

2014

Understanding Korean Unification

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**Ministry of Unification
Institute for Unification Education**

Since the year of 1972, “Understanding Korean Unification” has been published every year in Korean in order to help the general public in the Republic of Korea, or South Korea, better understand on the Korean unification issues.

The English version of the above-mentioned book started printing every other year from 2002 to provide international readers an opportunity to take a glimpse on the unification issues on the Korean peninsula.

We hope that this publication enables readers around the world to better grasp on the issue of the Korean peninsula.

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I

How to View the Korean Unification Issues

1. The Significance of and Need for Unification
2. The Basic Idea for Unification and Future Vision

Key Point**01**

Korean unification does not mean a mere return to the state prior to its division. Rather, it signifies the integration of two different systems into one national community, based on the principles of liberal democracy, free market economy, human rights and other universal values. In this sense, the unification would bring a more free and dignified life as human being to every Korean.

02

Unification is imperative for Koreans in rectifying the distorted part of Korean modern history, namely the division of the peninsula, as well as in maximizing the strengths of the Korean people by rebuilding a strong national community once again. It can also bring significant political, economic, social, and cultural benefits to all Korean national communities and enduring peace in the Northeast Asia by eliminating the common security threat.

03

South Korea's current unification formula envisions a unified Korea where all citizens are guaranteed fundamental freedom, welfare, and human dignity. There will be more freedom of choices, greater opportunities, as well as a vast increase in physical land available for all Koreans. At the same time, a unified Korea will also make greater contributions to world peace.

1. The Significance of and Need for Unification

The Meaning of Unification

Significance

Immediately after its liberation from the Japanese colonial rule, the Korean peninsula was divided into two along the 38th parallel by the foreign liberators and this seemingly temporary division turned out to be a quasi-permanent status in the wake of the Korean War(1950~1953). Despite the huge damages caused by the war, South Korea has achieved a remarkable economic growth and developed a stable democracy. Today, South Korea is internationally recognized as a model for its successful industrial and democratic development.

Of course, the prolonged division until today bestows many troubles to Koreans; it not only made Koreans to drain our national financial potentials, but also be subject to suffer from many tragedies such as separated families. The division also led us to an unequal distribution of natural resources as well, thereby substantially undermining the development and prosperity of the nation as a whole. Furthermore, it has further weakened our national sense of identity, due to the ever growing cultural, social differences and economic gap between the two Koreas. It, in turn, has significantly undermined the South Korean's enthusiasm about the prospects of unification.

The post-Cold War order of the twenty first century marks a new era of intense global competition, in which each country is primarily pursuing its own national interest. Given this increasingly competitive trend, achieving unification would be Korean's the biggest goal in order to ensure future competitiveness and prosperity.

Meaning

What then does the word unification mean to Koreans and other nations around the world? First of all, it refers to a process of overcoming national division. Yet it does not simply mean a return to the prior state of affairs, but includes a process of integrating the two different political and economic systems into one under the auspices of liberal democracy and a free market economy. Unification can be seen from other perspectives as follows:

First, from a geographical perspective, unification signifies a physical integration of North and South Korea into a unified state. By so doing, every Korean citizen would be able to freely move around or reside anywhere on the Korean peninsula as they used to do so throughout its history.

Second, from a political perspective, unification would entail an integration of two different political systems into one. This would require the development of one Constitution, one government, and ultimately one nation-state. Such creation of one single political entity would be a key in overcoming the current division and establishing a solid peace on the peninsula.

Third, from an economic perspective, unification means the integration of the two economic zones, market economy in the South and centrally planned one in the North into a single market. Since its division, people on the two sides of the peninsula have become effectively insulated from each other. In light of the international milieu in which economic integration among nations is taking place at an unprecedented scale, creating a unified single national economy would be so important to Koreans to ensure a more prosperous modern welfare state.

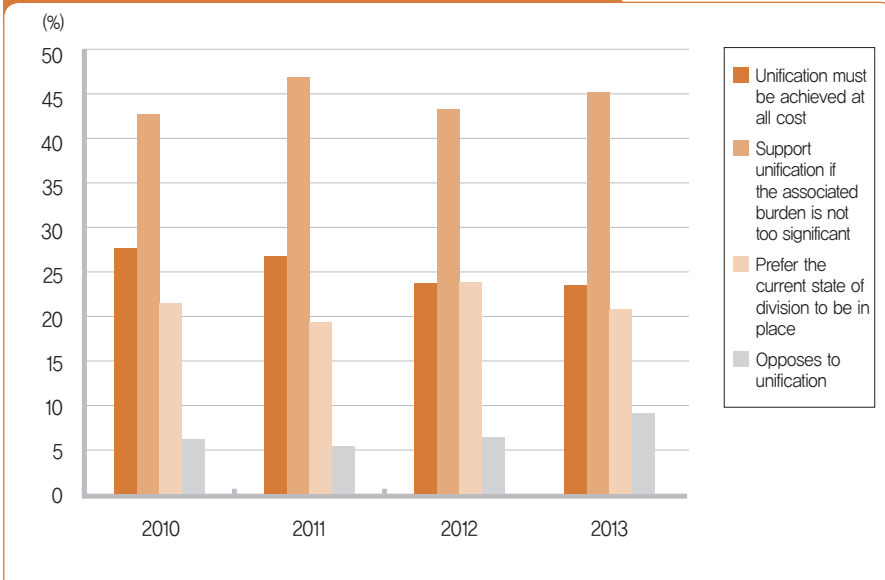
Fourth, from a social and cultural point of view, unification refers to the restoration of national homogeneity on both sides of Korea. For millennia, the Korean people have shared the common language, culture, and lifestyle. However, since the forcefully imposed division of seventy years ago, the two divided Koreans have become increasingly heterogeneous, and resultantly, losing common sense of unity over time. Unification in this sense would mean an internal integration of the hearts and minds of the Korean people.

To wrap up, we may say that unification would comprehensively entail many aspects of integration: territorial, political, economical, cultural and social assimilation among all members of Korean community.

The Need for Unification

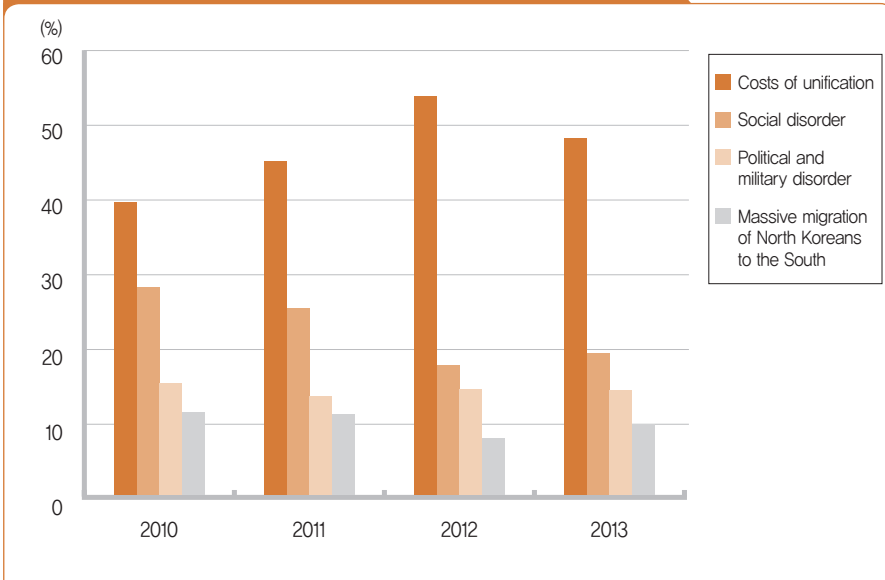
Why is unification necessary for the Korean people? There are many good reasons for it such as the common history and heritage and other common goods. Among others and most importantly, unification would guarantee a more peaceful and prosperous lives for all the people living on the peninsula. An increasing number of South Koreans, however, are becoming less hopeful about the potential benefits from unification and growing anxious about the economic and social burden that may be fall on their shoulders. Obviously there is a growing general pessimism about unification among the general public in South Korea. One public opinion survey, for example, shows that, although the majority of the South Koreans view unification in a positive way, they prefer unification to take place in a way that does not impose heavy burdens on the South Korean taxpayers.

Table 1-1. Public views on the need for unification



Source: 2014 Korean Broadcasting System survey of the general public's views on unification

Table 1-2. Stated reasons for why unification is unnecessary



Source: 2014 Korean Broadcasting System survey of the general public's views on unification

As the above survey reveals, views against unification are on the rise. In light of this trend, it is important for the general public to know that the benefits of unification outweigh the costs, and more specifically that the benefits would

not be mitigated by the transitory confusion associated with unification. It would also be important to convey the message that unification would be vital for the long-term national prosperity and development, a better quality of life, and the happiness and well-being of the entire Korean community.

Having said that, the need for unification can be summarized as follows:

First, unification would end the unstable state of division on the Korean peninsula and ensure a sustainable national development. The current structure of division, put in place by the Korean armistice agreement in 1953, is inherently unstable and can quickly escalate into higher tension and even a war. Under such circumstance, besides a tremendous waste of resources, it has also hampered further economic development due to the significant cost associated with it. Therefore, one of fundamental reasons for unification is to achieve a more sustainable economic development for the entire nation.

Second, the people on both sides of Koreas have long lived together for centuries in a single community with a common identity, a common language, and common culture until national division after the World War II. The past seventy years of division and the resulting confrontation between the two Koreas, however, has done so much to undermine the integrity of the nation. Therefore, unification would be necessary to overcome this growing state of heterogeneity and to rebuild the shared sense of homogeneous national community.

Third, unification would bring various long-term national benefits. Not only would it bring a permanent peace on the Korean peninsula, but it would also help to facilitate social integration of the people. Additionally, the removal of the current security threat from North Korea would further strengthen Korea's credit rating. The "Korea Discount"¹ would with all likelihood turn into a "Korea Premium."² Furthermore, South Korea's slowing economic growth can be reversed through unification, through opening up of new markets and acquiring new engines for economic growth.

Unification would expand the economic territory by enlarging the domestic market with a significantly larger population base. It is also predicted to bring about the synergy effect by combining the South's capital with the North's labor and natural resources and eventually would create promising new growth engines. It would bring a number of geographical advantages as well, as a unified Korea would be strategically positioned to emerge as a transportation and logistics hub connecting Pacific Rim countries with Europe. Such expansion of the market and development would stimulate economic growth and vitality for businesses and increased employment opportunities.

Fourth, unification would be necessary to guarantee freedom, human rights, and a happy life for all the people of South and North Korea. In particular, it would help to alleviate the pain experienced by the families separated by war and by the North Korean refugees living in the South. At the same time, it would dramatically improve the standard of living of North Korean residents.

Based on the explanations provided above, the need for unification can respectively be viewed at individual, state, national, and international levels.

At the individual level, unification would alleviate the pain of families living separated from their loved ones in the South and North. It would also provide all Koreans with a wider variety of choices as they would be able to move freely between the two Koreas.

At the state level, unification would finally remove the threat of war on the peninsula and enable the country to its resources that might have otherwise been consumed in confrontation, thereby restoring its national strength. Rapid economic growth can almost certainly be expected as a result of the significant reduction in military expenses. In short, unification would lay the foundation for Korea to become an economic powerhouse, a new economic hub connecting the Eurasian Continent with the countries of the Pacific Rim.

At the national level, unification would restore the historical legitimacy of the Korean people as a homogeneous race. As have been previously explained,

the Korean people had for a long time been a single unified nation with the common culture and traditions. With the division now weakening the national ties, unification would foster a new sense of national community.

At the international level, unification would serve to promote peace in Northeast Asia and ultimately in the world, by removing the threat of war on the Korean peninsula. Considering that North Korea's nuclear programs has long been the cause of political and military confrontation on and around the peninsula, the unification of the Koreas would greatly contribute to both regional and international peace and stability.

Table 1–3. The need for unification

Individual level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To alleviate the pain of families separated by the division • To Provide greater freedom and opportunities • To ensure a peaceful and prosperous life
State level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To remove the threat of war and the waste of resources • To ensure complementary use of resources and economies of scale • To expand economic areas
National level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To restore historical legitimacy and ethnic homogeneity • To form a single national community • To enable a rich national culture to flourish
International level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To resolve the North Korean issue • To contribute to building peace in Northeast Asia and the world

As such, a unified Korea would not only bring greater prosperity and development for its people, but also enable Korea to position itself as a new economic hub in the global and regional economies and to take the lead in bringing greater peace to Northeast Asia. Such scenario is very likely to play out, considering the central role Germany has played in Europe since its unification.

Thus, through unification, the Korean people would be able to restore their damaged national pride, overcome the pain of division, and rebuild a national community that guarantees human dignity and a happy life for the people on the peninsula.

2. The Basic Idea for Unification and Future Vision

The Basic Idea for Unification

How can the Korean people unify their country? Certainly, they sincerely hope to unify their country in a way where individual freedom and right for happiness is guaranteed. In view of these concerns, the unification formula espoused by the South Korean government has been to build a unified country through a gradual and phased approach by democratic and peaceful means, based on a national consensus.

Unification would necessarily entail qualitative changes in the Korean society, and thus broad-based agreement should first be established regarding the direction such changes should take and what the future vision should be as a unified country. The invariable challenges associated with unification, such as social disorder, significant financial cost, and attendant political burdens, are unlikely to be resolved unless such broad-based national consensus is successfully met.

Also, given that the goal of unification would be to build a democratic state guaranteeing freedom, human rights, and happiness for all, it is self-evident that the process and procedures would also need to be democratic. In other words, as far as the “when” and “how” and future vision of the unified country are concerned, it would be important to converge the Korean people’s views in

a democratic and peaceful way.

Though the Korean people have long aspired for unification, yet they do not want it to happen by any means. Rather, South Koreans prefer it in the justifiable means and peaceful procedures. The unification by peaceful means has already become broad national consensus among Koreans, since the country's division. Having experienced the tragedy of war, it is only natural for the Korean people to perceive that genuine peace settlement is of paramount importance to their security and survival. If the two Koreas are to seek peaceful unification, they should establish a significant degree of mutual trust through productive dialogue and reciprocal exchanges and cooperation. It would take long time and much effort to relive the deeply rooted and aggregated mutual distrust that have built up over the years since the division.

In this light, South Korea has adopted a unification approach in which the two markedly different systems should go through a gradual trust-building process, followed by functional integration of the two systems at various levels, and finally achieving ultimate political unification. Such a gradual and phased approach, as espoused by the South Korean government, was initially formalized in 1989 in the Korean National Community Unification Formula and was further developed in the National Community Unification Formula, a three-stage formula, in 1994. The key components of the National Community Unification Formula (NCUF) have, for the most part, been embraced by subsequent South Korean regimes.

“National community”, portrayed in the NCUF, envisions a comprehensive approach in which both the union of all the national constituents and way of and sphere of living by Koreans are included. A national community would serve to bind all the Korean people together as one, and this, in turn, would be a vital source of strength that can empower the nation to traverse the difficult path of unification. According to the Formula, South and North Korea would first need to develop an economic, social, and cultural sense of community

based on a common identity and work further toward creating a single political community.

Based on the policy that unification should only be achieved through the gradual and phased buildup of the national community, the Formula proposes three phases: an initial phase of reconciliation and cooperation, a second phase of creating a Korean Union, and a third and final phase of Unified Korea. In other words, South and North Korea would first need to go through reconciliation and cooperation, during which they would work to let go of their mutual hostility and mistrust through economic, social, and cultural exchanges and cooperation. This would be followed by a transition phase in which the body of Korean Union would be developed, in which peace would be institutionalized and a national community developed. Finally, the last phase would involve achieving the full integration of the country into a single political community.

As such, South Korea's unification formula stresses that "a national community needs to be built first, and a unified state to be established later." This approach is based on the historical observation that the formation of social communities generally precedes the formation of state systems. It would thus seem logical to conclude that "genuine" unification may come true, not just by bringing about an integration of social and political systems but by restoring national homogeneity and integration. The Formula also advocates that peace should first be realized before any attempts of unification. This view is based on the assumption that a gradual, progressive approach to unification will be more reasonable and effective

The Future Vision for Unification

The united Korea would be based on the universal values such as freedom, equality, democracy, social welfare, and justice. The basic ideology sustaining

the united Korea would be that of liberal democracy and market economy. Liberal democracy has been historically proven that it is the most effective political ideology in that the above-mentioned universal values are harmoniously realized. In liberal democracy, harmony between liberty and equality, balance between democratic procedure and democracy and harmony between liberalism and democracy are well fulfilled, thus making it relatively superior to any other political ideology so far.

Liberal democracy as a political ideology seeks to uphold the dignity of each individual as of prime importance. It also seeks to protect individual political rights such as the right to vote, suffrage and the right to choose their own government. Economically, the united Korea would be based on free market principles that guarantee individual freedom to engage in economic activities.

Nationalism is another basic ideology that the united Korea should uphold. Nationalism here refers to “open nationalism,”³ a form that seeks co-existence and co-prosperity with other nations. Korean unification can be most justified when a nation-state is built through an integration of the political and cultural areas. Open nationalism would also be supportive of diverse minority groups and their cultures within the Korean society. Amidst the on-going trend toward globalization, the South Korean society is gradually becoming more and more multi-cultural. Therefore, the nationalism of the unified Korea would need to remain open to and respectful of other peoples and cultures, rather than being closed and exclusive.

Based on the above-mentioned values and ideologies, the vision for the united Korea would look as follows:

First, the political system shall be based on the principles of representative democracy with a national assembly and a multi-party system. Immediately after unification, there would likely be numerous differences between the residents of South and those of North Korea in many areas including political ideology, economic strength, and socio-cultural values and custom. The

united Korea would therefore seek some form of institutional mechanism that would alleviate conflicts arising from such differences, raise public awareness, reflect the various public opinions, and seek to resolve such differences in an amicable fashion. Such a mechanism would involve a multi-party system and representative democracy at national and regional levels.

Second, the economic system in the unified Korea shall be based on a free market economy that has proven to be relatively superior to any other economic system in enhancing public welfare through high economic growth. As was seen through the fall of the socialist bloc and the ensuing transformation of the late 1980s, the free market economic system, through its guarantee of the ownership of private property and freedom to engage in enterprises, has been shown to make a country richer, more powerful, and better life to its people.

Third, the social system shall be democratic, open, and humanity-oriented as seen in politico-economic systems. In a humanity-oriented society, prime value should be placed on respect for human dignity and all institutions and policies will be focused on realizing the values for the respect for humanity. Thus, the united Korean society would be open and democratic and respect other universal values like freedom, human rights, equality, and public welfare.

Fourth, the culture of the united Korea would be the one in which humanity is respected and is rooted from Korea's traditional culture. By restoring cultural homogeneity and identity among its people, the united Korea's should develop its traditions in a way to open and forward-looking. If the united Korea is to remain with a closed and rigidly uniformed culture, it will likely fail to meet the increasingly multi-cultural and globalized world.

Fifth, in terms of its external relations, a united Korea shall be a peace-loving and denuclearized state that will contribute to building a peace community in Northeast Asia. In order to achieve this end, North Korea would first need to denuclearize and the peace system should reside on the Korean peninsula. In order to bring lasting peace, Korea would also seek equilibrium and harmony

of interests in its relations with surrounding powers. By doing so, a united Korea would come to enjoy an enhanced international reputation as a nation that actively safeguards international peace and human rights.

Footnote

- 1** The Korea Discount is defined by Forbes Magazine as “the amount by which foreign investors undervalue Korean stocks” for reasons such as lack of transparency and uncertainty of the Korean economy. Due to the uncertainty arising from the division, Korea is also perceived to have certain long-term investment risks that need to be addressed.
- 2** The Korea Premium is the perceived preference for Korean stocks and products as a result of the country’s enhanced international profile.
- 3** Nationalism is an ideology that promotes the prosperity and development of one’s nation, and as such can be exclusive in nature. However, open nationalism seeks to develop one’s nation while being in co-existence and co-prosperity with other nations. Rather than being exclusive and closed, Korea’s nationalism in the process of unification is open nationalism that seeks to promote reciprocal exchanges and peace with other nations.



II

History of Division and the Building of a National Community

1. The Division of Korea and the Establishment of the Republic of Korea
2. The Development of the Republic of Korea
3. The Building of a National Community

Key Point**01**

Koreans stood up rigorously against Japanese colonial rule and sought for their independence. Being liberated in 1945, however, the Korean people failed to establish a unified nation–state due to internal and external factors, ending up to the two political entities. The Korean War further worsened the division, and even until today the Korean peninsula still remains divided, despite the end of the Cold War in the world.

02

In 1948, the Republic of Korea (South Korea) was established as a democratic republic, succeeding the legitimacy of the Korean Provisional Government. At the third session of the United Nations General Assembly, the South Korean government was approved as the only lawful government on the Korean peninsula. Established through democratic procedures and espousing the principles of liberal democracy and a free market economy, the Republic of Korea has successfully developed economic growth and a stable democracy.

03

Throughout their long history, the Korean people have remained homogeneous in culture and language, and ethnicity. Over the centuries, this sense of national identity pulled together Koreans whenever the country faced crises. This sense of unity and oneness functions as a foundation to unify their divided country, to restore the cultural homogeneity, and to revitalize their rich cultural heritage and traditions.

04

The unification approach, proposed in the National Community Unification Formula by South Korea, aims to restore and develop a renewed sense of national community as a stepping stone on the road to build a unified state. In other words, the building of an economic, social, and cultural national community will serve as a stepping stone to go over to a political community at the end of the day.

1. The Division of Korea and the Establishment of the Republic of Korea

Korea was forced to open its ports by Japan in 1876, prior to pursuing its own modernization. Subsequently Japan forcefully colonized Korea in 1910 and put Korean national leaders in jail, and infringed Korean people's freedom. In response, the Korean people actively stood up against Japanese imperialism in a peaceful way at first and later on by arms. The Korean Provisional Government was set up in China, after the March First Movement which was a peaceful protest against Japanese colonial rule in 1919.

At the end of the World War II in August 1945, Korea became one of independent countries like other colonies. The defeat of Japan's militarism, however, did not result in the establishment of a single Korean nation, due to the Cold War that shaped dramatically the world in the late 20th century. Consequently, the peninsula was set apart along the 38th parallel. The Soviet Army took the northern part, while American troops the southern part of the peninsula. When the U.S.-Soviet Joint Commission failed to make agreement on the unified single Korea, the U.S. took the Korea question to the United Nations in September 1947. The United Nations issued a resolution stating that Korea was to be reunified under one government through a UN-supervised general elections. The Soviet Union and North Korea, however, rejected it. Consequently, in May 1948, a general election was held only in the South and the Republic of Korea government was established on August 15. While a

communist regime was also set up in the North on September 9 in the same year. The Korea War (1950~1953) took place and the Korean armistice line replaced the 38th parallel as a new division line.

The South succeeds the legitimacy of the Korean Provisional Government in China and was approved as the only legal government on the Korean Peninsula by the United Nations General Assembly.

