have been thoroughly beaten by an organization called the National Assembly for the Promotion of Democratic Restoration and Unification in Korea created by Kim Dae-jung. Weren't they, so to speak, the left? On the other hand, Chi Myong-gwan was a right-winger. As you can see, I've been thoroughly beaten by both sides. No one slapped me. I've never been tortured. However, the organization that really pressured me to prevent me from engaging in social activities is first and foremost the National Assembly for the Promotion of Democratic Restoration and Unification in Korea. And the Japanese right-wingers and Chi Myong-gwan also did so. Among the books I have read, there is one called "Cho-a-se": it's the abbreviation of its title, *Chosŏnilbo ōmnŭn arūmdaun sesang* [A world rendered beautiful by the abolishment of *Chosun Ilbo*]. This book thoroughly criticizes Sunwoo Hwi. Chi Myong-gwan made it his mission to destroy me at the request

of Sunwoo Hwi. That's why he came to Japan. My life really has been a narrow, rough road.

The April 2 Joint Statement Announced by Rev. Moon Ik-hwan and the North Korean Nuclear Issue

Kim

I understand it must have been difficult to meet Kim Il-sung when you went to North Korea with the Reverend Moon Ik-hwan in 1989, but you succeeded in doing so. It's indeed a marvelous achievement. Please tell me how you gained the opportunity to meet him. Was it due to the interaction the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan?

Chung

The story is in the book. That's when the National Assembly for the Promotion of Democratic Restoration and Unification in Korea people were active. At that time, I informed neither the National Assembly for the Promotion of Democratic Restoration nor Unification in Korea or the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan about the meeting. You know, it was following the meeting that the April 2nd Joint Statement was issued. According to the joint statement, the Reverend Moon Ik-hwan, who went from South Korea, and the North Korean leader Kim Il-sung agreed to a federal system, which would allow for coexistence of both sides without any one side being beaten down. The statement is composed of nine long sections, but its bullet points are as follows: first, democracy is the resurrection of the people, and unification is the resurrection of the nation—as such, the two are inseparable. Second, the channels for inter-Korean dialogue on unification should be widely opened, not left to the monopoly of the authorities. Third, federalism is necessary for peaceful unification to be achieved; it can be implemented either at once or in a gradual, systematic fashion.

Didn't the former president Kim Dae-jung say the same thing? However, he was always afraid of the military. It is understandable since he was sentenced to death twice. It would have been impossible to cross the 38th parallel on

his own volition and embrace Kim Jong-il. His friend, the Reverend Moon Ik-hwan, paved the way for it. This is how Kim Dae-jung came to believe that he would not be cornered just because he went to North Korea.

When people ask me, “What will you leave behind after your death?” I would dare to answer, “the moment when I went to Pyongyang with the Reverend Moon Ik-hwan and declared the April 2nd Joint Statement, which agreed to the federal system.” Isn’t it after the announcement of the April 2nd Joint Statement that Kim Dae-jung announced the June 15th North-South Joint Declaration with the North Korean leader? How was Kim able to cross the 38th parallel without fear? He must have had fear. However, since the Reverend Moon Ik-hwan, who was his close confidante, had already crossed the parallel, Kim Dae-jung himself was able to overcome the fear.

Kim

The North Korean nuclear issue seems to be a major factor for the strained situation on the Korean peninsula. I think we need to make a solid decision to solve the North Korean nuclear issue; what do you think?

Chung

To talk about the nuclear issue... It was in 1994 when the Reverend Moon Ik-hwan passed away. Personally, I had surgery on a cerebral infarction in February 1994. And it was on May 18, 1994 when the Pentagon executed Operation Plan 5027, a simulation attack on North Korea. At that time, the president of the United States was Bill Clinton. As North Korea then had a nuclear missile called Rodong Missile, Clinton must have found this unforgivable. So, the U.S. simulated what would happen if a war was fought against North Korea according to Operation Plan 5027. My writing tells of the simulation. Five aircraft carriers, 200 battleships, 1,200 aircraft—namely, half of the military power that the United States could mobilize at the time was going to be put in there.