Liberation and Division

Independence Movement and Liberation

Following the Meiji Restoration and the resultant modernization, Japan looked for the Korean Peninsula to expand its reach. Its victories in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894 and the Russo-Japanese war of 1904 enabled Japan to intervene in Korea's politics.

In 1905, Japan forced Korea to sign the Eulsa Treaty, or Korea-Japan Treaty of 1905, depriving Koreans of its diplomatic sovereignty. After signing the treaty, Emperor Gojong of Korea sent a personal letter to the United States to appeal for American support against the illegal signing. The Emperor also sent three secret emissaries to the International Hague Peace Convention to protest against the unfairness of the treaty, but they were not allowed to take part in the conference. As the conclusion of the Eulsa Treaty became public, anti-Japanese rallies took place throughout the Korean peninsula. Confucian scholars expressed their objection to the treaty by submitting pleas, and in some cases, even took their own lives in protest. People from all walks of life launched anti-Japanese movements, while the patriotic armies were mobilized nationwide under the leadership of several elite scholars and generals. The Korean Royal Army was forcefully dismissed by Japanese in 1907.

In addition, New People's Association, or Sinminhoe, a secret anti-Japanese

society established in 1907, campaigned educational movement to enlighten Koreans by setting up schools such as Daeseong School, Osan School. The society even planned to establish an overseas military school as a long-term armed struggle against Japan. In 1909, Ahn Jung-geun, an Korean independence activist, gunned down Ito Hirobumi, then Japanese Prime Minister, in Harbin, China, who was viewed as being the main culprit of Japan's aggression against Korea.

In 1910, Japan unlawfully deprived Korea of its sovereignty and placed it under its colonial rule. The Korean people responded to the Japanese suppression by fighting for independence through secret societies like the Patriotic Army for Independence and the Korea Liberation Association. In 1911, some military bases were set up in North Jiandao, China and Vladivostok, Russia. In 1914, organizations from Manchuria, Siberia, and the U.S. organized the Government of the Korean Liberation Army in Vladivostok to combine forces against Japanese rule.

On February 8, 1919, the Declaration of Independence of Korea was proclaimed in Tokyo, an event highly influenced by President Wilson's Principle of Self-Determination. On the Korean peninsula, thirty-three national leaders proclaimed the Declaration of Independence of Korea on March 1st in 1919. This proclamation triggered mass protests throughout the Korean peninsula, which is called the March First Independence Movement. The Japanese authority suppressed these peaceful demonstrations with brutal forces. The movement further solidified the Korean people's ethnic awareness and led to other large-scale mass demonstrations and school boycotts.

Following the March First Movement, independence movements became more united and organized, resultantly establishing the Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai, China, with Rhee Syngman as the provisional President. The Provisional Government promulgated a provisional Constitution of Korea¹ and engaged in an active diplomatic campaign that included sending

a Korean delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. The Provisional Government also tried to secure a fund in an attempt to wage war against Japanese army. However, severe financial difficulties, arrest of support organizations inside the Korean peninsula, and disintegration from socialist camp put the Provisional Government in crisis and eventually revamped under the leadership of Kim Koo.

The Provisional Government' strengthened its anti-Japanese campaign in the 1930s. In 1932, two unsuccessful attempts to kill Japanese emperor by Korean independence activists underwent: one in Tokyo and the other in China. These two failed attempts bought sympathies from many Chinese and worked to have support from Chinese Nationalist Government. Some other small Korean units also waged small-scale fight against Japanese in Manchuria, China.

It took the Korean people 35 years to be liberated from Japanese colonial rule. Sadly, the Korean resistance movement was marked by several ideological divisions, the most prominent being that of nationalism and Communism. This disunity in ideology made it difficult for Koreans to concentrate on national independence. In 1940s, three nationalist factions merged into the Korean Independence Party and organized the Korean Liberation Army. In



Liberation of Korea from Japan
on August 15th, 1945

1942 some socialist factions joined forces with the Korean Liberation Army and drew up a plan to invade the Korean peninsula on August 20th in 1945. When Japan announced its unconditional surrender on August 15, 1945, this planned military operation was aborted.

Table 2-1. Major anti-Japanese resistance movements and independence campaigns

Year	Content
1895	Queen Min assassinated by Japanese soldiers in 1895
1905	Filing of appeals against the coerced Korea-Japan Agreement, patriotic enlightenment movement, activities of righteous armies
1907	Secret envoys sent to the Hague Peace Conference, national debt repayment movement, establishment of New People's Association
1909	Assassination of Ito Hirobumi, Japanese Prime Minister, by Ahn Jung-geun, Korean patriotic activist
1911	Establishment of forward bases for the independence movement in North Jiandao, China, and Russia's Maritime Province (Primorsky Krai), Russia
1912	Organization of the Righteous Army for independence
1919	February 8th Independence Declaration, March First Movement, establishment of the Provisional Government of Korea
1926	June 10th Independence Demonstrations
1929	Gwangju Student Independence Movement
1932	Unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Japanese emperor Hirohito by Lee Bong-chang and killing of Japanese dignitaries by Yun Bong-gil
1940	Formation of Korean Liberation Army

A Divided Korea – The Causes and the Process

How the Korean peninsula was divided? What are the causes and how did it go through? Firstly, the division of the Korean peninsula started from the occupation by external forces: the northern part the Soviets and the southern part by the U.S. Secondly, the political rift among Koreans over the issue of trusteeship in 1946 added forces to the division. Lastly, the breakdown of the U.S.-Soviet Joint Commission held in 1946 and 1947, which was responsible for the establishment of an independent government in Korea, was another factor for the division.



Cairo Conference in November 1943

The issue of Korean independence had been discussed among the Allies even before Korea was liberated from Japan. In 1943, at the height of World War II, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek of the Republic of China met in Cairo where they agreed that in due course Korea should become free and independent. That commitment to the independence of Korea was reaffirmed at the Potsdam Conference in 1945.

According to the decision made at the Yalta Conference in February, 1945, the U.S.S.R declared the war against Japan and sent Soviet army to Manchukuo and the Korean peninsula. On August 11, 1945, the U.S. proposed an American occupation zone south of the 38th parallel in a move to prevent the Soviet's



Potsdam Conference in July 1945

Communist takeover of the Korean peninsula to disarm the remaining Japanese military. With the Soviet agreement, the Korea peninsula came under the divided administration by the U.S. and the U.S.S.R immediately after its liberation from Japan.

Upon Japan's unconditional surrender on August 15, 1945, the Korean peninsula was liberated from Japanese colonial rule. Korea, not being as victor, however, was unable to relish a sense of victory. Instead, it was divided by the



The 38th parallel

Soviet army in the northern part and the U.S. army in the southern part. The military presence of the two great powers on the peninsula made the peninsula into a violent political maelstrom.

The Soviet military government strongly supported Kim Il-sung and executed Soviet-initiated reform measures² and nationalizations of industries. On the other hand, the U.S. military government supported the Nationalists in the South, including the Korea Democratic Party.

From the time immediately following liberation to the outbreak of the Korean War, Korea became a divided state in three different ways. The first was regional division. In 1945, the peninsula became divided along the 38th parallel by the U.S. and the Soviet armies. The regional division forced the two sides to operate under distinctively different political structures.

The second phase was the so-called division of political systems. While the North implemented nationalization of industries and other socialist policies, the South was placed under a capitalist system based on liberal democracy.

The third phase was the division of the governments. With the Soviets and North Korea rejecting the United Nations resolution for a single general election, the election was held only in the South. Subsequently, the Republic of Korea was established on August 15, 1948 and the United Nations acknowledged the Republic of Korea as the only lawful government on the peninsula. Meanwhile, on September 8, 1948, in the North, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was established.

What solidified the division was the Korean War which took place when the North's invaded the South on June 25, 1950. With the Korean Armistice Agreement³ signed on July 27, 1953, the division became solidified and later on worked as the key factor that characterized the postwar inter-Korean relations. As seen earlier, the division of Korea resulted from all the possible hostilities associated with the Cold War among great powers and it still persists in place even after the Cold War has long gone in other parts of the world.



The Signing of the Korean Armistice Agreement at Panmunjom in July 27, 1953

The Founding of the Republic of Korea

In Moscow in December 1945, the foreign ministers of the three great powers, the U.S., the Soviet Union and the U.K. agreed on the trusteeship of Korea and the establishment of the provisional Korean democratic government. The proposed trusteeship⁴, was considered to be a return to colonization by Koreans at the time and regarded as not an acceptable plan for Koreans. Consequently, violent anti-trusteeship demonstrations swept the peninsula. Initially, leftists took part in the anti-trusteeship campaign. Under Soviet directions, they quickly changed their stand to favor the proposed trusteeship. While the post-liberation occupation of Korea by the U.S. and the Soviet Union had been regarded as a territorial division on the temporary basis, the national polarization on the issue of the trusteeship plan in January 1946 more of a psychological and ideological division.

As the two sessions of the U.S.-USSR Joint Commission failed to resolve the issue, the U.S passed it to the United Nations in September 1947. In November of that same year, the UN General Assembly resolved, in line with the U.S. proposal, that a UN-supervised general election in proportionate to the populations in South and North Korea be held in the whole peninsula. The Soviets, opposed to the transfer of the Korean issue to the United Nations, did not allow the United Nations' Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCOK)⁵

to enter North Korea. It thus became apparent that the United Nations plan would not work for the whole of Korea. In February 1948, the UN decided to hold elections only in those areas where UNTCOK would be able to function, namely in South Korea.

Those who engaged in the anti-trusteeship campaign in South Korea split into two factions in response to the UN-supervised election plan. On the one hand, Rhee Syngman and the Korea Democratic Party called for general elections to be held immediately. On the other hand, members of the Korean Independence Party under the leadership of Kim Koo opposed the election to form a single government in the South, calling for the withdrawal of U.S. and Soviet troops from the peninsula and then having general elections through negotiations among leaders from North and South.

Kim Koo and Kim Kyu-sik sent a letter to leaders in Pyongyang to propose a joint meeting between leaders. Kim Il-sung and Kim Du-bong accepted it and a Joint Leaders Conference from North and South was held in Pyongyang on April 19-23, 1948. But Kim Koo and Kim Kyu-sik did not arrive in Pyongyang until the 22nd. Thus, they only made short speeches and had practically no real opportunity to discuss unification issues with North Korean leaders. Prior to accepting the proposal for the joint meeting, North Korea was in preparation to form its government by secretly creating the Korean People's Army on February 8, 1948 and organizing the Supreme People's Assembly. The plan for a single unified government therefore fell apart.

The first general elections were held in South Korea on May 10, 1948. The Constitution of the Republic of Korea was adopted on July 17, declaring that the new government to be democratic, upholding the spirit of the March First Movement. On July 20, the National Assembly elected Rhee Syngman as its President. On August 15, 1948 President Rhee proclaimed the establishment of the Republic of Korea.

President Rhee sent Korean delegation to the third session of the UN General



The R.O.K. government was formally established on August 15, 1948

Assembly in Paris of 1948. At the General Assembly held on December 8, 1948, the approval of the Republic of Korea was adopted as an official agenda of the United Nations by a vote of 41 for, 6 against, and 2 abstentions. On December 12, the UN General declared that

the government of the Republic of Korea be only legitimate authority on the peninsula by Resolution 195.

2. The Development of the Republic of Korea

Under the Japanese colonial rule, Koreans had continually striven to gain independence and build a national state. Following Korea's liberation, however, the nation became divided into South and North due to internal and external reasons. Furthermore, the Korean War, which was set off by a North Korean invasion of South Korea, left the entire country in a state of desolation and caused a large number of casualties. Nevertheless successfully achieved rapid economic development and turned into a mature democratic country today.

The Republic of Korea succeeds the legitimacy of the Korean Provisional Government in China and was formed as a democratic republic and market economy. It now boasts to the world with its unprecedented economic growth and sustainable democracy.

Liberal Democracy and Market Economy

Political System in the Republic of Korea

The Republic of Korea (ROK) takes its political and economic system as a liberal democracy and market economy explicitly articulated in its Constitution. The Preamble of the Constitution states: "the people of Korea, proud of a long history and traditions uphold the cause of the Korean Provisional Government

formed in the wake of the March First Independence Movement of 1919 and the spirit of the April Nineteenth Uprising of 1960 against injustice.” In addition, the first paragraph of Article 1 of the Constitution declares that the Republic of Korea be a democratic republic. Also, Article 4 states that “the Republic of Korea shall seek unification and shall formulate and carry out a policy of peaceful unification based on the principles of freedom and democracy.” Meanwhile, Article 119 of the Constitution provides that the economic order of the country shall be based on freedom and creativity in the initiative of enterprises and individuals in economic affairs.

Liberal democracy ensures that a person’s dignity, freedom, and human rights are respected, and that every person may realize one’s full potential while living a dignified life as a human being. In line with the ideology of liberal democracy, the Republic of Korea guarantees its people the freedom to the fullest and emphasizes universal values such as freedom, self-fulfillment, privacy, human rights, and equal opportunity.

In its path to the peaceful unification, South Korea makes it clear that liberal democracy be a basic value to uphold. The tenets of liberal democracy underline democratic processes and consensus building and peaceful resolution of conflicts that may arise in the process of unification and thereafter.

The above-mentioned core values of liberal democracy are also well reflected in South Korea’s civil education in regard with unification. The Unification Education Support Act and the Guideline for the Unification Education, South Korea also manifest that unification education should be done in the manner to ensure its people to have belief in the national community-building based on liberal democracy.

Meanwhile, liberal democracy has evolved in tandem with the market economy. Under the market economic system, South Korea has successfully modernized its economy by executing government-initiated economic development plans. The country achieved its modernization in a few decades, while it took other

western countries more than 200 years in modernization, and was praised as “the Miracle of the Han River.”

As seen the above, the Republic of Korea has continued to sustain marked growth and development despite the various constraints caused by the division. Thus, the settled conviction is that the liberal democracy and market economy must be the basic foundation for the unified Korea, along with other universal values such as human dignity, freedom, equality.

Characteristics of Liberal Democracy and Market Economy

Liberal democracy is a political ideology that combines liberalism and democracy. Liberalism emerged in the 17th and 18th centuries when the bourgeoisie class rejected the notions of hereditary privilege, feudal social order, and absolute monarchy. Liberal thinkers argued that each man has a natural right to life, liberty, and property. In those times, the middle class demanded that they be granted the right to private property based on their individual engagement in labor, while calling for a market economic order based on free contracts and mutual consent. Democracy, originated from the Greek word meaning “rule of the people,” is a “system of self-governing by citizens and emphasizes free and equal participation in the political process.

Ideologically speaking, liberalism and democracy are mutually well compatible in terms of their respect for the individualism and rationalism. Liberalism assumes that state power should be limited as much as possible and democracy emphasizes that state power should be dispersed among constituents as much as possible. An extreme form of liberalism is laissez-faire, while the diametric opposite of democracy is totalitarianism. It can also be argued that freedom without equality of opportunity can result in freedom only for a select few, and that indiscriminate equality, on the other hand, can actually undermine individual freedom. Thus, these two closely interconnected notions have been combined in liberal democracy as a necessary check and balance to each other.



Seoul today



Seoul during the Korean War

Liberal democracy beholds “the dignity of human beings” as the most important and basic value and is recognized arguably as the most sustainable and universal ideology in human history. In line with this notion, liberal democracy emphasizes basic human rights, the rule of law, a parliamentary system, separation of the three branches of the state, a multiple political party system, free elections, and freedom of assembly and association. Today, liberal democracy is the most realistic political option that guarantees individual happiness.

A market economy is based on capitalism, which runs on people’s incentive to work and aims to increase productivity by guaranteeing the right to property ownership and the freedom to engage in economic activities. Liberal democracy is well compatible with the market economy, and both of them are highly dependent on each other. Though a market economy does not necessarily bring liberal democracy, all liberal democracies have historically grown and developed out of well-functioning free market economies.

Despite their mutual amicability, there exists an inherent conflict between liberal democracy and market economy. Liberal democracy as a political ideology grants equal citizenship to every individual. A market economy, if not held in check, can result in a widening gap between the rich and the poor, materialism. As a result, modern democratic states have over time evolved from the passive role of guaranteeing fair competition to a more active role of ensuring people to live a dignified life. Today, modern liberal democracy, along

with the market economic system, continues to evolve, constantly trying to improve and overcome its internal paradoxes and limitations.

Economic Development and Democratization

The Progress of Economic Development and Democratization

South Korea has achieved both economic development and democratization in a relatively short period of time. Following its division and the tragic fratricidal war in early 1950's, South Korea has to develop its economy from the scratch and by so doing authoritarian regimes took power.

Though adopting a market economy, the government of South Korea from 1962 took the lead in modernizing and industrializing the country. Until the early 1960s, the country had faced huge difficulties to modernize it in that it was largely based on agriculture with a growing population to feed coupled and limited natural resources, capital, and technology. Thus, the government adopted an export-oriented economic growth strategy and focused on a few strategic industries with its limited resources. This strategy worked effectively to promote export Korean made goods abroad and as it turned out to be greatly successful, the economy of South Korea grew dramatically in size.



The first built highway in the 1960s which runs from Seoul to the port of Busan

South Korea's GDP was only about USD 2 billion in 1960 and rose to USD 10 billion in 1974 and to USD 100 in 1986. In 2012, the GDP surpassed the USD1



Surpassing 10 billion dollar in exports in 1977

trillion-mark. The per capita income was only USD80 in 1960, exceeded USD10,000 in 1995, and again the USD25,000-mark in 2013. Immediately following the Korean War in 1953, financial aid from the United States was the only distinctive international trade; after 2000, the country's total trade volume has exceeded 70% of its GDP. In 2011, South Korea became the ninth country in the world to achieve the USD1 trillion-mark in trade and the seventh largest trading country in the world in 2013.

At the same time, South Korea has worked hard to solidify a democracy through several popular democratic movements such as the April 19 Revolution, Gwangju Uprising of May 18, and the June Democratic Uprising. The country has now elects the President and members of the National Assembly by popular votes and its people enjoys political rights which allow all political parties, interest groups, and individuals to take part in the political process freely.

Achieving industrialization and democratization in a short period of time, South Korea has transformed itself into a modern society marked by



Democratic Uprising in June 1987

urbanization, nuclear families, high level of education and information technology. Nowadays, the country is striving to resolve various kinds of inequality and social gaps to ensure its citizen a better quality of life.

The Role of South Korea in the World

South Korea has transforming itself from being the world's most impoverished nation into a member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD),⁶ the “club of rich nations.” Korea's successful economic development has earned it accolades such as the Miracle of the Han River, the Asian Dragon, and a Newly Industrialized Country (NICs). Many developing countries are trying to take a model for their economic development from South Korea.

Aside from its success in the economic arena, South Korea also boasts competitiveness in other areas including sports, culture and the arts. For example, the nation successfully hosted the 1988 Summer Olympics and made it to the semi-finals of the 2002 FIFA



Summer Olympic Games in Seoul in 1988

World Cup. During these international events, the Korean people's mature citizenship, their nationalist spirit, along with its state-of-the-art information technology, has gone a long way in enhancing Korea's national image o. Today, an increasing number of Korean sportsmen have become prominent on the world stage, which in turn led to better performance and results in the Olympics and other international sports competitions. Furthermore, Korean pop culture in such areas as music, drama, and movies has led the way in creating a wave of Korean fever in Asia and elsewhere throughout the world.



Korean Wave (K-Wave)

The Korean Wave, or Hallyu, refers to the increased popularity of South Korean popular culture. It gained its popularity in Asia since the late 1990s. Since then, Korean dramas, movies, and pop songs gained tremendous popularity throughout Southeast Asia. With the turn of 2000s, its popularity went beyond Asia and into other parts of the world.

In addition to the popular entertainment, this fever has further expanded to other areas of Korean culture, including Korean cuisine, Hangeul (Korea's character), A Korean television series titled *My Love from a Star*, for example, turned out to be tremendously successful in China in 2014.

Thanks to its increased presence on the international stage, South Korea has also seen a significant rise in its status and role in the international community. The country became the first non-G7 country as well as the first Asian country to host a G20 Summit in 2010. In 2011, Korea also hosted the High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Busan, indicating a symbolic transformation from being an aid recipient to being a donor country.



G20 Summit in 2010 and Nuclear Security Summit in 2012 in Seoul

South Korea's lifted international status has been further attested by its hosting of the Nuclear Security Summit⁷ and its successful attraction of the Green Climate Fund Secretariat⁸ at Incheon in 2012. South Korea also has played a pivotal role in the conversion of the Global Green Growth Institute (GGGI)⁹ into an international treaty-based organization. In 2014, as one of the 15 non-standing members of the United Nations Security Council for the term 2013-2014, South Korea is also actively engaged in the UN's efforts to maintain international peace and security.

3. The Building of a National Community

Throughout its long history, Korean people have long maintained cultural and linguistic homogeneity. However, at the beginning of the 20th century, the Korean people were forced to undergo the Japanese colonial rule, the national division. With the division of the country becoming prolonged than expected, the people in the South and the North have been becoming more heterogeneous. Now new generations in South Korea have been showing a markedly indifferent to the national unification.

As Korean history has shown, in every crisis and difficult times, the Korean people rallied to overcome them by pulling together. In line with this spirit of national solidarity, the Korean people must now once again rekindle the strong sense of community and homogeneity to overcome their national division.

The Sense of National Identity & Ethnic Homogeneity

The Sense of National Identity

Since the early times when Koreans settled down on the Korean peninsula, the Korean people had lived in an agrarian society and maintained a closely-knit and homogenous ethnic group. The Koreans were able to develop and preserve its own cultural identity. Simultaneously the Koreans were adroit to assimilate

different cultures from the contiguous continent and the island sea away.

During the early kingdoms namely Gojoseon, Goguryeo, and Balhae eras, Koreans had occupied an expansive territory including much of Manchuria. During the Goryeo Dynasty that followed the Unified Silla kingdom, even though the nation suffered many invasions from neighboring Kitans, Jurchens, and Mongolians, the kingdom preserved its independence.

Throughout history, many national crises and difficult times made the Korean people to hold a strong sense of national identity by blood ties, a common language. For example, the Legend of Dangun helped solidify the identity of ethnic Koreans even when the country was subjected to Mongolian rule during the 13th century. The same spirit stood tight in Joseon Dynasty, the Daehan Empire, and Japanese colonial rule.

A spirit of harmony has prevailed in the psyche of the Korean people, reflecting their desire to bring harmony to conflicting or opposing elements. As a case in point, the Korean people have, since early times, accommodated various thoughts and ideas from then popular religions such as Confucianism, Buddhism, or Christianity in modern times, viewing them as co-existing elements in harmony. Also, based on their deep respect for life, Koreans have developed an abiding respect for human beings and humanist ethics. They also have placed much values upon enjoying nature as it is and living a disciplined life in harmony with the ways of nature. Thus, Korea has long been called the “country of the courteous people in the East.” Confucius, for example, praised Korea as a “land where men of virtue never die.”

Finally, the Korean people view their communities as open and non-exclusive, and as such, instead of referring to Korea as “my family” or “my country,” they often use the term “our family” or “our country.” Given such a perspective, Koreans have remained open to the world around them and have engaged themselves actively in exchanges with their neighbors. Today, South Korea has become home for many: North Korean refugees, multicultural families, and

foreign workers.

Restoring Ethnic Homogeneity

Today, ethnic groups are seeing their identity shaken under the influence of expanding globalization. Countries with a single language and ethnicity have become a rarity. In general, the notion of a “nation” embodies a combination of language, history, and customs with national awareness, national self-determination. For a thousand and three hundred years, Koreans has been in a single nation after the Unified Shilla kingdom.



Despite frequent foreign invasions, aggressions its long history, Korea was able to maintain its status as an independent nation for centuries and develop a unique national culture. In the late 19th century, however, Korea failed to modernize on its own and became subject to the Japanese colonial rule. After the WWII, the Korean peninsula was divided and the Korean War followed

The deep sense of ethnic awareness is the foundation of the Korean people’s desire to restore national homogeneity and to unify the nation. Present division, viewed from Korea’s long history of unity, may only be a temporary phenomenon.

As a key concept that provides people with a sense of national community, nationalism is “a political ideology that considers one’s nation as the prime basic unit of social life.” In the West, nationalism has emerged as a “collective consciousness to build an independent modern state based on cultural homogeneity.” In contrast, the Korean type of nationalism has generally been

“defensive,” since it sought to protect its own country, rather than attacking other countries. During the Japanese colonial rule, the nationalistic spirit of the Korean people morphed into an organized form of “resistance nationalism” that sought to preserve Korea’s unique culture and restore the country’s freedom and independence.

Though Korean nationalism has developed differently under the different systems of the two Koreas, the people in both sides share a common sense of homogeneity based on blood ties, a long shared history, common culture, and a collective memory of resistance nationalism under the Japanese colonial rule. It was perhaps this sense of nationalism that propelled the two Koreas to cooperate in various cooperation projects, such as the joint National Foundation Day ceremony, joint religious events, joint protest against Japan’s distortion of history textbooks, and many exchange programs in sports, culture, and the arts.

This nationalism shared by the Koreans may play an important role in forming the unified state as an integrating ideology that supersedes ideological, religious, regional and generational differences. It can also be a motor for social integration by fostering a renewed sense of national identity, belonging, and mutual engagement. But in light of the current era of globalization, such a nationalist sense would need to be open, and must transcend the basic concepts like blood ties and language and promote the co-existence and co-prosperity of the entire global community.

The Building of a National Community

The globalization, information technology, open and multi-cultural trends at the international level can influence the sense of community in an individual state. Today’s globalization trends demand a new level of awareness and competence to survive in the competitive and volatile environment of the

21st century. Korea's immediate neighbors - China, Japan, and Russia - are all striving to devise new national strategies for their economic growth. Given these circumstances, Koreans must overcome the current national division and build a unified Korea, thus opening new chapter in its history. In this regard, the unification of Koreas would be something more than just territorial integration; it would be creating a future history based on a set of national identity and universal values.

By reestablishing a unified state based on a common sense of national community, the Korean people would heal the wounds of division and restore a sense of national pride. Unification would also bring all the residents of South and North Korea to enjoy freedom, prosperity, and happiness. Furthermore, unification would be necessary in order to contribute to the world peace.

The National Community Unification Formula is based on the framework of nationalism. In other words, the formula aims to restore and develop a renewed sense of national community, ultimately concluding a unified nation on the Korean Peninsula. The formula proposes that the two Koreas should engage in exchanges, cooperation and trust-building between each other and thus leading the two Koreas to build an economic, social and cultural community. At the later part of the process of exchange and cooperation, senses of these communities may serve as an important stepping stone for a single political system. As such, South Korea's unification formula posits that a gradual, phased approach is the best way to overcome inter-Korean distrust and build a single national community.

Considering the current state of inter-Korean relations, building a national community would certainly not be an easy task to achieve in the short-term. It would require not only the sincere efforts of the authorities of both sides, but also the widespread support and participation of the general public, as well as favorable internal and external conditions

Footnote

- ¹ The provisional constitution of Korea is the first constitution of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea in Shanghai that was promulgated on April 11, 1919. At the first meeting of the provisional legislature attended by 27 representatives, including Sin Ik-hee and Cho So-ang, it was passed that the name of the country would be the Republic of Korea and a provisional constitution comprising ten articles was also passed. The provisional constitution provided that the Korean Republic be a democratic republic, a provisional government govern the Korean Republic, that the citizens of Korea have equality, freedom (of faith, writing, publishing, dwelling), personal and property rights, the right to vote, and obligation (education, taxation, and military conscription).
- ² On March 4, 1946, North Korea announced the North Korean Land Reform Law through the North Korean Provisional People's Committee. Following land reform in which landlords saw their land expropriated and distributed to tenant farmers for free, many North Korean landlords moved to South Korea. Thus, the landowning class was abolished in North Korea and a basis was established for the North Korean regime and its political party to get support from poor farmers. However, the newly distributed land was not allowed to be sold or used as collateral, meaning that farmers had no ownership to their land but could only cultivate it. The tax in kind was also as high as 27%.
- ³ The armistice agreement was signed by General Mark W. Clark, Commander-in-Chief of the UNC, Marshall Kim Il Sung, Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army, and Peng Teh-Huai, Commander of the Chinese People's Volunteers on July 27, 1953 in Panmunjeom. The full name of the agreement is Agreement between the Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command, on the one hand, and the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army and the Commander of the Chinese People's volunteers, on the other hand, concerning a military armistice in Korea. Written in English, Korean, and Chinese, the agreement was designed to "ensure a complete cessation of hostilities and of all acts of armed force in Korea until a final peaceful settlement is achieved." The armistice also established the Military Demarcation Line and the Korean Demilitarized Zone (DMZ), which was decided to be a 4 km-wide buffer zone between the two nations. The headquarters of the Military Armistice Commission (MAC), comprised of staff of the UN forces and of Communist forces, and the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission (NNSC), comprised of Switzerland, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, were established in Panmunjeom.

- 4 In December 1945, the foreign ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union met in Moscow and decided that a U.S.-Soviet Joint Commission would be set up in Korea and that Korea would be placed under a four-power (U.S., U.K. China, Soviet Union) trusteeship of up to five years. The decision triggered strong protest in Korea, with Kim Koo and members of the Provisional Government launching an anti-trusteeship campaign. On the other hand, leftists were initially opposed to the trusteeship plan but soon changed their stand in favor of the plan under Soviet directions.
- 5 The United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCOK) was created on November 14, 1947 based on a resolution adopted by the UN General Assembly regarding the establishment of a UN Temporary Commission on Korea and general elections to be held in Korea. UNTCOK was to consist of representatives of eight countries—Australia, Canada, China, El Salvador, India, the Philippines, Syria, and Ukraine—with France taking the place of Ukraine as the latter refused to send a representative. The UNTCOK arrived in South Korea on January 8, 1948, but the Soviet Union and North Korea refused to let the UNTCOK into the North. According to a resolution adopted by a UN subcommittee held on February 26 expressing the view that the UNTCOK should proceed with the elections “in such parts of Korea as are accessible to it,” the UNTCOK issued a statement that they would observe elections in that part of Korea which is accessible to the Commission.
- 6 The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) is an international organization founded to stimulate economic progress and world trade. It is a forum of countries describing themselves as committed to pluralist democracy and the market economy. The OECD originated as the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), which was established after World War II, and was expanded and reorganized into the OECD on September 30, 1961 in Paris, with 20 official founding members. From the 1990s, the organization has had 34 member countries. South Korea formally became the 29th member of the OECD on December 12, 1996.
- 7 The Nuclear Security Summit was launched after the U.S. President Obama raised the need for a strengthened nuclear security for international security in a speech delivered in Prague in 2009. The international conference is attended by major nuclear-weapon states and countries with nuclear plants. The summit is held every two years. The first summit, which was held in Washington D.C. in 2010, drew attention to the need to secure nuclear materials and prevent nuclear

Footnote

terrorism. Forty-seven countries and three international organizations participated in the first summit. The second summit was held in Seoul, Korea on March 26-27, 2012. Fifty-three countries and four international organizations (UN, IAEA, EU, and INTERPOL) participated. The third summit was held in The Hague, the Netherlands on March 24-25, 2014.

- 8 The Secretariat of the Green Climate Fund (GCF) is an international organization of the United Nations established to administer the fund created by advanced countries for the purpose of providing support to developing countries to limit or reduce their greenhouse gas emissions and to adapt to the impacts of climate change. The GCF is governed by a Board of 24 members. The GCF contributes to the achievement of the ultimate objective of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) to regulate the greenhouse gas emissions for all man-made sources. Since the idea to set up the GCF was first brought up in December 2010, the Board voted to select Songdo, Incheon as the host city for the GCF Secretariat in October 2012.
- 9 The Global Green Growth Institute (GGGI) is the first international organization initiated by the Republic of Korea. The organization provides consulting services to developing countries in supporting their low-carbon green growth strategy, share experiences, and provide green growth models. Established in Seoul on June 16, 2010, the GGGI was converted into an international treaty-based organization on June 20, 2012. It was officially launched following inaugural meetings of its Assembly and Council in Seoul on October 23, 2012. The 18 founding member countries are Korea, Denmark, Australia, Cambodia, Costa Rica, Ethiopia, Guyana, Kiribati, Mexico, Norway, Indonesia, Paraguay, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Qatar, the United Kingdom, the United Arab Emirates, and Vietnam.



Comparative Unification Efforts: Policies & Formulas

1. South Korea's Unification Policies and Formulas
2. The Park Geun-hye Administration: Trust-building Process on the Korean Peninsula
3. North Korea's Unification Formula

Key Point

01

South Korea has long held a gradual and phased approach to unification as laid out in its unification formula called the National Community Unification Formula. It proposes three phases of unifying process: Reconciliation & Cooperation, followed by Korean Commonwealth, and finally a unified nation–state with one system and one government. South Korea’s unification policy, basically advocating a framework of “peace first, unification later,” supports a peaceful unification process through democratic procedures, where the end result is guaranteed freedom, human rights, and prosperity for all constituents.

02

The Park Geun–hye Administration is currently pursuing a holistic unification approach called the Trust–Building Process on the Korean Peninsula, which accommodates various strengths of past policy formulations toward the North. This approach seeks trust–building between the two Koreas a stepping stone to go further for improved inter–Korean relations, peace settlement on the peninsula and preparing infrastructure for future unification, while simultaneously maintaining a strong security readiness. Based on this approach, the Seoul government keeps urging the North to be a responsible member of the international community, to normalize inter–Korean relations, and make way for peace and co–prosperity in the Northeast Asia.

03

North Korea has stuck to its unification approach based on “one Korea policy” through “liberation and revolution.” North Korea has kept calling for a Confederation Formula in which they argue that “revolution in the South first, and then unification under communism later.” Since 1990’s, the North holds this approach fast based on “one nation, one state and two governments, two (different) systems, only showing small tactical changes over times.

1. South Korea's Unification Policies and Formulas

The Basis for South Korea's Unification Policy

Over the years, South Korea sees it important to bring national unification in a way in which unified Korea should provide a better life and happiness to all the people on the Korean peninsula. In this light, Seoul government has consistently maintained its unification policy as follows

Unification should be achieved peacefully through democratic procedures, and it should guarantee freedom, human rights, welfare, and economic prosperity of all constituents involved. Over time, South Koreans have developed their views on unification from moral obligation to practical terms in practical perspective. This change in perspective stemmed from the 1970s when Seoul government realigned its unification policy to “peace first, unification later.” Since then, Seoul has recognized North Korea as a partner in dialogue. Specifically, given the new international situation during the post-Cold War period, South Korea modified its earlier blueprint for unification to base it more on the idea of a “national community.” This conceptual approach was first outlined in the Korean National Community Unification Formula presented in 1989. In 1991, South and North Korea jointly adopted the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement (see Appendix 2), which can be a foundation for further development of inter-Korean relations to a higher degree.

The following section reviews South Korea's unification policies and formulas by South Korea over times. A look into South Korea's past policies can be useful to better understand unification issues and policies.

Unification Policies of the South Korean Governments

As only lawful government on the Korea peninsula approved in the United Nations' General Assembly, the First Republic in Seoul under the leadership of Syman Rhee urged in 1948 a free general election to be held in North Korean region and advocated Unification by Advancing to the North. Later on the Syman Rhee government had developed "the UN-supervised general election in proportion of population in both North and South Korea. In this light, the first government of Seoul refused to negotiate with the North, insisting that the lost territory of the North should be restored in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Korea.

After the Rhee government collapsed as a result of a student-led, pro-democracy uprising in 1960, the new Yun Posun Administration generally stayed on the same track that the previous government had, continuing to advocate the holding of "UN-supervised free general elections in South and North Korea." The one noticeable change, though, was that Yun Administration formally rejected the idea of Advancing to the North and changed its priority as "construction first, unification later." This unification policy has been succeeded to subsequent administrations in Seoul.

The Third Republic started on December 17, 1963 and next year President Park Chung-hee initially stuck to the UN-supervised unification of liberal democracy introduced his unification policy during his New Year's address on January 10 in 1964. In 1966, President Park emphasized once again his priority on unification as "construction first, unification later."

As the Nixon Doctrine was proclaimed in 1969, thawing U.S.-China relations. Consequently, the South Korean government began to realign its unification policy to a more realistic approach. The initial springboard of this new approach was given as the Declaration of Ideas for Peaceful Unification on August 15, 1970. In this declaration, President Park made it public that North Korea is a political reality and upon admitting North Korea as de facto Communist regime, the Seoul government would try to make a favorable environment for a peaceful unification through inter-Korean dialogue, exchanges and cooperation with the North.

Key Ideas of the Initiative for Peaceful Unification

- Strong commitment to peaceful unification through easing tensions on the peninsula
- To urge the North to abandon its forceful unification policy or to overthrow the South Korean regime by fomenting a violent revolution
- To seek to gradually remove artificial obstacles between the two Koreas
- Not to oppose to North Korea's attendance in the United Nations
- Good-will competition between the two Koreas

In accordance with the above-mentioned Initiative, the South Korean Red Cross Society proposed to the North on August 12, 1971 that both sides start a joint “campaign to find and reunite the 10 million separated families.” Two days later, the counterpart in North Korea accepted the proposal, thus leading a way to hold the first humanitarian talks between the two Koreas after the Korean War. During the course of the Red Cross talks, the two sides announced on July 4, 1972 the July 4 South-North Joint Communiqué (See Appendix 1). This ground-breaking communiqué marked the first official document jointly crafted by the South and North Korean authorities ever since the division of the country in 1945. At the heart of the communiqué were the three guiding principles for achieving unification: independence, peace, and great national unity.

Meanwhile, the South Korean government prioritized many issues related to unification into the three sequences of resolution: starting first humanitarian,

then non-political, and finally political issues. Since then, this approach has become the core of unification policies in the subsequent regimes in the South.

After the first Joint Communiqué on July 4th, political talks between North and South Korea called the South-North Coordination Committee was held for several sessions along with the Red Cross talks. When Seoul government issued the Special Declaration on Foreign Policy for Peaceful Unification, however, North Korea suddenly stopped all talks between Seoul and Pyongyang, denouncing the June 23 Declaration.

The June 23 Declaration, announced by President Park Chung-hee, was a strong expression of South Korea's commitment for peaceful unification and practical diplomatic policy to shape favorable conditions for unification. The declaration was comprised of the following seven points:

Key Contents of the June 23rd Declaration

- To mark the peaceful unification as the top priority for the whole Korean people
- To remind the need for maintaining peace on the Korean Peninsula, non-aggression and non-intervention in internal affairs of the other side
- To continue to pursue the inter-Korean dialogues based on the South-North Joint Communiqué
- Not to oppose to North Korea's entry into international organizations
- Not to oppose to the simultaneous entry of South and North Korea into the United Nations
- To open doors reciprocally to any countries
- To reaffirm its foreign policy based on peace and good-relations and stronger ties with friendly nations

In a wake of the June 23rd Declaration, the South proposed a mutual non-aggression agreement to the North on January 18th in 1974 and went further to propose the Three Basic Principles for the Peaceful Unification to the North on August 15th in the same year.

These principles for peaceful unification was as follows

First, peace settlement on the peninsula and the inter-Korean dialogues along with mutual exchanges should be promoted. Second, much effort should be made in trust-building and homogenization for having general elections throughout Korea. Third, such general elections may be held under the fair

management and supervision, instead of ‘under the UN-supervision.’ From then on, Seoul government shifted its unification policy direction from a focus on “construction first, unification later” to “peace first, unification later.” This proposal, from then on, has become the backbone of all subsequent government in Seoul.

In 1981, the Chun Doo-hwan Administration proposed a summit talk of the two sides to Pyongyang. On January 22nd, 1982, President Chun, in his state address, introduced a unification blueprint called as the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification (FNRDU). The new formula was comprised of two main areas of unification: one functional approach to develop national unity and the other institutional approach to support unification. This policy framework differed from past approaches in that it delineated a detailed set of preparatory procedures from drafting of a unified Constitution to unified Republic as the final form of integration process through general elections. FNRDU had the following key characteristics: First, it reaffirmed the principle of peaceful unification and presented a vision of unified nation based on the will of the people, democracy, freedom, and welfare. Second, it presented a set of steps to move the country forward from the current state of division toward unification. Third, it underscored the importance of national unity as a precondition for achieving a fully unified country. Fourth, for the first time in history of the South, it proposed specific processes and procedures by which the representatives of both sides could draft a unified Constitution to serve as the standard code for the holding of general elections throughout the Korean Peninsula, and then complete a truly unified state based on that Constitution.

In the wake the Formula, on February 1, 1982, the South proposed the Twenty Inter-Korean Pilot Projects to the North. These pilot projects were designed to promote an atmosphere for building national harmony and good will.

In the Preamble of the amended Constitution in 1987 and in the other two articles of the same Constitution, for the first time in the history of South Korea,

it was stated that it was the Government's mission to pursue the peaceful unification and the way in which unification should be achieved on the basis of liberal and democratic order.

Twenty Pilot Inter-Korean Projects Proposed by South Korea

- To Connect and open roads between Seoul and Pyongyang
- To exchange letters and reunions of separated families
- To create a joint free tourism area between the north of Mount Seorak and the south of Mount Geumgang
- To visit freely to both sides by overseas Korean expatriates
- To open Incheon Port in the South and Jinnampo Port in the North
- Free access to regular broadcast of each side
- To allow North Korean athletes to pass Panmunjeom for participation in the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games
- Free visits to both countries by foreigners
- Establishment of joint fishing areas
- Mutual friendly visits by representatives from all walk of life
- Guarantee of free media activities by journalists in the other's area
- Joint research in national history
- Hosting exchange sports competitions and forming a single national team to participate in various international sports events
- Trade of goods for everyday use
- Joint explore and use of natural resources
- Exchange of technicians in the same industry and hosting joint exhibitions on goods
- Establishment of a joint sports facility within the DMZ
- Joint academic study of the DMZ
- Full removal of military facilities in the DMZ
- To create a hot line between militaries in both sides

The Roh Tae-woo Administration, which was inaugurated on February 25, 1988, worked assiduously to develop inter-Korean relations onto a higher level than the previous governments. Such efforts were well reflected in the Roh administration's two announcements: the Special Declaration for National Self-Esteem, Unification, and Prosperity (the July 7 Special Declaration) on July 7, 1988, and the Korean National Community Unification Formula on September 11, 1989.

Key Contents of the July 7 Special Declaration

- Mutual exchanges of visits between Koreans living in South and North Korea and free visits by overseas Korean expatriates
- Confirmation of life/death and permanent address of separated families and exchanges of letters, and arranging mutual visits
- Opening up of inter-Korean trade and doors
- Seeking a balanced development of the national economy and accepting trade of non-military goods between friendly nations and North Korea
- Putting an end to wasteful competition and confrontational diplomacy, and promoting mutual cooperation on the international stage between the two Koreas
- Cross recognition for North Korea with the U.S and Japan, and for South Korea with the Soviet Union and China

The Roh administration declared in the July 7 Special Declaration that it regarded North Korea not as confrontational target but as a good-will partner. View that it would be a shortcut for unified Korea to develop the national community of two Koreas, the Roh government crafted the fundamental policy direction from confrontation to reconciliation with the North.

In keeping with the spirit of the July 7 Special Declaration, President Roh Tae-woo announced another unification formula called the Korean National Community Unification Formula (KNCUF) at the National Assembly on September 11, 1989. The formula, endorsed all four major political parties in the South, emphasized active engagement in mutual exchanges and cooperation between Seoul and Pyongyang in order to develop a strong national community and eventually achieve political unification.

The formula set forth independence, peace, and democracy as the three fundamental principles on which unification should be based. It also presented a vision of a united and democratic state that would guarantee freedom, human rights, and the pursuit of happiness. As to the process for establishing such a unified country, it suggested that both sides should work to restore trust through dialogues, organize a South-North summit to agree upon the “National Community Charter,” establish a “Korean Commonwealth” as an interim step, endeavor to speed up the development of a national community, and then

in accordance with a unified constitution, hold general elections to form a unified national assembly and a government as the final step toward a unified democratic republic.

According to the Roh's new formula, it reaffirmed independence, peace, and democracy as the three guiding principles for unification and proposed the status of unified Korea to be democracy based on freedom, human right and happiness. KNCUF called for the three steps of unification from forming the Charter for National Community and creating the Korean Commonwealth to reaching Unified Korea through general election.



Confederation vs. Federation

A confederation is a union of sovereign states, while a federation is a union of individual states in a single sovereign state. In this sense, the Korean Commonwealth is different from a confederation in that it seeks to maintain a special relation within a nation, not among nations. It is also different from a federation in that South and North Korea would each maintain their respective status as a sovereign state. Functionally speaking, this concept may be similar to that of the European Union where several sovereign states ultimately aim for a single political entity.

As a result of these efforts, the first round of high-level inter-Korean talks was held in Seoul in 1990. At the sixth round of the talks held in Pyongyang in 1992, the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement, the Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula (See Appendix 3), and the Agreement on the Organization and Operation of Subcommittees went into effect. Though several other sub-agreements were adopted at the 7th and 8th session of the talks, they did not come into practice, due to North Korea's unilateral refusal to the inter-Korean dialogue to discuss on how to implement these agreements, including the Basic Agreement. *****

The Kim Young-sam administration, inaugurated in 1993, expressed its willingness to hold a summit meeting with the North. On August 15, 1994, President Kim proposed a three-staged blueprint for unification called National Community Unification Formula. The formula reaffirmed that it would take a

staged and gradual approach by first building a single national community as part of a successful unification process. At the heart of the proposed formula was the assumption that the rapidly changing international environment had demonstrated that “the socialist and communist experiment had proven to be a failure and that, as such, the traditionally competitive relationship between North and South Korea was also practically over.” More detailed explanation about this formula will be given at another part later.