For those who think about inter-Korean issues, we should not forget May 18, 1994. A war really was about to erupt. Everyone involved sighed with resignation after the simulation on May 18. They concluded that they couldn’t come to an easy resolution even though they would use

that seemingly insurmountable power. According to the simulation set for ninety days, the United States is likely to lose approximately 50,000 soldiers. The number is the same as that of U.S. soldiers killed for ten years from the start of the U.S. bombing in 1965 to the end of the Vietnam War in 1975. I don't know what strategy the U.S. was about to use, but when it simulated a ninety-day war, it turned out that the damage to the U.S. military would amount to an estimated 50,000 combatant deaths. Also, eighty percent of the Korean army, which was estimated to be 600,000 soldiers, would disappear. A million of civilians in Seoul would die. The details are in *The Two Koreas* written by Don Oberdorfer.

Upon hearing the result of the simulation, Clinton said, "We shouldn't go to war," and everyone was relieved. He decided to seek a solution by means other than war. It was on May 18th. Former president Kim Young-sam called Clinton after hearing the decision. He said, "We can't mobilize Korea while there is the potential for suffering such damage." Anyway, that's why former president Carter crossed the 38th parallel, right? Carter crossed the parallel with his wife and met with Kim Il-sung on June 14, 1994. This is why both sides stopped thinking about war.

On the 14th of June, Carter met and talked with North Korean leader Kim Il-sung, and the next day, on the 15th, they had talks again in a boat on the Daedong River. It was on June 15th. The reason why this date is also important is—isn't it also on June 15th when Kim Dae-jung went to Pyongyang and met with Chairman Kim Jong-il to announce the North-South Joint Declaration? History is not moved by chance. Carter talked with North Korean leader Kim Il-sung on June 15th on the Daedong River. And a few years later, again on June 15th, Kim Dae-jung and Chairman Kim Jong-il met and issued the June 15th North-South Joint Declaration.

Kim

When I read your work, I came across a section in which you wrote that you had great expectations for President Obama and Hillary. What made you have those expectations for them?

Chung

Didn't President Obama say he would establish a nuclear-free world? That's why. But all the promises have been lost. Hillary

was Obama's Secretary of State, right? Hillary's husband is Clinton. I thought Vice President Gore would be elected as the next president after Clinton, but Bush became President instead. The Secretary of State was Albright at the time. On October 10, 2000, a man named Cho Myoung-rok flew to the United States from Pyongyang. He was the number-two man at the time. He went to the U.S. on the 9th of October and had breakfast with Albright on the 10th. Cho said to Albright at the time that they would not go to war with the United States. He said he would not talk about war. At this, Albright replied: "If we can't solve the North Korean problem at this time, we're not qualified as politicians." After the talk, Albright traveled to Pyongyang and met with Kim Jong-il.

Then Clinton himself intended to go to Pyongyang. But strangely, he tried going to Pyongyang via Vietnam. This means that Clinton essentially viewed the Vietnam War and the Korean War in the same light. Clinton couldn't eventually go to Pyongyang. Why couldn't he go? Because Clinton never thought that Gore, who was his vice president, would ever lose to Bush. However, Bush became President, and as a result Clinton couldn't go to Pyongyang. Bush told Clinton haughtily, "Go there if you really want to." This is worse than telling him not to go. In that situation, Clinton couldn't go to Pyongyang.

Of course, Hillary is Hillary and Clinton is Clinton, so they aren't the same. But Clinton tried to solve the Korean peninsula issue within his term. What this means is that the inter-Korean problem is not something that can never be solved. It could have been solved at the time. After Obama was elected president, Hillary was named as his Secretary of State. Clinton and Hillary are obviously separate individuals, but since they were married, wouldn't they have had a chance to talk about North Korea? So, I hoped a little bit that after conversation with her husband, Hillary perhaps would play the role that Albright had once played. That's what prompted me to have a little hope on Hillary.