The Kim Dae-jung Administration set forth the improvement of inter-Korean relations as its priority policy goal and pursued its policy vis-à-vis North Korea named Reconciliation and Cooperation Policy or more often nicknamed as the Sunshine Policy. At the heart of this policy was the assumption that South Korea should first show its forward-looking attitude with respect to improving inter-Korean relations, and by so doing, it will help North Korea change its closed policy on its own. In other word, the Kim administration sought to create a new good cycle of reciprocity in inter-Korean relations, in which the South’s goodwill would hopefully be followed by another goodwill from the North.

Under this line of policies toward the North, the Kim Dae-jung administration focused thereafter on improving its relationship with North Korea, believing that the two Koreas should co-exist and prosper together in a special relation toward unification. In June, 2000, the first inter-Korean summit meeting was held in Pyongyang and the two leaders adopted the June 15th Joint Declaration. The joint declaration outlined the directions necessary for improving inter-Korean relations and identified five urgent tasks to be accomplished toward that end. In a nutshell, the Kim Dae-jung Administration, rather than seeking a hasty unification, gradually implemented reconciliatory and cooperative policy with the North, while maintaining peace on the peninsula by firm preparedness for any possible security threat from the North.

After the first summit, two sides held talks in other various areas, which in

turn led to a dramatic increase in human and material exchanges between the two Koreas. The crisis caused by the North's second nuclear test in October 2002, however, seriously undermined any further potential for advance in inter-Korean relations. The precariousness of the security situation was only further aggravated when the September 11 made the U.S. to view any country engaged in the development of weapons of mass destruction as a direct threat to American national security and the North Korean nuclear issue was thus deemed a direct security threat to both the Korean peninsula and Northeast Asia.

The Roh Moo-hyun Administration's stated objective with regards to North Korea upon its inauguration in 2003 was to implement a policy of enhancing peace and prosperity on the Korean Peninsula and a broader prosperity of Northeast Asia as a whole. The Roh government proposed the following four principles of action: 1) resolving issues through dialogue, 2) fostering mutual trust and upholding reciprocity, 3) active international co-operation on the principle of the "Parties Directly Concerned", or North and South Korea, and 4) expanded citizen's participation. In October 2007, delegations from the two sides hammered out the Joint Declaration for the Development of Inter-Korean Relations, Peace and Prosperity or often called as the October 4th Declaration (See Appendix 5). In the joint declaration, Seoul and Pyongyang agreed to carry out joint projects in areas of politics, military, economy, socio-culture, humanitarianism, and diplomacy based upon mutual respect for different regimes.

However, while the North Korean nuclear issue was pending unresolved and changes in North Korea was not progressing as quickly as South Koreans had been expected, many inter-Korean exchange and cooperation projects and aid programs failed to obtain public support to be implemented in South Korea. In response to the widespread public concerns, it was strongly felt necessary to make any progress in North Korea's nuclear issue and to pin down joint projects that could be easily implemented through consultations with the North.

The Lee Myung-bak Administration after its inauguration in 2008, taking lessons from achievements and failures from the previous government, was determined to bring inter-Korean relations back on the normal track and pursue substantial improvement in relations with North Korea. In this light, the Lee government adopted a win-win policy for achieving co-prosperity based on the principles of: 1) policy-making focused on practical results and productivity, 2) strict adherence to principle while maintaining flexibility in implementation, 3) policy implementation based on public consensus, 4) and harmony between the inter-Korean and international cooperation.

The Lee government brought up more specific implementation strategy briefly titled the Vision 3000 through Denuclearization and Openness. The strategy outlined the denuclearization of North Korea as first priority through close coordination with the international community, which was viewed as absolutely necessary for the long-term peace and stability of the Korean peninsula; and then, while responding firmly to North Korean armed provocations, the Lee government sought to resume inter-Korean dialogue.

North Korea went ahead with two nuclear tests, sank a South Korean naval ship Cheonan, shelled the South Korean Yeonpyeong island. These serious provocations not only served to prevent improvement of relations, but also further escalated tensions on the Korean peninsula. Trying to overcome the security crisis on the peninsula, South Korea is now striving to find new solutions that would promote genuine peace on the peninsula and to develop sustainable relations with the North.

National Community Unification Formula

The Basic Philosophy and Approaches to Unification

The National Community Unification Formula (NCUF) is based on the

two pillars: liberal democracy as the philosophy of unification and national community as a practical approach to unification.

First, the formula makes it clear that South Korea's unification policy is based on liberal democracy. This is well reflected in Article 4 of the Constitution of the Republic of Korea. Liberal democracy embodies the guarantee of rights and freedom for every constituent of the society, and respecting the diversity of the South and the North. It is worth noting that liberal democracy has a paramount importance both in the process of and after the unification.

Second, the formula presents the concept of "national community" as a practical approach to unification. This "national community" proposed in the formula encompasses bondage by blood and a common lifestyle and a sphere where all constituents of the Koreans have cherished.

This national community works as a root that unites a nation as one and stands as a destiny for Koreans. It also functions as a source of strength that enables Korean people to unite. Thus, according to the approach under the National Community Unification Formula, the two Koreas are the partners who are to form economic, social, and cultural communities first and then political community as ultimate phase of unification with one nation, one country, one system and one government.

In short, the National Community Unification Formula focuses more on how the Korean people will live together as one, proposing national unification first and then state unification later. Such a concept is in stark contrast to North Korea's federation formula that focuses more on the distribution of state power.

Principles of Unification

The National Community Unification Formula presents independence, peace, and democracy as the basic principles of unification.

First, the principle of "independence" means that unification should be

achieved through the will and strength of the Korean people and through mutual consultation between the authorities of the two Koreas. Independence in this sense does not mean a “closed independence” that is premised on the withdrawal of foreign troops from the Korean peninsula as North Korea calls for; rather, it means an “open independence” marked by international cooperation. It means that Korea will make autonomous decisions regarding its position, while remaining in harmony with the world during the process of unification.

Second, the principle of “peace” emphasizes that unification must be realized only through a peaceful process, not by war or any activities to overthrow governments. It means that no matter how lofty of a task unification may be, it should not be realized through force or violence. We must not forget the lessons learned from the fratricidal Korean War, the Vietnam War, or the Yemeni civil war.

Third, the principle of “democracy” states that unification must be achieved through democratic ways of integration based on the freedom and rights of all constituents. It means that the process and procedures for unification should be based on democratic principles and a democratic state as end state of unification process in which the entire Korean population of 70 million are stakeholders.

The Process of Unification

Given the fact that unification cannot be achieved overnight, the National Community Unification Formula proposes three gradual phases for achieving unification: the phase of Reconciliation and Cooperation, followed Korean Commonwealth, and a Unified Korea with one nation, one state, one regime, and one government.

The first phase, called as Reconciliation and Cooperation, begins with a new chapter of cooperation between the two Koreas, designed to mitigate hostilities

and mistrust. At this stage, the two sides of the Koreas are to manage the current division under control, based on the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement (1991), under which two different systems and governments are left intact, while promoting exchanges and cooperation in various fields.

The second phase, called as Korean Commonwealth, seeks to institutionalize the exchanges and cooperation between the two Koreas, with solid confidence what has been built in the first phase, leading to further developed inter-Korean relations. At this stage, the two Koreas start to cooperate in the process of in-depth integration and go further to bring the Constitution of the Unified Korea.

The third and final phase involves a Unified Korea as one nation-state. At this stage, in accordance with the Unified Constitution, the two sides proceed to hold free general election in both areas and constitute unified National Assembly and unified government. In Unified Korea, every constituent will be guaranteed with political, economic freedom and welfare along with a dignity as human. Of course, there will be many side effects due to the differences that have developed over the long period of division even after unification. Thus, challenging but continued efforts will be given to bring each and every member of the people in the unified country into well-integrated national community.

In short, the National Community Unification Formula envisions that the two Koreas first build mutual trust through reconciliation and cooperation, and then create the basis for political integration. Given the mutual mistrust and differences that have developed over time after division, it is obviously feasible to set Korean Commonwealth as a transitional stage.

As such, this formula can be justifiable and reasonable in that it seeks to restore the heterogeneous societies of South and North Korea as a harmonious community through a gradual and progressive approach, and to finish its effort to achieve the unified Korea as one nation-state. It also re-confirms that the vision of unification based on liberal democracy is the most desirable unification approach for Koreans.

2. The Park Geun-hye Administration: Trust-building Process on the Korean Peninsula

Background

Following the proposal of the Korean National Community Unification Formula (1989) and from the enactment of the Basic Agreement (1992), South Korea has concentrated its policy toward North Korea on creating a foundation for sustainable peace on the Korean peninsula. Such efforts were designed to continuously improve inter-Korean relations as a way of maintaining peace and stability on the peninsula, thus shaping the conditions favorable for a peaceful unification.

Though South Korea has strived to promote peace on the peninsula, to resolve North Korean nuclear issue, and to improve relations with the North, North Korea's nuclear ambitions have rendered all trust-building efforts ineffective, leaving unstable peace and little trust between the two Koreas. In particular, North Korea's three nuclear tests in 2006, 2009 and 2013 have revealed the strategic limitations of the international community to denuclearize North Korea. In a nutshell, the North's nuclear tests not only pose an immediate threat to the security of South Korea but also are regarded as a serious challenge to the international non-proliferation regime. Moreover, these tests have greatly undermined the inter-Korean efforts to expand exchanges and build trust.

For the last twenty years or so, South Korea as well as the international

community has tried to resolve North Korea's nuclear issue by diplomacy only to witness Pyongyang go ahead to do three nuclear tests. Lack of trust between North Korea and the international community and South Korea as well, made it difficult to find easy solutions to the nuclear issue. Thus, it may have to look for a wholly new approach for North Korea's quest to become a nuclear power.

Considering the vicious pattern of negotiation by North Korea in the past, Pyongyang has repeatedly showed a specific pattern that is "provocation by the North → crisis → compromise → reward to the North → provocation again." In this context, the current South Korean government has now taken note of the fact that both the exchange- and dialogue-focused engagement policy and firm principle-based policy of past governments have failed to bring about any substantial changes in North Korea, including having North Korea halt nuclear ambitions and provocations. In addition, public opinion in South Korea also calls for a new policy toward North Korea that would be able to overcome the limitations of previous policies and to resolute domestic conflicts regarding North Korean policy. All things considered, the Park Geun-hye administration has proposed the Trust-building Process on the Korean Peninsula, a holistic approach with trust-building between the two Koreas as paramount important.

Policy Directions

The Concept of the Trust-building Process on the Korean Peninsula

Following its inauguration on February 25, 2013, the Park Geun-hye administration proposed a Trust-building Process on the Korean Peninsula as a new strategy for normalizing the inter-Korean relations. Given the long period of the inter-Korean relations, it is needless to say that trust-building would be a key factor necessary for any further positive developments between the two.

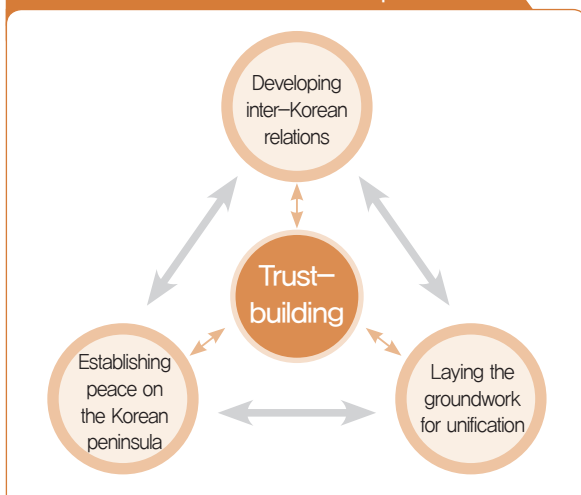
Trust can be build up gradually through the process of mutual dialogue,

honoring commitments, and engaging in reciprocal exchanges and cooperation. Another aspect of trust-building is holding all parties accountable for the actions that may undermine trust. Such mechanism of accountability will bring about more constructive changes in behavior and in this way further promote greater cooperation down the path. Trust is a kind of social capital that can do much toward enabling the further development of inter-Korean relations, the establishment of peace on the Korean peninsula, and ultimately the laying of the groundwork for unification. The initiation of a trust-building process requires the South to consistently pursue a policy of cautious diplomatic engagement with the North, basing itself on public consensus and in cooperation with the international community. Thus, the Trust-building Process on the Korean Peninsula envisioned by the Park administration is a concept that encompasses not only building inter-Korean trust, but also winning the trust of the general public and that of the international community.

In this context, the Trust-building Process involves three main objectives: to develop better inter-Korean relations while maintaining a strong security readiness, then to establish peace on the Korean peninsula, and ultimately laying the foundation for unification. The policy aims to preserve peace first

through maintaining a tight security posture that will deter any armed provocations, while simultaneously inducing the North to take steps of trust-building and to bring about more fundamental changes in inter-Korean relations, thus to secure a sustainable peace. With this process as the foremost priority, the Park administration has been

Table 3-1. Concept of the Trust-building Process on the Korean peninsula



promoting policies that can help create a virtuous circle among trust-building, improving the inter-Korean relations, laying enduring peace on the peninsula and laying down unification infrastructure.

Policy Objectives

The Park Geun-hye administration has sought to reset inter-Korean relations on the basis of building trust. With the Trust-Building Process on the Korean peninsula as its key policy, the Park administration proposes the three main policy objectives: the further development of inter-Korean relations, the establishment of peace on the peninsula, and laying the groundwork for unification.

First, Renewed inter-Korean relations will be achieved based on common sense and international norms. The process would involve working together with the North to build economic, social, and cultural communities through reciprocal exchanges and cooperation as well as through expanding areas of common interest.

Second, enduring peace on the Korean Peninsula can be achieved through inter-Korean/international cooperation, the promotion of political, military trust, and denuclearization of North Korea as well. As such, the Park Administration envisions a gradual movement toward unification in which first and foremost a sustainably peaceful environment is created and military confrontation is mitigated. After that, then the two Koreas would work together to achieve a “partial unification” in the form of a single economic and cultural community, and then move onto a “broader unification” through larger institutional and political integration. Such an approach has much in common with the gradual and progressive approach to unification outlined in the National Community Unification Formula espoused by previous South Korean governments since 1989.

Third, establishing a reliable foundation for unification needs preparing in

advance for South Koreans to initiate Korean unification and have themselves ready for coming unification. Strengthened cooperation with the international community will be required in order to bring about a truly win-win outcome for every stakeholder.

Policy Principles

The Park administration presents the three guiding principles to realize the above policy objectives:

First, a balanced approach will be taken.

The balanced approach seeks for a balance among security, exchanges and cooperation between the two Koreas, inter-Korean relations and international coordination. In accordance with this principle, any provocation from the North will be met decisively, while pursuing a flexible approach to the North when required.

Second, South Korea's North Korea policy will be evolved.

This principle sees it necessary to take ever changing security environment and limitations of previous North Korea policies into consideration in developing an evolving North Korea policy as public opinion also views it right.

It shows a commitment that the policy with North Korea would continuously be improved and developed so as to encourage the North to make the right choices and ensure that both Koreas can move in the direction of common benefits. It also reflects the Seoul's intention to actively manage the situation surrounding the peninsula by aligning its policy in line with the changing international environment.

Third, the South will cooperate with the international community in regard with North Korea policy.

Korean issues contain not only national matters between the two Koreas, but

also international aspects. In this light, it will serve the useful purpose when inter-Korean cooperation goes harmoniously hand in hand with international cooperation. In particular, given the rising importance of international collaboration in denuclearize North Korea, close coordination and cooperation with the international community is more required than ever before. The South seeks multilateral international cooperation in order to create a virtuous circle to resolve the issues of the Korean peninsula and promote peace and cooperation in Northeast Asia.

Policy Directions

With the above-mentioned policy objectives and principles, the Park administration presents the following policy directions in carrying out the Trust-Building Process on the Korean Peninsula.

First, the government will pursue North Korea policy, while ensuring security first. Any provocation by North Korea will be met decisively and hold the North accountable for it. At the same time, the South will try to improve its relations with the North by leaving the windows of dialogue, exchanges, and cooperation wide open.

Second, mutual trust should be build up by honoring agreements. The starting point to build trust would begin from honoring inter-Korean and international agreements. Also, the South will agree to what can be put into action and carry out those agreements.

Third, Circumstances should be created for North Korea to make “right choices.” The South will try to persuade the North to give up its nuclear program and comply with international norms and obligations, while at the same time continue to create environment for North Korea to commit itself to trust-based dialogue, exchanges, and cooperation.

Fourth, North Korea policy should be carried out in accordance with national

and international trust. On the one hand, the government will implement North Korea policy based on the public consensus and transparency. On the other hand, it will seek close cooperation with the international community. By so doing, it is more likely to enhance the policy effectiveness and chances for North Korea to accept the South's North Korea policies.

Policy Initiatives

In view of improved inter-Korean relations on the sustainable basis, it is imperative to secure deterrence against North Korea and ensure the North to honor its promises. This is why the South Korea has consistently urged the North to make the “right” decisions, i.e. to show genuine effort for denuclearization, to take responsibility for its armed provocations, and avoid recurrences.

Now is a time when wisdom and strength must be drawn together to realize denuclearization and renew the Korean Peninsula to be one where freedom, peace, and prosperity are guaranteed. In this regard, President Park Geun-hye announced her ideas for a peaceful unification in her Dresden Declaration on March 28, 2014 in Dresden, Germany. The key points of the declaration are 1) to take up the agenda for humanity such as reunions of separated families on the regular basis, support for pregnant mothers and infants through their first 1,000 days with priority, 2) to pursue together an agenda for co-prosperity through building infrastructure that support the livelihood of people such as collaboration for setting up multi-farming complexes in North Korea, building transportation and telecommunication, and exploring natural resources, and 3) to restore homogeneity such as more routine contacts on non-governmental level, training support in fields like economy and finance, and joint development of educational programs for human resources, and setting up the office for inter-Korean exchange and cooperation. These ideas were

proposed to lay the groundwork for peaceful unification. In this sense, the Park administration focuses on the following key tasks to renew its relations with the North based on principles and trust.

To normalize inter-Korean Relations through Trust-building

Removing mistrust is an urgent priority for normalizing inter-Korean relations. Thus, emphasis is placed on the need for policy efforts to build trust. In this light, the South has made continuous efforts to resolve humanitarian issues, to keep regular channels for dialogue, to honor agreements, expand and develop mutually beneficial exchanges and cooperation.

Regardless of the political situation, the South is ready to continue its humanitarian assistance for infants, pregnant mothers, and other vulnerable groups in North Korea. At the same time, Seoul has tried to resolve humanitarian issues such as separated families, POW's, and South Korean abductees in the North. These efforts would help build trust and normalize inter-Korean relations.

Also, with regards to the deepening and expansion of reciprocal exchanges and cooperation, the South will try to developmentally normalize the Gaeseong Industrial Complex and promote international participation into the zone. Seoul is also ready to organize more substantial social and cultural exchanges and looks for win-win economic cooperation projects such as the joint development of natural resources in the North; and cooperation projects on farming and environment.

In line with the progress made in trust-building and North Korea's nuclear issues, the South may carry out Vision Korea Projects. These initiatives aim to put North Korean economy back on track and to provide economic assistance to Pyongyang. For this end, Seoul may support the North to expand its electricity, transportation, and telecommunication infrastructure. In addition to that, the South may support the North to join many international financial

institutions. Seoul may also consider participating in North Korea's special economic zones and establishing inter-Korean exchange and cooperation offices in Seoul and Pyongyang.

To ensure Sustainable Peace on the Korean Peninsula

In view of establishing a sustainable peace on the peninsula, the South, maintaining a strong security posture against the North, will undertake multi-faceted efforts to resolve the North Korean nuclear issue, to create a World Peace Park in the DMZ, and to build trust in the areas of politics and military. To preserve peace on the Peninsula, the South will deter North Korean provocations by keeping strong deterrence and security posture along with the combined ROK-US forces.

The South Korea will seek a balanced cooperation with both North Korea and the international community. Seoul will employ various methods to dissuade the North from developing nuclear arms from persuasion to pressure. The South will strive to utilize diplomatic efforts with much emphasis, including the six-party talks and three-way strategic discussions among South Korea, the U.S., and China. In proportion with any progress in the North's denuclearization, Seoul will take proportional measures in political, economic, and diplomatic areas.

The creation of a World Peace Park in the DMZ shares the same line of reasoning as the Trust-Building Process on the Korean peninsula, carrying the symbolic, political message for easing tensions and establishing peace on the Korean peninsula. If the two Koreas agree to materialize this idea jointly with the United Nations and relevant countries, the park would likely turn into a landmark of world peace as it would serve as a new model of cooperation along with the two Koreas and the international community.

To build trust in the areas of politics and military, the South will first take basic measures such as mutual recognition of the other regime and ending armed

provocations. Additionally, the South will expand trust-building measures into peaceful resolution of conflicts and prevention of accidental armed confrontations.

To strengthen the Unification Infrastructure

In view of strengthening unification infrastructure in the long run, the Park administration will succeed to the National Community Unification Formula to the developmental way. And along with people, it will carry out North Korea policy and subsequent tasks that seek for better quality in life in North Korea. The National Community Unification Formula is a sketch in which peaceful and gradual approach to unification is declared. The Park administration will succeed this formula into more developmental way, starting from “a small unification, or integration in economic and cultural areas” to “big unification, or institutional and political integration.” To this end, the South will bring up this issue for public discussion to gather a wide-spectrum of views, while promoting further research on North Korea and unification both at home and abroad through cooperation with many research institutes.

In addition, the government of the South will also seek greater public engagement by strengthening bipartisan cooperation, raising public awareness about unification, reinforcing educational out-reach for unification, and enhancing the infrastructure and support system for North Korean defectors in South Korea.

It will also seek many ways to improve the quality of life of North Korean residents by creating favorable domestic and international environments for improving North Korean human rights, such as enacting the North Korean Human Rights Act. Seoul will also look for multi-faceted cooperation with the North to help develop the North’s staggering economy and mitigate poverty.

Virtuous Circle between Peaceful Unification of the Peninsula and Peaceful Cooperation in Northeast Asia

To this end, the Park administration will secure international support for Korean unification, seek for durable peace and development in Northeast Asia, which would in turn contribute to resolving the North Korean nuclear issue, and carry forward the three-party cooperation with North Korea and Russia and/or China.

Seoul government will further pursue agendas on multi-layered cooperation related to the environment, humanitarian assistance, disaster relief, and other nonconventional areas of security. Moreover, the Park administration try to create a new multi-party cooperative regime in Northeast Asia in which conflicts would be mitigated on the Korean peninsula and in Northeast Asia, thus leading developing a new regional order.



Table 3-2, Directions and key tasks for the Trust-building Process on the Korean Peninsula

Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Renewed inter-Korean relations • Sustainable peace on the Korean Peninsula • Strong foundation for unification 	
Policy Principles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taking a balanced approach • Continuously improving policy toward the North • Cooperating with the international community 	
Policy Directions	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> ① Maintain a strong security posture ② Build trust by honoring agreements ③ Shape conditions enabling North Korea to make the “right choices” ④ Garner public and international trust 	
Key Tasks	① To normalize inter-Korean relations through trust-building	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seek continuous resolution of humanitarian issues • Establish channels of dialogue and put into action the spirit of existing agreements • Expand and develop reciprocal exchanges and cooperation • Carry out Vision Korea Projects
	② To ensure sustainable peace on the Korean Peninsula	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establish strong security posture to preserve peace • Make multi-faceted efforts to resolve the North Korean nuclear issue • Create a World Peace Park in the DMZ • Build trust in the areas of politics and military
	③ To strengthen unification infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inherit and further develop the National Community Unification Formula • Engage the public in unification efforts • Help to improve the quality of life of North Korean residents
	④ To seek a virtuous circle between Peaceful Unification of the Peninsula and Peaceful Cooperation in Northeast Asia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promote international support for Korean unification • Ultimately contribute to resolving the North Korean issue by securing sustainable peace and development in Northeast Asia • Pursue three-way Northern cooperation

3. North Korea's Unification Formula

North Korea's strategy toward the South, unifying the whole Korean peninsula under Communism, has for the most part remained unchanged. Its unification formula, which is based on such strategy toward the South, has changed as the geo-political environment and conditions around the peninsula has changed over time.

On August 15th, 1960, North Korea proposed the South-North Confederation Formula as its first unification formula in which existing systems both in South and North are to remain. This formula has developed to the Confederation of Koryo in 1973. In these two formulas, the Confederation means as a transitional system to unification. In 1980, North Korea proposed it formula under name of the Democratic Confederation of Republic of Koryo as final form of unified Korea.

Upon facing greater diplomatic isolation and economic difficulties in the post-Soviet era, North Korea since the late 1980s has increasingly become anxious about its regime survival. It has thus begun to seek co-existence with the South. In 1991, Pyongyang brought about a Confederation formula with one nation, one state, two systems and two governments in which they insisted that regional autonomous government should be granted more powers as provisional measures until ending up the final stage of unified Korea.

Moving into the 2000s, the North now proposed the Low-level Confederation

Formula. At a gathering held in Pyongyang in October 2000, commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the Democratic Confederal of Republic of Koryo Formula, Pyongyang elaborated that the low-level confederation formula was based on the principle of one nation, one state, two systems, and two governments, with both governments, in North and South, retaining their respective functions and powers.

North Korea's Strategy toward South Korea

In accordance with its stance on unification called “One Korea,” North Korea has regarded the unification issue only from the perspective of “liberation and revolution.” Based on this reasoning, the North would be the revolutionary base for “revolutionizing all of the Korean Peninsula,” while South Korea as unliberated part from the occupying “U.S. imperialists.” Therefore, North Korea’s concept of national unification was premised on revolutionizing South Korea under the banner of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea.

As circumstances on and beyond the Korean peninsula has changed, North Korea has changed its strategy toward the South as follows.

Early on right after national liberation in 1945, North Korea adopted its revolution strategy called the Democratic Base. In this theory, they argued that North Korea should be revolutionized first to become a revolutionary base and then attempt to revolutionize the remaining South where US occupation force showed unbeatable. This strategy was adopted because they saw, at that time, northern region was better off than southern part of the peninsula in many areas.



National Coordination Proposal

North Korea's call for the National Coordination came out when socialism in the post-Cold War period has collapsed as a move to tackle with many crises that North Korea had faced. The North further stepped up its logic from March 1993 when the North Korean nuclear crisis began to escalate. In the 10-point Great Unity of the Whole Nation for Peaceful Unification announced on April 6th, 1993, Kim Il-sung argued that "the North and the South should not be hostile to each other but join forces against foreign aggression and interference," refuting calls for unification by absorption which was brought up then in South Korea and instigating internal conflict within South Korean society. Though emphasizing the concerted efforts of the nation, including the South, North Korea continued to condemn the South Korean government as a "puppet of the U.S. imperialists." This showed vividly that so called National Coordination Proposal was nothing but a meager disguised political slogan intended to aggravate conflict within South Korean society and seek to obtain more aid from the South.

In early 1970's, North Korea adopted a strategy called "revolution of national liberation and people's democracy." This strategy implied that "revolutionary forces of South Korea should first revolutionize in the South and then as the next stage, socialist revolution will be carried on. This two phased revolution theory came out as Pyongyang saw it extremely difficult to unify the South by force any longer, since different systems and ideology had taken a deep root in North and South Korea after the Korea War. Under these circumstance, North Korea started calling the people in the South as the main revolutionary force.

In 2001, North Korea proposed "National Coordination" as key word for unification movement, saying that foreign power should be excluded in the process. When the second North Korean nuclear crisis was developed in October 2002, the North claimed that national forces, from the North or the South, should join forces to conclude a North Korea-United States non-aggression agreement so the risk of a nuclear war to be avoided and a national and independent unification to be achieved." In the joint New Year editorial of 2003, the North called the situation on the peninsula as "a confrontation between Korean nationals and the U.S." underlining that "all Koreans through coordination should struggle to thwart the vicious war moves of the U.S. imperialists."

North Korea's strategy toward South Korea has basically remained unchanged in that its ultimate goal is to unify the Korean Peninsula under Communism by instigating anti-American campaign and pro-North Korea sentiments within the South Korean society. The North's proposed unification formulas, which are premised on such a strategy toward South Korea, have showed superficial changes in accordance with global trends over time.

The following section further discusses how North Korea's unification formulas after the 1980s when it proposed the Method of Establishing the Democratic Confederation of Koryo.

How North Korea's Unification Formulas have Changed

From its Inception of the regime to the 1960s: Unification by Force

From its inception to 1960's, North Korea had sought unification by force based on its "the Base for Democracy Theory." The Base for Democracy meant nothing but a revolutionary base to bring the southern part of the peninsula under Communist control. Kim Il-sung had already declared on December 17, 1945 that "North Korea should be transformed into a strong base for democracy in order to achieve a unified democratic state." Such a position of the North was repeated again when Kim's thesis entitled "Every Effort for the Country's Unification and Independence and for Constructing Socialism Construction in the Northern Part" was published in April 1955.

1960's: Confederation Formula

Kim Il-sung proposed on August 14th, 1960 Confederation Formula as his unification plan. He, in his speech celebrating the fifteenth anniversary of the National Liberation Day, insisted that free general election should be held in

both North and South Korea without foreign intervention and if the authorities of South Korea could not accept it, Pyongyang proposed a Confederation of South and North Korea as an interim step toward unification. This idea of Confederation was presumably suggested by Kuznetsov, deputy foreign minister of the U.S.S.R, when he visited North Korea to discuss the situation on the Korean peninsula immediately after Student Uprising in South Korea on April in 1960.

The main idea of the Confederation proposal was to allow the current respective political systems of the two Koreas as they were and then to form a National Supreme Committee to coordinate matters pertaining to the economic and cultural development of the two sides in a unified manner.” In this sense, what the North termed as confederation actually corresponds to a inter-state system in which the two Koreas retain their respective sovereignty.

1970's: Confederal Republic of Koryo

The idea of Confederal Republic of Koryo was proposed by then North Korean Foreign Minister Ho Dam in his report to a meeting of the fifth session of the fourth Supreme People's Assembly in April 1971. Two years later, Kim Il-sung presented the same formula in his welcoming speech to Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, on June 25, 1973.

Kim's insisted his five points in the above-mentioned speech that 1) easing of military confrontations and mitigation of tensions, 2) multi-pronged collaboration and exchanges between the two Koreas; 3) convocation of a grand national conference comprising of people from all walks of life and representatives of each political party and civic organizations; 4) implementation of the Confederal Republic of Koryo; and 5) the joining of the United Nations under the single state name of Confederal Republic of Koryo.

1980's: Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo

In October 10, 1980, Kim Il-sung in a policy report at the sixth Congress of the Korean Workers' Party, proposed the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo. This proposal was more elaborated than the previous ones and consisted of three main parts: the prerequisites for an independent, peaceful unification, the principles for forming a federal republic and ten guiding policies.

This Formula has the following characteristics. First, it maximizes the propaganda effect by adding the term “democratic.” Second, it claims to advocate a seemingly complete form of a confederation by avoiding words like “transitional measure” or “for a certain period of time.” Third, it asks some conditions as prerequisites that are almost equivalent to disarmament of the South. Fourth, it includes ten major guiding policies that amount to a psychological warfare by employing words like “nation” and “independence” as part of a confusion tactics.

Particularly, what we must note is the fact that the North calls for abrogation of laws like the Anti-communist Act and the National Security Law in South Korea as prerequisites under the name of an independent, peaceful unification. It also calls for the removal of “repressive governing apparatus” and replacement of the “fascist government” with a democratic government in the South. It goes on further to calling for the legalization of all political parties and social organizations, the guarantee of free political activities, the freeing of those who fought for democracy in the South. It also urges the U.S to start direct negotiations with the North to replace the armistice agreement with a peace accord, and to pull out the U.S. forces from the South along with asking for the U.S. to stop intervention in the internal affairs of Korea, and the manipulative schemes to split Koreas into two.

According to the North, in terms of the organization of the confederation, the North proposes that the South and North 1) create a confederal republic in which each republic maintains its own sovereignty based on a mutual

recognition of the each other's ideology and institutions, and 2) form a Supreme Confederal Assembly with the same number of representatives from both sides, under which the two Koreas would create a confederal standing committee to guide the regional governments.

However, it can be pointed out that the formula of the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo has the following flaws. First, its proposed "prerequisites for an independent, peaceful unification" is virtually based on the North's Policy of Revolutionizing South Korea. Second, though it proposes a confederal system based on mutual recognition of the different ideologies and institutions of the other, such a federation based on two different systems seems practically impossible to work. Third, the North's layout of the name, form, and external policy line of the unified Korea has been an entirely unilateral decision by North Korea. Fourth, by proposing major policies of what South and North Korea should implement in preparations for an eventual unification as ten major policies after unification, the North reveals its reluctance at inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation. Fifth, the formula presents no explanation about the detailed procedures pertaining to the formation of a confederation, such as the Constitution of Confederation.

Tactical Changes in the North's Confederation Formula

The Confederation of One Nation, One State, Two Systems, and Two Governments

Entering the 1990s, North Korea underwent slight tactical changes in its Confederation formula. North Korea, facing diplomatic isolation and growing economic woes as the Soviet Union and the socialist bloc of Eastern Europe collapsed, began to seek co-existence with the South. Against this backdrop, North Korea proposed in the New Year's address of 1991, a "Confederation based on One Nation, One State, Two Systems, and Two Governments."

In its newly proposed confederation formula, North Korea suggested "gradual

unification into a confederation” by which regional autonomous governments are to be granted with more powers and authorities at an initial stage and then gradually those powers are to be transferred to the central government.” It seems like that the North’s emphasis on “more powers on regional autonomous governments,” where regional governments exert the rights of diplomacy, military, and internal affairs, came from its shock from East Germany’s being absorbed into the West. In this sense, the North’s new confederation formula seems to be more focused on regime’s survival.

North Korea’s formula for unification in the 1990s can be elaborated as follows. First, it leaves wide open to institutional unification, since it seeks two different systems and governments. It argues that the unified Korea should independent, peaceful and non-aligned. Second, it calls for prerequisites for confederation which are included in the 10-point Programs for Great Unity of the Whole Nation. Those prerequisites unilaterally asks the South to abandon reliance on foreign forces, to announce the pullout of American forces from the peninsula, to stop joint military exercise with the U.S and withdraw from the U.S. nuclear umbrella.

Third, with regard the principles of unification, North Korea arbitrarily interpreted the “Three Principles of Unification” agreed in the July 4th South-North Joint Communiqué. It interpreted “independence” as withdrawal of U.S. forces and U.S. interference, “peaceful unification” as the South stopping modernizing its military and military exercises, and “great national unity” as the abrogation of the National Security Law and the legalization of the Communist party in the South.

Fourth, in terms of unification ideology, North Korea advocates the Juche ideology and Communism and underscores that the main actors of unification are the Korean workers.

Fifth, with respect to the process of unification, it does not elaborate anything transitional and just proposes three simple steps as convening national

political negotiation conference, and decision-making about unification at the conference, and then announcement of the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo. As to state organization, it merely mentions about Supreme National Assembly and Federal Standing Committee.

Low-stage Confederation Formula

In the June 15 South-North Joint Declaration, North Korea proposed a Low-stage Confederation formula. The concept of confederation at low stage was clarified, for the first time after the inter-Korea summit meeting in 2000, by An Kyong-ho, Chief Director of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland of North Korea, on October 6th, 2000 during the commemorating convention in Pyongyang for the 20th anniversary of the proposal of the Method of Establishing the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo. According to his address, the proposed low-stage confederation, based on one nation, one state, two systems, and two governments, meant that a national unification organ would be organized on top of the existing North and South Korean governments, which exercise full functions and powers, including political, military, and diplomatic fields.” This idea about the low-stage confederation was reaffirmed in the Rodong Sinmun Daily on December 15, 2000.

Assessment of North Korea’s Unification Formulas

As reviewed above, North Korea’s unification strategy has followed the line of “revolution in South Korea first, and then unification under Communism.” Its unification strategy is unlikely to change. This may be well proven in Kim Jung-il’s theses and letters after the death of Kim Il-sung. In his thesis, Kim Jong-il argues that the North should maintain its existing tactics on unification which aim to undermine the South’s efforts to strengthen its unification

competence and exclude the South Korean government from the unification process.

Also, when North Korea's second nuclear crisis emerged in October 2002, Pyongyang began to call for the "cooperation of the whole nation." In the New Year's joint editorial of the three news papers of North Korea in 2003, the North defined the situation on the Korean peninsula as a "confrontation between the whole people of Korea against the United States," calling for both Korea's cooperation against the U.S. "hostile policy." Such a position seemed more likely intend to foster anti-American sentiments and within the South.

Considering North Korea's proposed formulas, we may conclude that they are merely tactical means to bring the whole peninsula under the Communism. Their formulas seem to have some flaws as follows.

First, they deny the other party which is South Korea as it is in that they demand for the establishment of people's democratic government in the South, or de facto Communist revolution in the South. North Korea also calls for the abrogation of the National Security Law and the withdrawal of U.S. forces from the South. Such prerequisites are not at all in line with the Basic Inter-Korean Agreement (1991), in which both parties agreed to recognize each other as a political entity.

Second, they lack logical consistency between the prerequisites and the principles for forming a confederation. While the former ask for denial of the South's ideology and regime, the latter calls for mutual recognition of ideologies and institutions. Actually, we may conclude that what North Korea has agreed on an article in which "the two shall mutually recognize differences in ideology and institutions," only indicates that the North shall recognize the people's democracy in the South, not liberal democracy in the South.

Third, the North's formula seems unrealistic in terms of its proposed relations between the central and regional governments as well as the organizational structure in the proposed confederation. A confederation can consist of two

autonomous regional governments, but confederal government monopolizes Constitutional sovereignty. According to the confederation proposal by the North, regional autonomous governments in North and South have different ideologies and systems and yet are to form a confederation. Historically speaking, no confederation has been formed among regional governments that have belief in different ideologies and systems.

What we must remember is that the North's proposal in 1991 and the low-stage confederation in 2000 are almost the same, showing only tactical changes in response to internal and external conditions. Fundamentally, the North's unification formula is based on the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo of the 1980. In short, North Korea's unification formulas are largely based on the assumption that the North Korean regime is only legitimate government which is far from a reality.

Table 3-3. Unification formulas of South and North Korea over time

Times	South Korea		North Korea	
1948–1960	The Rhee administration	UN-supervised general elections in South and North Korea	Kim Il-sung Regime	Unification by force under Communism
1960s	Chang Myon administration	UN-supervised general elections in South and North Korea	"	Confederation (1960)
	Park Chung-hee administration	Construction first, unification later (1966)		
1970s	Park Chung-hee administration	Peace first, unification later (1974)	"	Confederation of Koryo (1973)
1980s	Chun Doo-hwan administration	Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification (1982)	"	the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo (1980)
1990s	Roh Tae-woo Administration	Korean National Community Unification Formula (1989)	"	Confederation based on one nation, one state, two systems, two governments (1991)
2000s	Kim Young-sam administration	National Community Unification Formula (one nation, one state, one system, and one government) (1994)	Kim Jung-il Regime	Low-stage Confederation (2000)
	Kim Dae-jung administration			
	Roh Moo-hyun administration			
2010s	Lee Myung-bak administration	"	Kim Jung-un Regime	
	Park Geun-hye administration			

The unification formulas of South and North Korea show fundamental differences in many areas of underlying philosophy, principles, prerequisite conditions, unification process and procedures, as well as the structural blueprint of the unified state and its future vision. The differences are summarized on Table 5-4 below.

Table 3–4. A Comparison of unification formulas of South and North Korea

Formulas	National Community Unification	Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo
Unification philosophy	Liberal democracy	Juche ideology
Unification principles	Independence, peace, and democracy	Independence, peace, and national unity
Unification Actor	All constituents of the nation	The Proletariat class
Prerequisite conditions	none	Abrogation of the National Security Law, legalization of Communist activities, withdrawal of U.S. forces
Unification process	Reconciliation and Cooperation → Korean Commonwealth → Unified Korea	Confederation by Progressive Way
Transitional State	Korean Commonwealth – Korean Commonwealth Charter at summit – Unification Constitution by agreement to be effective by national referendum	none
Procedures for realizing unification	General elections in South and North Korea by the Unification Constitution	Political negotiation by way of a joint conference of all parties
Form of a unified Korea	One nation, one state, one system, and one government	One nation, one state, two systems, and two governments
Organs of a unified Korea	Unified government, unified National Assembly (bicameral system)	Supreme National Confederal Assembly, and Confederal Standing Committee
Vision of a unified state	Developed democratic state guaranteeing freedom, welfare, and human dignity	Not mentioned



IV

Inter-Korean Relations: Conflicts and Cooperations

1. The Dual Nature of Inter-Korean Relations
2. Inter-Korean Conflicts
3. Inter-Korean Cooperations
4. Directions for the Future of Inter-Korean Relations

Key Point

01

Inter-Korean relations contain a dual nature: conflicts and cooperation. For South Korea, North Korea takes arms against Seoul as a hostile party of the ongoing military confrontation, at the same time, North Korea stands as a partner with whom Seoul has to look for cooperation. In addition, while the inter-Korea relations are something international between the two sovereign states, they are also something national. For this characteristic, both Koreas have agreed to view these relations as “special relations” in 1991.

02

The conflict and confrontation that has marked inter-Korean relations has been largely due to North Korea’s incessant provocations. Over times since the division, North Korea has kept provocations against the South, starting from the Korea War to many armed violation later on such as failed attempt to assassinate President Park Jung-hee by armed commandos, bombing a Korean airliner, just to name a few. Most recently, the North sunk the ROK’s naval ship the Cheonan, and shelled Yeonpyeong Island.

03

Inter-Korean dialogue began in the early 1970s with Red Cross talks as starter. Later on, more dialogues were held at multiple levels and across a spectrum of areas, including high-level talks, two summits, and ministerial talks. Exchanges and cooperation between the two Koreas has begun from the 1990’s and the scope and extent of these initiatives was expanded further in 2000’s. Inter-Korean relations will be able to develop to a higher level if trust takes root and the two parties seek to resolve outstanding issues through dialogue based on mutual respect. Faithful implementation of agreements and carrying out exchanges and cooperation will also serve to fulfill this end.

04

In its relations with the North, what South Korea seeks is to establish sustainable peace on the Korean peninsula and ultimately to have the peaceful unification come true. Seoul also wants to have North Korea’s nuclear issue to be resolved peacefully. For this end, the Seoul government will try its best to bring the North to make desirable changes through the trust-building process, while maintaining a strong security posture against any military provocation from the Communist regime in Pyongyang.

1. The Dual Nature of Inter-Korean Relations

Korea has become divided into the two Koreas shortly after its liberation from Japan in 1945 and from then, the inter-Korean relations has started. Over the last seventy years there were more tragedies than happiness: the Korean War, the separated families, many armed provocations by the North, to name a few. Out of its turbulent relations, though, the two sides have sometimes endeavored to bring unification in a closer distance.

The Beginning of Inter-Korean Relations

Inter-Korean relations began to develop after the Korean peninsula was divided by external forces after its country's liberation from Japan in 1945 and two separate governments in South and North Korea respectively set up in 1948.

Over the history of South-North relations, it is the Korean War (1950~1953) that is regarded as the most tragic, leaving millions of casualties and making temporary division then seemingly permanent. Though the fight stopped with the Korean Armistice Agreement on July 27, 1953, hostilities still linger on without a complete end to the war. Under this military armistice regime, each side of North and South Korea tends to see the other side as hostile competitor, not as the partner from the same ethnicity. In these complex circumstances, the duality of the inter-Korean relations has taken deep root.

What does the dual nature of inter-Korean relations mean? From the outbreak of the Korean War and onwards, relations between South and North Korea have been mostly marked by conflicts and confrontation, interspersed with fledgling efforts to engage in dialogue and cooperation. In other words, the mutual relations have started out of conflicts and tensions, aiming for reconciliation, cooperation and ultimately unification. Over the last seventy years, the pendulum has swung intermittently back and forth between dialogue and conflict

What makes the Korean division and the inter-Korean relations peculiar is that the Cold War on the Korea peninsula has outlasted the Cold War worldwide. To this day, the remnants of the Cold War linger on over the inter-Korean relations. We may have to take a comprehensive look on Korean issues by understanding history of Korean division, regressive regime in North Korea, and the role and influence by neighboring powers.

The Nature of the Inter-Korean Relations

Relations between the two Koreas are so complex that they are not easy to define with any single set of concrete traits. The reasons are many and may be explained as follows:

The dual nature of South-North relations can be attributable to a rather complex set of structural factors. One of ways to look into it can be through the legal and institution context in that these relations are shaped by an intricate web of legal and institutional structures developed internally on each side and those mutually agreed upon.

First, the Constitution of South Korea clearly articulates in its territorial provision that “the territory of the Republic of Korea shall consist of the Korean peninsula as a whole and its adjacent islands.” This implies that the ROK

government is the only legitimate one on the Korean peninsula.

Second, South Korea regards North Korea as something with dual faces. North Korea presents itself to Seoul as a cooperative partner with whom Seoul should seek for better ties to the road of unification, while it appears as threat under military confrontation. Thus, as both partners and military adversaries, two sides may as well be bound to regard each other through a dual lens.

Third, inter-Korean relations pertain to dual relations in that they are something international between two sovereign states and also something intra-national between the divided ethnicity. As the two Korea was simultaneously admitted to the United Nations in 1991, both parties were recognized as the UN member states and two sovereign states. This reflects that, according to international law, there are two legitimate states and governments on the Korean peninsula. Thus, internationally speaking, the relation between the two Koreas should be those between other sovereign states. From Constitutional perspectives, however, South and North Korea regard each other as part of the same ethnicity and an unrecovered part to be united in the future.