One more thing, Bush became President. In his State of the Union, in which he outlined his policy vision for the United States, Bush characterized North Korea, Iraq, and Iran as "an axis of evil." Hearing this, Iranian President Rafsanjani said that the United States was like "a dinosaur with the brain

of a sparrow.”

What did Bush commit? The U.S. is going down the drain now because of Bush. They invaded Afghanistan first after the September 11 terrorist attacks, and then they stormed into Iraq. But when they attacked Afghanistan, were the Afghans even aware of the name Osama bin Laden? They probably even had no idea of what al Qaeda was. But Bush thought that Osama bin Laden would hide in a cave and smoke would come out of the cave when he ate, and if they detected the smoke, they would be able to arrest Osama bin Laden. This is the thinking process that led Bush to decide to invade Afghanistan.

Next was Iraq. What kind of country has the United States become because of the war on Iraq? When the U.S. attacked Iraq, there must have been some people who argued that killing Saddam Hussein would be against international law. But what does international law have to do with such a great power as the United States? How much misery has the US invasion of Iraq caused to the Iraqi people?

That’s not all. Hussein was executed. Wasn’t Hussein a Sunni Muslim? As a result, the Sunnis had all been split into multiple sects. By the way, Iran is a Sunni country. Eventually, Iraq began to join hands with Iran. Due to this, Iran’s Sunni Muslims, who had not had any significant power, then grew into a huge force. And the people who gnashed their teeth because of the death of Hussein have now become IS terrorists. Bush’s decisions put the United States into a no-win dilemma. Among the stories I wrote, there is one about why the Gwangju Uprising occurred. That has to do with the situation in Iran. Didn’t the Iranian students occupy the U.S. embassy to try to revolutionize Iran? By the way, there’s a person named Kwak Dong-ui in the National Assembly for the Promotion of Democratic Restoration and Unification in Korea. He was referred to as the “Cha Ji-cheol” of the Assembly. After Park Chung-hee died, he led some young people to the Korean Embassy in Japan and said, “Since Park Jung-hee is dead, the embassy is ours. Hand it over.” At the time, Heo Mun-do was there. Heo must have known the relationship between the Assembly and Kim Dae-jung. I’m sure he reported it all when he returned to Korea. That’s

why Heo rose to the top like a rocket. What happened was all because of the idiot called the “Cha Ji-cheol” of the National Assembly for the Promotion of Democratic Restoration and Unification in Korea. No one would have thought of a relation between the Gwangju Uprising and the Iranian students’ occupation of the U.S. embassy. Furthermore, no one knows that it happened because of the National Assembly for the Promotion of Democratic Restoration and Unification in Korea and because of the so-called “Cha Ji-cheol” of the Assembly. Well, I’m not sure if what I’ve said today is worth listening to.

Kim

Aren’t you much more aware of the sociopolitical situation surrounding the Korean War and division than those who, whether involved in civic activities or working as a professor, are bound to remain passive within the established system of Korean society despite their progressive views? You think you should reveal the truths and facts that others don’t know about Korean unification or the unification movement. This may have forced you into exile. After listening to you today, I feel that all the facts you’ve told me today are truly valuable. Will you be attending the seventieth anniversary celebration of Mongyang’s death next year? If Lee Bu-young officially ask for it, then would it be possible? You should come to Korea once, sir.

Chung

I’m still on probation. If I go, I’ll be caught. What terrible sins have I committed? It made me a criminal to think thoroughly about the problems facing my own people and believe that things should not have unfolded in the way they did. If I go to Korea, I will be caught at Gimpo Airport. I’ve talked quite at length today. Since you study the unification movement, I hope you heed what I’ve said and keep pursuing your studies with enthusiasm.

Kim

Thank you so much for your invaluable talks today. I hope you stay healthy and come to Seoul.