In this light, South and North Korea have agreed to regard the inter-Korean relations as intra-national matter and to pursue more cooperative relations toward unification in 1991 when both sides concluded the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement. In this basic agreement it reads the inter-Korean relations as follows: “Inter-Korean relations are not relations between nations, but special relations established temporarily in the course of pursuing unification.” For South Korea, it enacted the Law on the Development of Inter-Korean Relations in 2006 in which this special relations between the two Koreas reaffirmed.

The Development of Inter-Korean Relations

The duality of inter-Korean relations can also be better understood by taking a closer look at the pattern in which those relations have unfolded. The following section briefly traces the developmental pattern of inter-Korean relations over time. Tracing the history of their relationship reveals two major characteristics. The first is the marked differences between the distinct time periods. For example, while North Korean provocations have continued unabated throughout the whole period, exchanges and dialogue, cooperation as well have occurred more intermittently, in fits and starts, at given points of time. The other noticeable trait is that throughout the period of South-North relations, the dysfunctional pattern of conflict and confrontations has mainly been triggered by North Korean provocations.

Having that said, inter-Korean relations after division may be classified as follows. The first period extended from Korea's liberation (1945) to the 1960s. During this period, both sides have kept denied the other side's existence and kept hostility. The fratricidal Korean War has exacerbated the inter-Korean relations to the worst and served to perpetuate the division. During this time period, only conflict and confrontation has prevailed between the two Koreas due to the deep sense of hostility and animosity. North Korea's incessant armed provocations are also attributable to this pattern of denial and hostility during the 1960s.

The second period of inter-Korean relations covers from the 1970's to the 1980's. This segment of 1970's, in particular, marked a milestone in the relations. As the new ambiance of détente emerged in the world in 1970's, the two Koreas engaged in dialogue and cooperation, having Red Cross talks and the July 4th South-North Joint Communiqué. In the 1980s, the two Koreas began competitively elaborating their own plans for peaceful unification with the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification from the South and Plan for Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo from the North.

In short, the 70s and 80s witnessed greater dialogue taking place between the two Koreas, even though competition and conflict kept going on as well.

The third phase took place in the 1990's. In this period of time, as the socialist bloc has disintegrated and a serious food shortage crisis has taken heavy tolls in the North, competition between the two Koreas has come to tilt toward the South side. It was during this period that South Korea began to take greater initiatives toward the North. For the sake of its survival, North Korea agreed to abide by the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement (1991). It has also challenged the relations by playing the nuclear card.

The last and latest period of inter-Korean relations was the decade of the 2000s. The two inter-Korean summits were held respectively in 2000 and in 2007, shaping the relations into qualitatively new ones. This period marked a sharp increase in joint efforts on reconciliation, cooperation, and exchanges, witnessing concrete progresses such as in the development of the Gaeseong Industrial Complex and the start of the Geumgang Mountain tourism projects. At the same time, North Korea still engaged in a series of military provocations against the South, namely skirmishes in the West Sea, nuclear tests, the sinking of the South Korean naval ship, the Cheonan, and the artillery shelling of Yeonpyeong Island. These provocations by the North remind of lingering remnant of the Cold War on the Korean peninsula.

As such, for the past seventy years after liberation, South-North relations have swung pendulum-like, back and forth between conflict and cooperation. The next section will discuss in detail the history of the development of inter-Korean relations and related events from the perspective of conflict and cooperation.

2. Inter-Korean Conflicts

The conflicts and confrontations in the history of the inter-Korean relations have left many wounds and desperation among the Korean people. Beginning with the Korean War in 1950, conflict between the two Koreas have mostly come from North Korea's aggressive strategy to assimilate the South by force. North Korea has been provoking from the early 1950's until recently. To name a few of such a provocations by the North, armed infiltrators in 1960's, Attempt to assassinate President Park Jung-hee in 1970's, bombing to kill President Chun at Awungsan cemetery in Burma and another bombing the Korean airliner in 1980's, the Skirmishes in the Yellow Sea in 1990's and after 2000 three nuclear tests and sinking a naval ship of South Korea.

The Korean War

The most fundamental source of the conflict and tragedy of the South-North relations was the Korean War of June 25, 1950, which was taken place by the North Korean sudden invasion. Shortly after the liberation from Japanese rule, North Korea worked preparing a detailed invasion plan; Kim Il-sung made secret visits to Moscow and Beijing and have acquired approvals from Stalin and Mao. North Korea strengthened its war capability by procuring tanks, field artillery from the Soviet Union. Pyongyang also reinforced its military power, between 1949 and 1950, by incorporating tens of thousands of Korean war veterans who had fought in the Chinese civil war.

While working assiduously to strengthen its war capability, North Korea also strived to shape favorable political environment for the planning invasion; as a peace offensive, the North called for a South-North Leaders' negotiation and



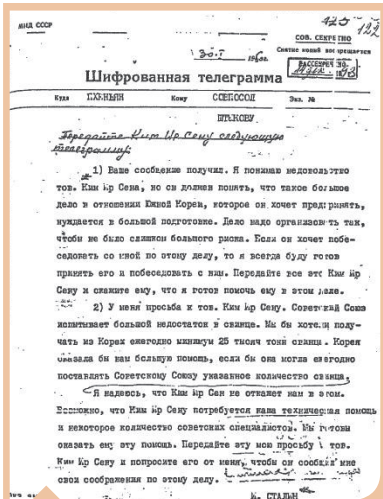
Kim Il-sung's visit to Moscow in March 1949

filed a declaration for peaceful unification to the UN. All the while, the North was contemplating the best timing for the planned invasion.

At that time, the international situation in Northeast Asia was growingly insecure. After decades of civil war, China had just been communized. There were on-going discussions between the Soviet Union and North Korea about war plan on the Korean peninsula. The U.S. pulled back its defense perimeter in the Asian region, withdrawing its combat units from South Korea. On January 12, 1950, U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson announced the "Acheson Line," placing both the Korean Peninsula and Taiwan beyond the U.S. defense perimeter.

Judging the time ripe for a surprise attack, North Korea launched a full-scale invasion of South Korea in the early dawn of June 25, 1950, sending its tanks across the 38th parallel. Overwhelmed by the superior fires and combat power of the Korean People's Army(KPA), Seoul fell into KPA just in three days after the invasion. The South Korean Army has retreat southward, reaching the southernmost river called Nakdonggang by early August. Almost all of South Korea's territory except for Busan and its immediate vicinity had been taken by KPA.

Meanwhile, the United States brought North Korean invasion issue to an emergency session of the UN Security Council on June 26, 1950. The Security Council, condemning the North's the attack as a breach of peace, passed



A Soviet document approving North Korea's invasion plan (January 30, 1950)

a resolution to recommend all UN member countries to assist to South Korea in repelling the armed attack and restoring peace and stability on the Korean peninsula. For this end, United Nations Command was set up to provide military assistance to South Korea. U.S. General MacArthur was appointed as Commander-in-Chief of the UN Command. Consequently, the United Nations Forces, comprising of troops from 16 nations including the United States, were sent to the Korean peninsula.

South Korean Army and UN forces from this time onward fought together to repel the North Korean invaders. On September 15, 1950, The UN Forces along with Korean Marines made a successful amphibious landing at the port of Incheon, thus reversing the war. By September 28, Seoul was retaken. Then on October 1st of 1950, the 1st Division of the ROK Army crossed the 38th parallel, followed by U.N. troops the next day, advancing to the North.

However, the advance of the UN forces northward came to a halt when China, disregarding the United Nations resolutions condemning the invasion, joined the war by crossing the Yalu River on October 19. The massive Chinese forces at first sent the UN forces reeling in a precipitous retreat, but the two sides later became entrenched in a long offensive and defensive battle. From the early summer of 1951 onwards, the war now turned out to be deadlocked and the Soviet Union proposed a ceasefire through the United Nations. Upon U.N.'s acceptance, armistice talks commenced at Panmunjom beginning in July of 1951. After a long period of negotiations, an armistice agreement was finally signed on July 27, 1953.

The Korean War took its toll on tremendous human lives and property. For South Korea, about 140,000 soldiers were killed in action, and 450,000 wounded, and 30,000 taken captive or missing. In addition to that, about 40,000 of the UN troops were killed in action, 100,000 wounded, and 10,000 taken captive or missing. It is estimated that the Communist forces of North Korea and China together suffered a loss of about 1.8 million soldiers. In terms of civilian casualties in the South, about 370,000 killed, 230,000 wounded, and 390,000 taken captive or missing. The war also produced a large number of dislocated people, war widows and orphans on both sides of Korea.

The war also devastated throughout the peninsula. Most of the country's industrial infrastructure (SOCs), including roads, ports, water and sewage systems, and residences and schools as well, were almost completely destroyed. More than 40% of South Korea's production facilities were destroyed, leaving the economy almost completely paralyzed. The damages incurred on South Korean industries alone were estimated to be around USD120 million. So was most of the major industrial complexes and production facilities in North Korea.



A boy escaping barefoot from the Korean War

The Korean War also significantly influenced South-North relations. First, the war was in essence a fratricidal tragedy conceived and instigated by North Korea as part of its goal of unifying the whole Korean peninsula by force under Communism.

Second, the Korean War explicitly exposed North Korea's dual faced strategy toward the South. It became unmistakably clear that, while calling for peaceful unification and proposing to hold negotiations for it, Kim Il-sung carried out a

planned invasion to the South.

Third, the Korean War played a symbolic role in deepening the Cold War world wide after 1945. It further fixated the political divide and military tensions between the two camps. It was the largest physical war (and the only one of that scale) during the Cold War period. It did much to deepen the hostilities and further entrench the hatred between the two Koreas. Over time, South and North Korea became more heterogeneous, further solidifying the confrontation and division that have marked their relationship ever since.

Subsequent to the Korean War, two distinctly different systems were established in the South and the North, respectively. While South Korea adopted a free market economy based on liberal democracy, North Korea opted for a Communist dictatorship and planned.

The Korean War heralded the beginning of the Cold War era throughout the world. And as paradoxical as it may sound, it was instrumental in awakening the South Korean people to understand the importance of liberal democracy. In terms of world history, the war was also significant in that it was the war where South Korea fought alongside UN Forces to safeguard freedom in the world.

Provocations by North Korea

Provocations in the 1960s and 1970s

In the 1960s, North Korea had implemented an aggressive posture against South Korea based on its strategy of revolutionizing the South. While attempting to establish underground political parties in the South, North Korea carried out several military raids as part of its campaign to destabilize the society of the South.

The first of such armed provocations occurred when the presidential residence, or Blue House, was attacked on January 21, 1968 by 31 North Korean armed guerrillas of Unit 124 of the Korean People's Army. The guerrillas infiltrated across the armistice line with the intent of assassinating the South Korean President Park Chung-hee and other key members of the South Korean government. Stopped at a police check point near Blue House, the commandos opened fire with submachine guns and threw grenades at four local buses, killing a number of innocent civilians. During the firefight seven military and police personnel were killed by the commandos. A massive sweep operation followed in South Korea until February 3, killing 28 commandos and capturing one of them alive. The two commandos were presumed to have escaped back to North Korea.

This incident stunned the South Korean public and resulted in reinforcement of the South's defense capabilities including creating reserve forces. Special units were organized within the Army to counter any future North Korean guerrilla infiltration and a barbed wire fence was installed along the entire 250 kms of the armistice line. The barbed wire fence still remains in place as a symbol of the division and the Cold War on the Korean peninsula.

In that same year, between October 30 and November 2, 120 additional armed North Korean commandos in three cases infiltrated into Samcheok in Gangwon province and Uljin in Gyungsang province in the South. In the

early morning of November 3, the infiltrators gathered the local residents in one place and brutally slaughtered them with swords. The military, police, and Reserves of the South began a manhunt and killed 113 commandos, captured seven of them. On the South Korean side, there were approximately 60 casualties of army, police, and civilians combined.

Entering the 1970s, North Korea had kept its armed provocation against South Korea. The most infamous example of such provocations in this period was the axe murder incident at Panmunjom on August 18, 1976. In that incident, North Korean soldiers killed two American officers and severely wounded nine other ROK and American soldiers who were there as part of a UNC security team in the Joint Security Area (JSA) to trim a tree. Immediately the U.S. Forces in Korea responded to the incident by issuing a combat readiness order, bringing in a fighter bomber squadron and Marines from Okinawa to Korea, and dispatching two US carriers, Ranger and Midway, to offshore of Korean peninsula. Faced with such a strong reaction from South Korea and the U.S., North Korea's leader Kim Il-sung, on August 21, 1976, sent a rare message, expressing his regret for the incident to the UN Commander.



The axe-murder incident at Panmunjom in 1976

This repeated armed infiltration by North Korea in the 1960s and 1970s had severely damaged inter-Korean relations and made South Koreans to keep the sense of crisis and anti-Communist sentiments.

Provocations in the 1980's and 1990's

With the advent of the 1980s, rather than attempting additional brazen guerrilla-style infiltrations, North Korea instead chose a series of terrorist bombings against the South, further aggravating tensions and undermining South-North relations. The most infamous one was the terrorist bombing at the Aung San Martyrs' Mausoleum in Myanmar in 1983 and the mid-air bombing of a South Korean airliner in 1987.

On October 9, 1983, North Korean agents detonated a bomb at the Aung San Mausoleum with intent to kill then South Korean President Chun Doo-hwan, only to end up with killing 17 ministers wounding fourteen others. The bomb was planted by a North Korean special operations reconnaissance unit. As a result of the bombing, Myanmar cut off diplomatic relations with North Korea and expelled all North Koreans from the country. The incidence also caused Costa Rica, the Comoros Islands, and Western Samoa to suspend all diplomatic relations with North Korea. Meanwhile, 69 other nations, including the U.S. and Japan, issued statements condemning North Korea for the attack.



North Korean bombing at Aung San Martyrs' Mausoleum in 1983

For another instance, North Korean agents bombed a South Korean airliner on November 29, 1987, killing 115 innocent people on board including 20 crew members. The ill-fated Korean Air Flight 858 was flying over the Indian Ocean departing from Baghdad on the evening of November 28, 1987 and exploded in mid-air while on route to Seoul.

During the latter part of the 1980s and early 1990s, the socialist regimes had collapsed, while remaining socialist countries like China and Vietnam chose to

embrace market reforms and to open up its market to the West. Amidst these dramatic changes in the post-Cold War, North Korea refused to reform and open itself up to the outside world. Rather, in an infertile effort to maintain its authoritarian regime, Pyongyang kept responding to each new crisis in the same way it had during the Cold War period. Such a stance taken by the North once again negatively impacted on the South-North relations and made the Korean peninsula the only remnant of the Cold War in the world.

In 1991 and 1992, the ice-cold relations between the South and North seemed to thaw somewhat with the signing of the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement, the Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, and their simultaneous admission to the United Nations. North Korea, however, went out from the Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1993, escalating tension on the peninsula. On October in 1994, the US-DPRK Agreed Framework¹ was signed in Geneva which provided an agreed procedure to resolve the North Korea's nuclear crisis. North Korea, however, broke the agreement by developing uranium based nuclear in 2003.

Moreover, in April, 1996, North Korea unilaterally announced that it would no longer abide by the provisions of the Korean Armistice Agreement concerning the integrity of the DMZ and sent temporarily North Korean troops into the Joint Security Area at Panmunjom. In addition, on 18 September of that same year, a small North Korean submarine was found stranded off the town of



A North Korean submarine off the city of Gangneung in 1996

Gangneung, South Korea. In the following manhunt, the bodies of 11 North Korean submarine crew members were found shot dead presumably by fellow infiltrators, other thirteen North Korean crew were chased and killed by the ROK Army. On the South Korean side, 11

soldiers, one policeman, one reservist, and four civilians lost their lives. Also on 22 June, 1998, another North Korean Yugo-class submarine was found drifting along the South Korean shoreline off the city of Sokcho, South Korea and was towed to nearby city on 23 June. Inside the submarine, the nine bodies were discovered, including both sailors and secret agents.

Provocations in the 2000s

During the 2000s, North Korea has kept provocation in somewhat different from the past. On three different occasions, North Korea engaged three gunfights with South Korea by crossing the Northern Limit Line (NLL) in the West Sea. It also provoked tensions on and beyond the Korean peninsula by not only sinking of the ROK naval ship the Cheonan, and shelling of Yeonpyeong Island but also launching long-range missiles, nuclear tests.

Infringements of the NLL and Skirmishes in the West Sea

Between 1999 and 2009, North Korea was responsible for military clashes on three different occasions by infiltrating the NLL in the West Sea. The first one, known as the First Battle of Yeonpyeong, took place on June 15, 1999 when six North Korean patrol boats crossed the NLL into South Korean waters 10 kilometers off Yeonpyeong Island in violation of the NLL. Disregarding the warnings from the South Korean Navy to leave South Korean waters, the North Korean vessels instead launched a preemptive attack on the South Korean vessels, resulting in a fierce gunfight between the two sides. North Korea's infringement of the NLL was in direct violation of the spirit of the Korean Armistice Agreement and the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement which specifies that "the two sides shall respect the territory over which each side has been exercising control so far." This fight was the first battle at sea between navies of the South and the North since the Korean War.

In three years, the second battle took place on June 29, 2002. North Korean

navy, in an attempt to recover its humiliation from the defeat at the first battle in 1999, deliberately attacked the South Korean Navy and resultantly having six South Korean seamen killed and 18 wounded, while the North Korean Navy suffered approximately 30 casualties.

The third battle off Daecheong island took place on November 10, 2009. This time North Korea again illegally crossed the NLL and opened fire, ignoring



The third naval battle off Daecheong Island in November, 2009

the warning from the South Korean Navy. Fortunately, the South Korean Navy suffered no casualties on this occasion, but the North Korean actions further undermined the fragile state of South-North relations and escalated the conflict and tension on the peninsula.

Nuclear Tests

North Korea surprised South Korea and the world by conducting three nuclear tests in October 2006, in May 2009, and in February 2013. The North Korean nuclear issue goes back to the 1990s. Despite of the fact that the two Koreas agreed on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula in 1992, right next year in 1993, North Korea withdrew from the NPT and IAEA. Consequently, the situation on the peninsula had escalated to the extent that the Clinton administration seriously considers bombing at the Yeongbyeon nuclear facility in North Korea. The Korean peninsula became embroiled in the biggest security crisis since the Korean War. However, the crisis was eventually subdued through the intercession of the former U.S. President Carter during a visit to North Korea and the subsequent the Agreed Framework between the U.S. and North Korea. In the agreement, both sides vowed to normalize diplomatic relations between the two countries, for the U.S to provide two light water

reactors, 500,000 tons of heavy fuel oil annually to North Korea in exchange for the North agreeing to freeze of its nuclear programs.

In October 2002, the second North Korean nuclear crisis has emerged when North Korea was suspected to run another nuclear program based on uranium-enrichment this time. To resolve the second crisis, a multilateral framework called the six-party talks, involving the United States, South Korea, China, Japan, Russia, and North Korea, was organized and the first meeting was held in August 2003. At the conclusion of the fourth session of the six-party talks on September 19, 2005, the parties adopted a joint statement. The talks suffered a major setback, however, due to the Banco Delta Asia (BDA) issue, over which the U.S. froze North Korean accounts at the bank.

On October 9, 2006, North Korea conducted its first nuclear test which resulted in strong international condemnation. On October 14, 2006, the United Nations Security Council condemned North Korea's nuclear test and passed Resolution 1718, calling for North Korea not to conduct any further nuclear tests or launches of ballistic missiles and imposed comprehensive sanctions against North Korea. Two other subsequent agreements over the nuclear issue, one in on February 13 and the other on October 3, 2007, were concluded but no further progress was made due to the parties' failure to agree on a workable verification protocol.

On May 25, 2009, North Korea went on with its second nuclear test. North Korea had kept a series of missile launches from April 5, 2009, and onwards, further escalating tensions on the peninsula. Following the second nuclear test, the international community unanimously condemned North Korea, and the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1874², imposing economic sanctions on North Korea.

On February 12, 2013, in defiance of the warnings from the UN Security Council and the international community, North Korea conducted the third nuclear test. The test was met with immediate global condemnation. Analysts

now voice concern that North Korea is working on a lighter, smaller nuclear device. The UN Security Council passed Resolution 2094, expanding the scope of UN sanctions against North Korea. The North's three nuclear tests consist of a clear violation of the UN Security Council Resolutions 1718, 1874, and 2094. The test not only further eroded ground for peace and security on the Korean peninsula and in Northeast Asia, but also posed a direct challenge to the international community. From the third test, China also joined forces to condemn North Korea's nuclear test and to support the sanctions.

The Fatal Shooting of a South Korean Tourist in Mount Geumgang, the Sinking of Cheonan Warship, and the Shelling of Yeonpyeong Island

On July 11, 2008, a North Korean guard fatally shot a South Korean tourist to death at Mountain Geumgang. On December 1, 2008, North Korea also closed the border crossing between the two countries. From March 30 to August 13, 2009, it also detained a South Korean worker at the Gaeseong Industrial Complex, for 136 days.

In 2010, North Korea went beyond mere threats and undertook two serious military provocations. It sank the South Korean warship, Cheonan, killing 46 seamen on March 26. On November 23, 2010, North Korea shelled Yeonpyeong island in South Korea, killing many soldiers and innocent civilians. North Korea's act of aggression was obviously in violation of the clause 4 of Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations, which prohibited the use of threats or force, Clause 12 of Article 2 of the Korean Armistice Agreement which guaranteed the cessation of all hostilities, and Article 9 of Chapter 2 of the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement which stipulates that the North and the South shall not use force against each other.

Since the Korea War, North Korea has categorically denied any involvement in the armed provocations such as the bombing at Aung San Mausoleum, and the bombing of Korean Air Flight 858. Instead of accepting its responsibility and

apologizing, the North even claimed that all the incidents were fabricated by the South.

On May 24 2010, South Korean President Lee Myung-bak, in an address to the nation, demanded that North Korea “apologize immediately and punish those who are responsible for and those who were involved in the incident.” At the same time, he announced the May 24th



Salvaging the *Cheonan* warship torpedoed by North Korea

Measures, which suspends all inter-Korean trade and exchange and prohibits the passage of North Korean vessels through South Korean waters.

Key contents of the May 24th Measures

- Prohibit any North Korean merchant ships to sail through South Korean waters, including the Straits of Jeju and port entry as well;
- Ban all inter-Korean trade, including the carrying-in and -out of all articles for processing trade;
- No visits by South Koreans to North Korea, excluding the Gaeseong Industrial Complex and Mount Geumgang district, and restrict South Koreans from contacting North Korean residents;
- No South Korea’s new investments in North Korea, including on-going projects; only allow production activities to be continued at Gaeseong Industrial Complex but reduce the number of South Koreans there;
- Halt all South Korean aid projects to North Korea, except for purely humanitarian assistance for vulnerable groups such as infants.

Meanwhile, the international community, the European Parliament and the G8 Summit in particular, issued strong condemnations against North Korea for its sinking of the South Korean warship. On June 14, the South Korean government presented the results of its investigation into the sinking to the United Nations Security Council which issued a Presidential Statement by denouncing the sinking as an act of aggression.

Adding insult to injury, on November 23, 2010, North Korea opened fire on the South Korean island of Yeonpyeong-do with artillery shells. In response, South

Korea fired back in kind. North Korea's bombardment of the island was so indiscriminate that two marines and two civilians were killed, not to mention dozen others wounded.



Private houses destroyed by North Korea's shelling of Yeonpyeong island

The North's shelling of Yeonpyeong island was a grave provocation, undermining the very foundation of peace on the Korean Peninsula in that it was the first North Korean attack on South Korean territory since the Korean War, and it was also indiscriminately targeted both

military and civilian targets. The U.S., the UK, Japan, Germany, and many other countries around the world condemned North Korea for its inhumane act of aggression.

The North's military provocations such as the sinking of the Cheonan, shelling of Yeonpyeong island are in direct violation of the Korean Armistice Agreement, the United Nations Charter, and the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement.

The South Korean government, characterizing the attack as a "clear armed provocation," warned that such an "indiscriminate attack on civilians can never be tolerated" and called for the North to take full responsibility for its actions. In a resolution adopted on November 24, the South Korean National Assembly strongly condemned North Korea's attack. In a televised speech on November 29, South Korean President Lee Myung-bak strongly criticized North Korea, saying that "South Korea nonetheless has endured these continual provocations over the years because we have hoped that the North will someday change its course. North Korea, on the other hand, has consistently responded with a series of further provocative acts, including the development of a nuclear program, the sinking of the Cheonan and the shelling of Yeonpyeong-island."

North Korea's Launching of Long-range Missiles

During the first decade of the 21st century, North Korea launched long-range missiles on four different occasions. North Korea's first long-range missile launch was on July 5, 2006, triggering a strong condemnation by the UN Security Council and Resolution 1695 that banned all UN member states from selling missile technology or materials to North Korea.

In April 2009, North Korea launched additional long-range missiles, further escalating tensions on the Korean peninsula. As a result, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1874, demanding that North Korea refrain from conducting any further launches using ballistic missile technology.

In 2012, North Korea launched two long-range missiles in April and in December. This act was in direct violation of UN Security Council Resolution 1874, which banned North Korea from further test launches of ballistic missiles. The UN responded by adopting a Presidential Statement in April and Resolution 2087 in December, which carried even stronger sanctions against North Korea.

Table 4-1. UN Security Council resolutions on sanctions against North Korea

Classification	Cause	Key Content
Resolution 825 (May 11, 1993)	North Korea's withdrawal from NPT (Mar. 12, 1993)	The resolution called upon North Korea to reconsider its decision to withdraw from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.
Resolution 1695 (Jul. 15, 2006)	North Korea's missile launch (Jul. 5, 2006)	The resolution condemned North Korea's provocations and banned UN member states from selling material or technology for missiles to North Korea.
Resolution 1718 (Oct. 13, 2006)	North Korea's first nuclear test (Oct. 9, 2006)	The resolution imposes a series of sanctions on North Korea, including ban on imports and exports of certain items (conventional weapons, WMD-related materials, and luxury goods), financial control, immigration control, and inspection of shipments of cargo.
Resolution 1874 (Jun. 12, 2009)	North Korea's second nuclear test (May 25, 2009)	The resolution imposes further sanctions on North Korea, including inspection of North Korean cargo on land, sea, and air, stronger financial and economic sanctions, and an extension of the arms embargo.
Resolution 2087 (Jan. 22, 2013)	North Korea long-range missile launch (Dec. 12, 2012)	The resolution imposes new sanctions on North Korea, including expanding the scope of existing sanctions, stronger monitoring of financial activities and actors, and stronger control of export to North Korea.
Resolution 2094 (Mar. 7, 2013)	North Korea's third nuclear test (Feb. 12, 2013)	The resolution strengthens and expands the scope of the strong sanctions regime already in place, including sanctions on new individuals and entities, addition of new items to the sanctions list, financial sanctions, deny port and over flight access to North Korea-affiliated shipments, and stronger arms embargo (implementation of "catch all" provisions).

As such, even now in the 21st century almost 20 years after the end of the Cold War, the Korean peninsula is still not free from the vicious cycle of tensions and provocations. North Korea has continued to engage in a vicious cycle of threats, tension-increasing actions, and flagrant provocations ever since the peninsula was divided. By operating a dysfunctional governmental system designed solely to maintain its authoritarian dynastic regime, North Korea has continued to recklessly undermine peace on the Korean Peninsula through three different nuclear tests, the launching of long-range ballistic missiles on multiple occasions, and engagement in other tragically inhumane military provocations. Such provocative acts by North Korea have done little benefit other than to escalate tensions on the peninsula and further undermine South-North relations.

3. Inter-Korean Cooperations

Countless tragic events and conflicts befell South Korea during the last 70 years of division. Now it was the high time for South Korea to end this tragic situation through reconciliation and cooperation with the North based on mutual trust.

Inter-Korean cooperation will be the foundation for ending the division and bringing national unification closer. A review of the cooperative efforts undertaken by South and North Korea during the trying times of the past will help us to visualize the direction that Unified Korea should take after unification.

Inter-Korean Dialogues

When did inter-Korean dialogues begin? Immediately following the Korean War, there were no dialogues or exchanges between the two Koreas. The atmosphere then was one of deepening hostility and confrontation. Things began to change during the 1970s. With the easing of Cold War tensions, the two sides began to engage in exchanges, albeit, with limitations.

The dialogue between the Red Cross Societies of South and North Korea, which began in 1971, led to formal talks in 1972. On August 12, 1971, the South Korean Red Cross Society proposed to North Korea that talks be held regarding

the issue of separated families. As a result, Red Cross discussions took place seven times beginning in August 1972 focusing on the five items on the agenda verifying the addresses and life or death of separated family members, visits between families, exchange of letters, permanent reunion, and other humanitarian issues.

Meanwhile, the announcement of the July 4 South-North Joint Communiqué in 1972 led to formal political talks of the South-North Coordination Committee. For four days from May 2, 1972, Director Lee Hu-rak of the Korea Central Intelligence Agency visited Pyongyang for talks with Kim Il-sung. Then, North Korea's Deputy Prime Minister Pak Song-chol visited Seoul for talks with President Park Chung-hee. These visits resulted in the July 4 South-North Joint Communiqué and the establishment of the South-North Coordination Committee. The Coordination Committee held three meetings of the joint chairmen, the general meeting, and the staff meeting. However, in August 1973, the North unilaterally announced that it would suspend talks because of South Korea's the June 23 Declaration. From February, 1979, the Coordination Committee met on three different occasions but failed to make any progress.

In twelve years after the seventh round of meetings held in July 1973, the eighth Red Cross talks resumed in May 1985. For the first time in the 40 years since division, the two sides reached an agreement on the very first separated family reunion. From September 20 to 23, North and South Korea simultaneously exchanged visits of separated families and troupes for culture and art between Seoul and Pyongyang.

In the mid-1980s, further inter-Korean talks ensued on the areas of economy and sports. However, reconciliation and cooperation were not achieved because the two Koreas were yet unable to overcome the historical hostilities caused by the Cold War.

In the 1990s, inter-Korean dialogues entered a new phase with the beginning of high-level talks between the two prime ministers. The discussions around

the development of inter-Korean relations resulted in the adoption of the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement. Also after the mid-1990s, the Red Cross Societies met five times in Beijing to help with the North's chronic food crisis. Consequently, based on an agreement between the Red Cross Societies regarding the procedures for delivering relief aid, South Korea sent goods to North Korea.

After the year 2000, the two sides held two summit meetings as well as several talks at various levels. However, from the mid-2000s, North Korea failed to show a sincere attitude in the talks, undermining the dialogues while pursuing military provocations, such as the sinking of the Cheonan, the shelling of Yeonpyeong island, and the continued development of its nuclear program. The following summarizes the results of inter-Korean talks and their significance.

Inter-Korean Summits

Face-to-face meetings between the top leaders of South and North Korea to discuss inter-Korean relations and unification issues carry great significance. Summit meetings can also be symbolic of the efforts to achieve national unity and peace on the Korean peninsula, so they can contribute to increasing inter-Korean cooperation and establishing peace.

Inter-Korean summits were held twice so far. The first summit was held in 2000 between the South Korean President Kim Dae-jung and the North Korean leader Kim Jung-il. The second one in 2007 between the South Korean President Roh Moo-hyun and Kim Jung-il. In the mid-1990's, South Korea sought for summit talk in 1994.

On February 25, 1994, President Kim Young-sam announced his willingness to meet with North Korean leader Kim Il-sung, in an attempt to defuse tension on the peninsula and to deter North Korea's nuclear development. Consequently, on June 20, 1994, the South Korean proposed to hold a preliminary meeting of deputy prime ministers for the proposed summit. As North Korea agreed and a preliminary meeting took place in Panmunjom on June 28, 1994. At

that meeting, the two sides agreed that an inter-Korean Summit be held in Pyongyang on July 25-29, 1994. However, due to the sudden death of Kim Il-sung on July 8, 1994, North Korea sent a letter on July 11, calling to postpone the scheduled summit. Thus, the agreed summit was aborted.

During his inaugural address in February 1998, the South Korean President Kim Dae-jung expressed his willingness to accept an inter-Korean summit if North Korea desired. At every possible opportunity, the Kim Dae-jung administration proposed to the North an inter-Korean summit and the exchange of envoys.

During that process, South Korea announced the Berlin Declaration (March 9, 2000), calling for the dismantlement of the Cold-War structure on the Korean peninsula and the establishment of permanent peace, reconciliation and cooperation with North Korea. North Korea later expressed its intention for a summit, and the two sides held the first contact in Shanghai on March 17, 2000, which was soon followed by several additional contacts in Beijing. On April 8, the two sides agreed on that Kim Dae-jung visit Pyongyang on Kim Jong-ils invitation for a summit meeting.

President Kim Dae-jung held the first inter-Korean summit with Kim Jung-il in Pyongyang on June 13-15, 2000. At the meeting, the leaders adopted the June 15 North-South Joint Declaration on five topics, including separated family issues, economic cooperation, and social and cultural exchanges.

In seven years, South Korean President Roh Moo-hyun also visited Pyongyang and held a summit meeting with Kim Jung-il in Pyongyang on October 2-4, 2007. The two sides agreed on the need to end the current armistice structure and establish permanent peace. They also consented to work together to meet with the leaders of three or four parties directly concerned on the Korean peninsula and declare the end of the Korean War. Two leaders also concurred on carrying out several joint programs in the areas of politics, military, economics, and social culture. They conclude the second inter-Korean summit

by adopting the October 4 Joint Declaration for the Development of Inter-Korean Relations, Peace and Prosperity.

High-level Talks between the Two Koreas

High-level Talks between South and North Korea were held both at the premier and ministerial level from time to time over the years. The first prime minister-level talks were initiated by the South Korean government in 1988. Beginning with the first meeting in Seoul from September 4 to 7, 1990, the Prime Ministers met for a total of eight times in Seoul and Pyongyang in the course of two years.

During the fourth round of talks on October 22-25, 1991 in Pyongyang, the two sides concurred on the structure of a written agreement.

During the fifth round of High-level Talks on December 10-13, 1991, in Seoul, the two sides reached a groundbreaking agreement on steps to be taken toward reconciliation, non-aggression, mutual exchanges and cooperation, or called the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement, which consisted of a preamble and 25 provisions. They also adopted a three-point joint communiqué, which included an agreement to hold an additional high-level meeting before the end of December to discuss the nuclear issue. After subsequent working-level talks, at Panmunjom on December 26 - 31, 1991, two sides adopted the South-North Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. The two agreements were signed and went into effect at the sixth round of high-level inter-Korean talks held in Pyongyang from February 18 to 21, 1992.

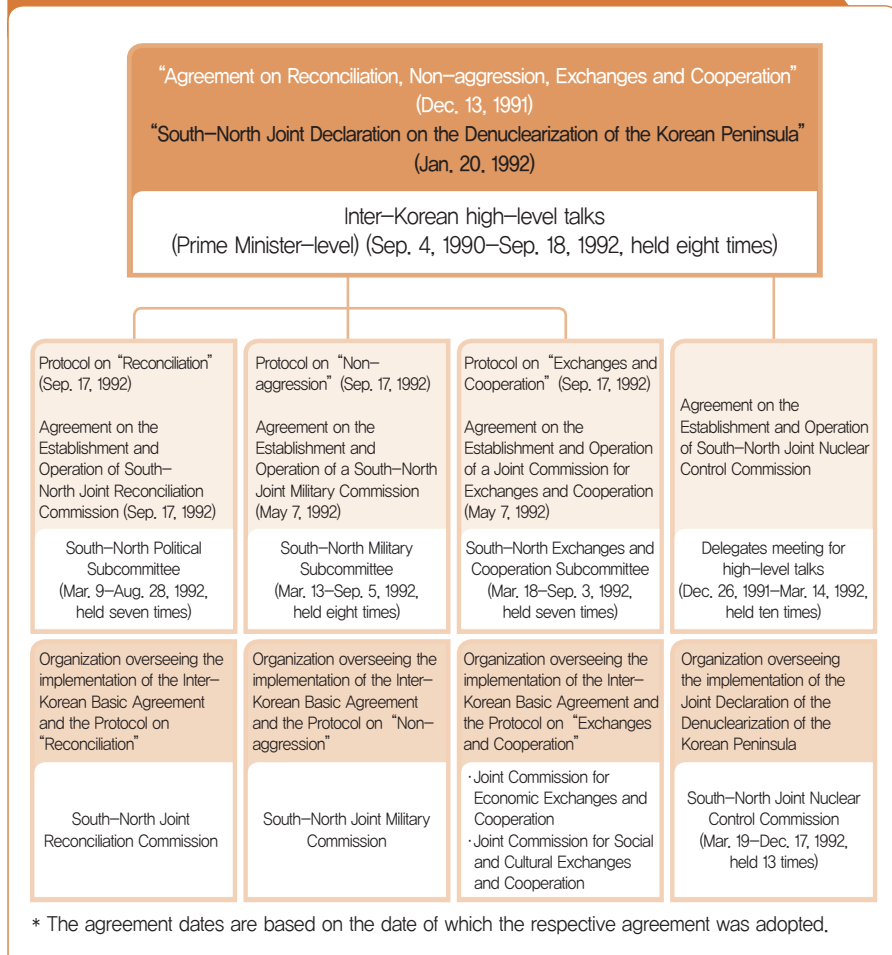
During the seventh round of High-level Talks on May 5-8, 1992 in Seoul, the two sides adopted three agreements, namely the Agreement on the Establishment and Operation of South-North Liaison Offices, the Agreement on the Establishment and Operation of a South-North Joint Military Commission, and the Agreement on the Establishment and Operation of a Joint Commission for Exchanges and Cooperation, went into effect. The two sides also agreed

to establish and operate a Joint South-North Reconciliation Commission. Furthermore, it was agreed to organize simultaneous exchanges of reunion of dispersed families for seniors and artist troupe between Seoul and Pyongyang on the National Liberation Day (August 15). However, these plans were never materialized, mainly due to the North's insistence on putting on a highly politicized revolutionary opera performance for the events.

During the eighth round of High-level Talks on September 15-18, 1992, in Pyongyang, the two sides had three subsequent agreements into effect, namely the Protocol on the Implementation and Observance of Reconciliation, the Protocol on the Implementation and Observance of Non-aggression, and the Protocol on the Implementation and Observance of Exchanges and Cooperation. The two sides also made the Agreement on the Establishment and Operation of the Joint South-North Reconciliation Commission into effect.

North Korea, however, denied to participate in the four joint commissions meetings scheduled to take place at weekly intervals from November 5 onwards, and in the ninth round of High-level Talks on account of South Korea's annual Hwarang exercises on October 31, which combined ROK-US Foal Eagle and Team Spirit training. Since then, all High-level Talks were suspended as a result.

Table 4-2. Structure and implementation of the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement



Following the 2000 Inter-Korean Summit, ministerial talks were held on various issues. From July, 2000 to February, 2008, twenty first rounds of ministerial meetings were held as working a high-level consultation mechanism between the two Koreas.

In the economic area, the two sides agreed on several economic cooperation initiatives at the sixteenth round of ministerial meetings, a new win-win approach to economic cooperation at the eighteenth round. In the humanitarian arena, agreements were reached to allow video reunions of separated families and to begin construction of a reunion place at the fifteenth round. At the

eighteenth round, both sides agreed to cooperate in resolving the outstanding issues related to South Korean Army prisoners of war and abductees. In the military arena, the two Koreas agreed to hold talks between their respective militaries at during the fourteenth and fifteenth rounds.

In September of 2000, the Ministers of Defense of South and North Korea met for the first time in Jeju-island and agreed to cooperate on to resolve military issues related to cross the DMZ by civilians As a follow-up, the leaders of the two militaries met for the second time in seven years in Pyongyang in November of 2007. During this meeting, the two sides adopted a seven-point agreement to implement agreements reached at the 2007 summit.

Furthermore, following the 2007 summit, the ministerial talks were elevated to the Prime Minister-level. Thus, at this time, the two Koreas began holding talks at three different governmental levels simultaneously: Prime minister-level talks, ministerial talks, and working-level talks. During the Prime Minister-level talks held in Seoul from November 14 to 16, 2007, the two Prime Ministers signed an agreement ensuring the full implementation of all the agreements that had been reached at the 2007 summit. During ministry-level talks, the two sides coordinated schedules related to inter-Korean relations and discussed general issues. During working-level talks, which included meetings of the economic cooperation commission, discussions were made regarding the process by which specific bilateral agreements would be implemented.

Working-level Talks

While most working-level talks held in the 1970s and 1980s were largely focused on social, cultural and humanitarian issues, those held after the year 2000 became broader in scope. For example, following the 2000 summit and South-North Defense Ministers' talks, working-level talks on military issues were held in accordance with the agreement reached at Defense Ministers' talks of September 2000.

The year of 2004 was particularly significant in terms of progress on the military front. General officers-level talks were held twice and concluded an agreement to prevent accidental naval clashes in the West Sea, to cease propaganda activities at the MDL, and to dispose of propaganda related equipment. General officer-level talks were held again twice in 2006 and three times in 2007 during which the leaders of the two militaries discussed various military issues to support greater cooperation and reconciliation between the two Koreas.

Regarding economic arena, based on the agreement reached during the fourth inter-Korean Ministerial Talks, the first meeting of the South-North Economic Cooperation Promotion Committee was held in December 2000 at which the two sides agreed to actively engage in economic exchanges and cooperation initiatives. This economic talks had been chaired by deputy ministers and after the 2007 summit, were elevated to deputy Prime Minister-level talks. The first of these meetings was held in Seoul in December 2007.

Furthermore, from 2003 onwards, a number of working-level meetings and working-level contacts took place to discuss a wide array of economic cooperation initiatives, including the donation of food aid, the installation of investment safeguards, the establishment of commercial dispute resolution procedures, clearance procedures and further promotion of the Gaeseong Industrial Complex and the Geumgang Mountain tourist zone. These efforts resulted in additional working-level meetings and contacts concerning issues such as ways to connect the two Koreas' railways and roads, the construction of the Gaeseong Industrial Complex, cooperation in shipping, flood control of the Imjin River, procedures for the verification of the origin of products, and clearing settlement transactions.

In the humanitarian arena, the Red Cross Societies of the two Koreas held eleven working-level contacts from 2000 to 2010 to discuss the feasibility of organizing reunions and visits of the separated families. In the social and

cultural arena, sports officials from the two sides held working-level meetings to discuss joint entering between the two Koreas for the Busan Asian Games (2002), the Summer Universiade in Daegu (2003), and the 28th Summer Olympic Games in Athens (2004).

From the end of 2005 to February of 2008, working-level meetings also took place to discuss the possibility of forming joint Korean sports teams and cheerleading squads for the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, but in the end no agreements were reached in this regard. Working-level meetings were also scheduled to discuss the possibility of organizing a joint effort to recover the remains of the Korean independence activist Ahn Jung-geun.

After the Lee Myung-bak administration, North Korea unilaterally announced on March 29, 2008 that it would suspend all further dialogue and contacts with the South. All inter-Korean dialogues thus came to a complete halt at that time. However, working-level meetings between the two Koreas resumed in October of that same year. Though the 37th inter-Korean military working-level talks did take place as scheduled at Panmunjom on October 2, 2008, they ended up without finding common ground for the resumption of inter-Korean dialogue at that time.

Inter-Korean dialogues, which had been unilaterally suspended by North Korea, once again resumed in April of 2009. The two Koreas met at Gaeseong at working-level talks on a variety of topics, including the Gaeseong Industrial Complex, inter-Korean Red Cross talks, the prevention of flood damage along the Imjing River, and the resumption of tourism at Mt. Geumgang. These dialogues came to halt again following North Korea's sinking of the ROKS Cheonan and its artillery shelling of Yeonpyeong island in 2010. The dialogues were not resumed again during the remainder of the Lee Myung-bak administration due to reluctance on North Korea's part to engage in any further inter-Korean dialogues, as can be seen in the North's disclosure of a close-door meeting between South and North Korean authorities in June 2011.

Recent Inter-Korean Dialogues

The Park Geun-hye administration, which came into office in February of 2013, has kept sincere efforts to engage in further dialogue with the North Korea. During her inauguration address on February 25, President Park emphasized the need to build mutual trust and have more dialogue and cooperation between the two sides. She proposed that the Trust-building Process on the Korean Peninsula in which she emphasized as follows.

“Trust can be built up through dialogue and by honoring promises that have already been made. It is my hope that North Korea will abide by international norms and make the right choices so that the trust-building process on the Korean Peninsula can move forward.”

However, North Korea has thus far refused to take any responsibility for its armed provocations and nuclear tests, and has exhibited only a lukewarm response to the South’s sincere efforts at re-starting dialogue. For example, in April 2013, the North evacuated North Korean workers from the Gaeseong Industrial Complex and declared a temporary suspension of operations there. Nevertheless, the South Korean government maintains its basic position that

“the Trust-building Process should move forward on the Korean peninsula,” and as such, has repeatedly proposed to the North to engage in further dialogue with the North. However, until very recently, North Korea has not responded favorably to these proposals.



High-level South-North Contacts (February 12, 2014)

Subsequently on June 6, 2013, right before the US-China Summit on June 7, 2013, and the Korea-China Summit on June 26, 2013, a spokesperson for the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland of North Korea

proposed inter-Korean talks for the purpose of normalizing operations again at the Gaeseong Industrial Complex and resuming tourism at the Mount Geumgang resort on the occasion of the 13th anniversary of the June 15 South-North Joint Declaration. The two sides met at Panmunjom and agreed to hold ministerial talks at Panmunjom on June 9-10, 2013 but agreed ministerial talks was aborted due to the failure to agree on the level of the head representative for the talks.

On July 4, 2013, the South Korean government proposed to the North to hold working-level meetings to discuss the inspection of facilities and equipment at the Gaeseong Industrial Complex, the export of finished goods and subsidiary materials, as well as further steps necessary for the normalization of operations at the complex. At subsequent seventh meeting on August 14, the two sides adopted a five-point agreement for the normalization of operations at the Gaeseong Industrial Complex. Subsequently, with the signing of the Agreement on the Establishment and Operation of the Secretariat of the Joint Commission for Gaeseong Industrial Complex, the two sides agreed to establish a Joint Commission for the Complex to oversee the implementation of the five-point agreement that had been signed earlier.

Meanwhile, on August 23, 2013, working-level meetings of the Red Cross Societies of South and North Korea took place again, at which an agreement was reached to have reunions of separated families from September 25 to 30 during the national Chuseok holidays. However, the family reunion never took place, after North Korea unilateral call for postponement on September 21. About at the 2014 New Year's Holiday, South Korea made proposal to the North that the postponed family reunions be rescheduled for the start of the New Year. North Korea responded favorably. Family reunion was held at Mount Geumgang from February 20 to 25, 2014.

Meanwhile, High-level Contacts were again held on February 12 and 14 of 2014 and agreement was reached on three points, namely to hold the reunion

of separated families as scheduled, to refrain from slander and libel in order to promote mutual trust and respect, and to actively strive to improve inter-Korean relations by continuing discussions on areas of mutual interest.

Also, the meeting of the Joint Commission for the Gaeseong Industrial Complex, which had been suspended since February 2013, was rescheduled to resume in six months on June 26, 2014. At the fifth round of meeting, the two sides shared their positions regarding pending issues and tasks to be addressed.

Inter-Korean Exchanges, Cooperation, and Humanitarian Assistance

Inter-Korean exchange programs and cooperation initiatives can contribute much to building mutual trust and establishing greater peace and security on the Korean peninsula. Such initiatives can help create a peaceful environment by easing tensions between South and North Korea and making the two partners depend more on each other in mutually beneficial ways. Also, they are important programs that could eventually help solidify the common ground necessary for unification.

Such being the case, when and how did the inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation programs begin? In a special statement issued to the press on July 7, 1988, titled the Special Declaration on National Self-Esteem, Unification and Prosperity (also known as the July 7 Declaration), President Roh Tae-woo proclaimed that “South and North Korea shall bring down the wall of division and engage in exchanges in all areas.” This executive declaration heralded the start of a new era of South-North exchanges and cooperation and was designed to clear away the old Cold War confrontational rhetoric and provocations of the past and move forward into a new era of openness and reconciliation.

In accordance with this declaration, in October of that same year, South Korea took measures to allow the inter-Korean trade and in June next year, it

announced a ministerial guideline titled the Basic Guidelines on North South Exchange and Cooperation, and also went on to enact the Law on South-North Exchange and Cooperation, on August 1, 1990, thus providing a legal basis for exchanges and contacts between residents of the South and North.

Such efforts to move South-North relations forward faced a momentary crisis when North Korea unexpectedly announced in March of 1993 that it was withdrawing from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). With the North Korean nuclear issue seemingly on the road to resolution after the signing of the Agreed Framework between the U.S. and North Korea in Geneva in October of 1994, the South Korean government took another cautious step forward by announcing in November of 1994 the Measures to Promote South-North Economic Cooperation. This initiative paved way for increased economic cooperation with the North, including the export of facilities for processing trade, and the development of small-scale pilot economic cooperation programs in the manufacturing sector such as food and beverages.

The Kim Dae-jung administration adopted the inter-Korean economic cooperation as part of its key national agendas based on the principle of separating economics from politics. In keeping with this guideline, in April 1998, the Kim Dae-jung government brought another Measures to Promote North South Economic Cooperation, which allowed heads of large businesses to visit North Korea and removed the cap that had previously been placed on the amount of investment that South Korean companies were allowed to make in North Korea. Then, in October 1999, it issued guidelines on funding related to inter-Korean economic exchanges and cooperation, which provided objective criteria for the funding of investments in the North, for the carrying of goods in and out of the North, and for processing trade. These guidelines also made it possible for loans to be made to South Korean small- and medium-sized companies that wanted to do business in North Korea.

Building on these initiatives, the Roh Moo-hyun administration revised the

Law on Inter-Korean Exchange and Cooperation (May 31, 2005) in line with the June 15 South-North Joint Declaration, in which procedures to visit and do business in North Korea were simplified, including easing procedures of meeting with North Korean residents from approval in advance to ex post reporting of such contacts. In December 2005, the Law on the Development of Inter-Korean Relations was enacted.

The Lee Myung-bak administration, considering outcomes from previous developments with regards to exchanges and cooperation with the North, tried to concentrate on laying the groundwork for mature and stable relations with the North. To this end, the South Korean government revised the Law on Inter-Korean Exchange and Cooperation (July 2009), simplifying the procedures related to exchanges and cooperation in an orderly manner. It also set up an monitoring system for the trade of goods between the two sides (February 2010) in order to improve the level of transparency with regards to how goods were being carried in and out of North Korea.

However, in the aftermath of the fatal shooting of a South Korean tourist at the Mount Geumgang tourist resort in July 2008 and North Korea's detainment of a South Korean worker at the Gaeseong Industrial Complex in March 2009, the South Korean government has kept much efforts to strengthen guarantees of personal safety and security for South Koreans visiting or staying in North Korea.

Overview of Inter-Korean Exchanges and Cooperation

The inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation, which were formally launched with the July 7 Declaration of 1988, continued on a path of stable expansion, thanks to the legal foundation laid by the Law on Inter-Korean Exchange and Cooperation of 1990 and the Measures aimed at promoting economic cooperation announced in 1994 and 1998, respectively.

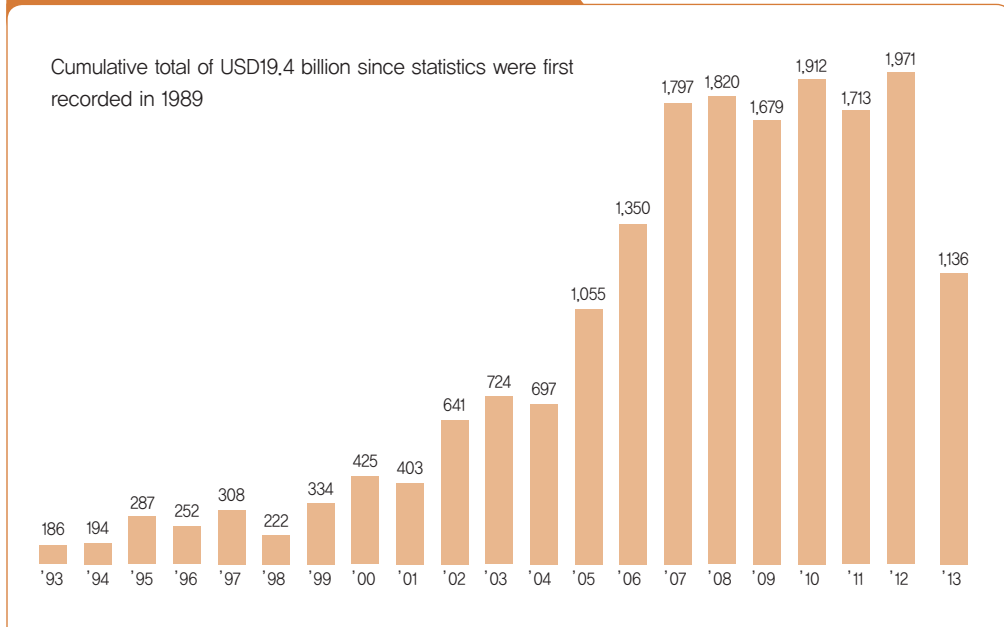
Inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation mainly entail human and material

exchanges. Human exchanges comprise of visits by South or North Korean residents to the other side as well as direct or indirect contacts in South or North Korea, or in a third country. Currently, visits can be made via road (Panmunjom or the transportation corridors of the Gyeongui and Donghae lines), sea, or air (direct flight, or via a third country), with the transportation corridors of the Gyeongui and Donghae lines being the most often used.

Inter-Korean visits, which began after the implementation of the Guidelines on North South Exchange and Cooperation on June 12, 1989, increased significantly following inter-Korean road connections and the development of the Gaeseong Industrial Complex. In 2006, the annual number of visits between the Koreas exceeded 100,000. Statistics show that up until 2013, the cumulative number of South Koreans visiting North Korea (excluding tourists visiting Mount Geumgang or the Gaeseong Industrial Complex) was 1,177,594, while the cumulative number of North Koreans visiting the South was 7,921. In the year 2013 alone, there were 76,543 exchanges of visitors in total.

Meanwhile, looking at the annual progress in inter-Korean exchanges, there was a steady increase from 1988, when exchanges began, to early 2000. Then in 2005, exchanges saw a significant increase when operations began at the Gaeseong Industrial Complex. From 2007, however, trade volume began to stagnate as inter-Korean relations worsened. In 2005, the annual trade volume exceeded USD1 billion for the first time. However, trade volume declined sharply in 2013 owing to the temporary suspension of operations in Gaeseong. In 2013, the accumulated inter-Korean trade was approximately USD19.4 billion.

Table 4–3. Inter–Korean trade volume



Inter–Korean Economic Cooperation Projects

Economic cooperation between South and North Korea after 2000 mainly involved the connection of railways and roads, the construction of the Gaeseong Industrial Complex, and the Mount Geumgang tourism project.

The Gaeseong Industrial Complex

Discussions on the construction of the Gaeseong Industrial Complex began following an agreement concluded between Hyundai, a South Korean business company and North Korea in August 2000. More specific discussions regarding the economic complex were discussed at the 7th inter-Korean ministry-level talks in August 2002. At the second round of the South-North Economic Cooperation Promotion Committee meeting, the two parties agreed to enact the Act on the Gaeseong Industrial Complex. Then at the fifth round of the Committee meeting, they agreed to hold the ground-breaking ceremony for the complex in June 2003.

To guarantee the security of investments and operations at the Gaeseong Industrial Complex, the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly of North Korea passed a bill titled Act on the Gaeseong Industrial Complex of the DPRK on November 20, 2002. The Act made it clear that the development and operation of the complex would be conducted in close consultation with South Korea. It also included some provisions for the protection of investor rights and interests, such as the guarantee of inheritance rights, the prohibition of the nationalization of investors' assets, and the freedom to carry foreign currency in and out of the complex.



The Significance of the Gaeseong Industrial Complex for Inter-Korean Relations

The Gaeseong Industrial Complex (GIC) has come to serve as an important symbol of inter-Korean cooperation and a unique medium for moving peace and prosperity forward on the Korean peninsula. The GIC has enabled the laying of a solid foundation for continued inter-Korean cooperation and the further development of inter-Korean relations. It represents far more than just an economic space where South and North Korea cooperate to produce goods; it is also a small space in which the two countries are conducting a hands-on experiment with how unification would contribute to long-term peace and security on the Korean Peninsula. In short, the GIC has become a space where South and North Korea can experience a foretaste of what unification would be like, and a space that has come to play a pivotal role in creating a peaceful ambiance and helping to deter war on the peninsula.

In that sense, the GIC project is an important mechanism for safeguarding inter-Korean peace and has served to "prime the pump" for unification. It has also served as a prototype for the North in creating other special economic zones by increasing its capacity to accommodate the outside world while at the same time preparing the way for the North to join the international community through practical help in how to open up its economy.

The groundbreaking ceremony for the Gaeseong Industrial Complex took place on June 30, 2003. The first phase of construction work at the site began in April 2004 and was completed in June 2006. The key infrastructure for the first phase of construction, including water, basic environmental facilities, power and communications, were all completed in October 2007.

In June 2004, 15 companies signed contracts that parceled out the land for the pilot area of 93,000 square meters at the complex. By December of that year, the first products were manufactured in that pilot portion of the complex. The

parceling out of land took place in two different phases; the first in August 2005 for an initial 169,000 square meters of land; the second in June 2007 for a land area of 1.75 million square meters.

The Gaeseong Industrial Complex project did not go without its challenges. On December 1, 2008, North Korea unilaterally denied access to the complex, which included restrictions of overland passage of personnel traveling for the purpose of inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation, and economic transactions, a reduction in the hours allowed for passage as well as of the number of people allowed passage, a reduction of the number of personnel permitted to reside at the complex, the suspension of all tourism at the complex, and the closure of the Inter-Korean Exchange and Cooperation Consultation Office. These measures created a crisis situation for the Gaeseong Industrial Complex project.

The crisis was finally resolved when North Korea announced on August 20, 2009 that the restrictive measures would be lifted. In the meantime, North Korea also detained a South Korean worker working at the complex for 136 days from March 30 to August 13, 2009.



North Koreans at work in the Gaeseong Industrial Complex

Following an investigation revealing that the sinking of the ROKS Cheonan in March 2010 was caused by North Korea, the South Korean government announced on May 24, 2010, a punitive measures against the North. The measures banned all new or additional investment by South Korean firms in the Gaeseong Industrial Complex, and reduced the number of South Korean personnel in residence there to 50% or 60% of the previous level. These precautionary measures were installed to ensure the personal safety of the workforce there. Following North Korea's provocations on Yeonpyeong island on November 23, 2010, the South also took further precautionary security

measures the following day for South Korean personnel residing at the complex in order to help them cope with a likely rapidly deteriorating security situation there. However, in view of the significance that the complex had come to hold for inter-Korean relations, all existing production activities there were continued. Beginning in October 2011, the South began to build firefighting and medical facilities at the complex and to improve commuter road conditions in order to alleviate some of the difficult conditions associated with working at the complex.

However, at the end of March 2013, North Korea blocked all access into and out of the Gaeseong Industrial Complex and cut off telephone line between army units from the South and the North. Then on April 9, 2013, operations of the complex practically came to a halt as North Korea withdrew all North Korean workers from the complex. The South Korean government urged the North to work together to resolve the issue through dialogue, but the North refused. On April 26, Seoul government decided to repatriate all remaining South Korean personnel from the complex. On May 3, the last seven remaining South Korean at the complex returned to the South. However, the South continued its efforts to resolve the issue through dialogue. As a result, seven working-level meetings were held from July 6 to August 14, resulting in the adoption of a five-point agreement for the normalization of operations at the complex. On August 28, the two sides agreed to establish and operate the Joint Commission for the Gaeseong Industrial Complex, and then on September 10 and 11, adopted the Agreement on the Establishment and Operation of the Secretariat of the Joint Commission for the Gaeseong Industrial Complex on the basis of which the complex resumed operations on September 16.

As of the end of December 2013, there were 123 South Korean businesses in operation, employing 52,329 North Korean workers and the complex had produced goods worth USD2.19 billion.

Connection of Railways and Roads along the Gyeongui and Donghae Lines

Discussions for inter-Korean railways and road connections began after the 2000 Summit, and on September 18, 2000, ground-breaking ceremonies took place. Two roads were connected by October 2004: Gyeongui Line, in the western perimeter and Donghae Line, in the eastern perimeter. Both roads were put into service from December 2004.

For railway line connection, the South had completed renewing railways on Gyeongui railway line by December 2002, followed by the completion of the main tracks of the Gyeongui and Donghae lines by December 2005. The first test drive of train was done on May 17, 2007. Subsequently, in accordance with the agreements of the inter-Korean summit and the prime ministerial talks in 2007, inter-Korean freight trains on the Gyeongui line began into service on the regular basis between Dorasan station in the South and Panmun station in the North from December 11, 2007. The North's decision to restrict overland passage on December 1, 2008 led to the suspension of inter-Korean freight train services as of November 28, 2008.

Between December 11, 2007 and November 28, 2008, the inter-Korean freight trains had traveled between South and North Korea a total of 222 times (444 times round way), with most of the freight coming and going to the Gaeseong Industrial Complex. The North lifted the overland passage restriction measures on August 20, 2009 and notified the South that it would resume inter-Korean freight train services. However, South Korea informed to the North of its position that it will be decided whether or not to resume the freight train service after assessing freight demand at a later time.

Tourism at Mount Geumgang and Gaeseong

At first, tourism at Mount Geumgang, which is located in the eastern part of North Korean near the DMZ, began by sea route on November 18, 1998. In two years of its business, the tourism project faced financial difficulties due to the

excessive investment outlays in the early stage and to the dwindling number of tourists, who were dissatisfied with the lengthy time aboard the ship as well as many restrictions on tourists.

Looking for an alternative, the South urged the North to allow overland access to the mountain as soon as possible by which business operator can cut down the expenses and transportation hour can be reduced to a few hours from two days by sea. From September 2003, overland passage was allowed for the tourism and business operator Hyundai-Asan could put the tourism back on the track.

tourists can reduce save transportation hour, and those began in September 2003. Hyundai Asan, the tour licensee, also took several measures to turn the business around, such as diversification of tour products, development of sightseeing courses, and improvement of tour programs.

In 2006, Outer-Geumgang Hotel came into business in July and a branch of the Nonghyup Bank started into service in October. Next year, the tour operator developed another tourist package into Inner Geumgang in June. By July 2008 more than 1.9 million tourists had visited the mountain area.

Then, on July 11, 2008, a North Korean soldier shot a South Korean female tourist to death who was unarmed, ordinary tourist. This incident led to the suspension of the Mount Geumgang tourism beginning from July 12. Killing an innocent woman can never be justified for any reason whatsoever and is a clear violation of the inter-Korean agreements. Instead of taking responsible measures for the accident, North Korea, in April 2010, froze and confiscated tour operator's assets at Mount Geumgang area. In April 2011, it even cancelled Hyundai Asan's exclusive rights for the tourism. In May next year, the North went on further to designate the mountain area as International Tourism District that infringed upon South Korea's property rights. In August 2011, North Korea notified the South of the fact that it would legally dispose of South Korean assets in the area and all South Koreans to be expelled from the area.

Such actions by the North were nothing but dire violation of contract with the tour operator and agreements with the South Korean authority.

For the tourism at the city of Gaesung, which is located a few kilometers off the DMZ in the western perimeter, began with contract between Hyundai-Asan on the South and Asia-Pacific Peace Committee on the North on November 3, 2007. With three pilot tours in 2005, Gaesung city tourism project became popular among citizens in the South, because Gaesung is not far from Seoul, only 70 km away, and is a place where tourists can see ordinary people in the area. In almost two years, more than 110,000 tourists from the South had paid visit to the city of Gaesung. Unfortunately, North Korea unilaterally cancelled the project on November 29, 2008.

In order for the tourism projects to resume, the personal security of South Korean tourists must be guaranteed in any circumstances. The authorities between the South and the North must bring about a concrete mechanism to prevent a recurrence of such incidents in the future.

Socio-Cultural Exchanges and Cooperation

Socio-cultural exchanges began in 1985 with exchange of artist troupes, along with hometown visits of separated families. Inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation in regards with socio-cultural areas may be classified as follows.

Broadcasting

In the field of broadcasting, KBS, South Korean broadcasting company, had several performances in Pyongyang: the KBS Symphony Orchestra performance in September 2002, KBS Joint Singing Contest in August 2003. MBC team visited Pyongyang in June 2004 and shot a documentary called Goguryeo Alive.

In 2005, Sayuksin, a drama series, was jointly produced by KBS and Korea

Central TV of the North at Pyongyang in May and a popular South Korean singer Cho Yong-pil had performance in Pyongyang in August.

The Korea Communications Commission (KCC) supported three times to provide satellite broadcasting to North Korea for the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens, the 2005 East Asian Football Championship, and the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany. In February 2008, MBC provided broadcasting equipments on the occasion of the New York Philharmonic's performance in Pyongyang.

Academia and Culture

A joint South-North academic forum took place in February 2004 in Pyongyang, on the topic of the return of cultural heritage looted by the Japanese during the colonial rule. This event led to the creation of the Council of South-North Historians. This council conducted a joint survey between April and May of 2006 on the cluster of ancient tombs of Goguryeo kingdom and is now pursuing a joint excavation of Manwol-dae, ruins of a palace in Gaeseong. The joint excavation project was temporarily suspended due to the May 24 Measures; however, the recovery work was carried out between November 14 and December 19, 2011 as sites had been damaged by heavy rainfall. The two sides also worked together on a project to recover and repatriate the remains of the Korean independence activist Ahn Jung-geun, by conducting a joint survey at the public cemetery near Lushun Prison in China from June 2006 to May 2008. In April and June of 2008, and December of 2009, a joint South-North historians' conference took place in Gaeseong.

Joint Edit Project for the Dictionary of National Language, which commenced in 2005, made a change in the way of working into separate working due to the May 24 Measures. On June 25, 2014, at a working-level meeting in Gaeseong, the two sides discussed the possibility of resuming joint working. By late June 2014, new Korean vocabulary as much as 200,000 had been discovered, and for the first time, 280,000 words had been selected to be listed on the dictionary.

In 2011, Chung Myung-whun, the Art Director for the Seoul Philharmonic Orchestra, visited Pyongyang from September 12 to 15, where he discussed possibilities of musical exchanges with the North. He visited again in February 2012 to conduct a rehearsal with the Pyongyang Eunhasoo Orchestra. In October 2012, at the Pusan International Film Festival (PIFF), the North Korean film *Comrade Kim goes flying* by joint production of a Belgium, a British and North Korean producers was screened. At the Gwangju International Film Festival, a jointly produced film by North Korea and China *Promise* in Pyongyang was screened.

Religious Area

The restoration of Singye Temple on Mount Geumgang, a support project conducted by the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism since 2004, was completed in late 2007. The Cheontae Order of Korean Buddhism also completed a project to restore the Yeongtong Temple in Gaeseong in October 2005. In 2007, the Korea Conference of Religions for Peace and the North Korean Religious Association held in May a joint event celebrating the tenth year of inter-Korean religious exchanges in Pyongyang. The Good News Mission of the South and the (North) Korean Christian Federation jointly completed restoring project of Bongsu Church in late months

In 2008, a commemorative service was held in July and the National Council of Churches of South Korea and the (North) Korean Christian Federation jointly held the “2008 South-North Church Prayer Meeting for Peaceful Unification” at Bongsu Church in Pyongyang, while the Catholic Church also held a joint mass to pray for the peaceful unification of Korea.

All religious exchanges were suspended after the May 24 Measures, but in the latter half of 2011, the South Korean government every now and then permitted purely religious exchanges. As a result, in September, 2011, a few dozens of Buddhist monks from South Korea attended a service held at Myohyang

mountain in North Korea to commemorate the 1,000-year anniversary of the carving of the Tripitaka Koreana, and leaders of the Korea Conference of Religions for Peace leadership also made visit to Pyongyang .

In March and in September of 2012, religious leaders of South and North Korea met in Beijing and Shenyang where twenty organizations convened the working level talks. The Buddhist Jogye Order held services at Singye Temple on October, 2012, while the Cheontae Order did the same at Yeongtong Temple. The Ahn Jung-geun Commemoration Project Organization visited historical sites related to the independence activist Ahn, such as his birthplace Namheung Middle School where he went, and held a mass at Jangchung Catholic Church.

Sports

In 1990, soccer matches were held in Pyongyang and Seoul respectively. In 1991, a Korean unified team participated at the World Table Tennis Championships and the FIFA World Youth Championship. North Korean athletes and a cheering squad participated in the 2002 Busan Asian Games and in the 2003 Daegu Universiade. Since 2000, the two Koreas have jointly entered nine international sporting events.

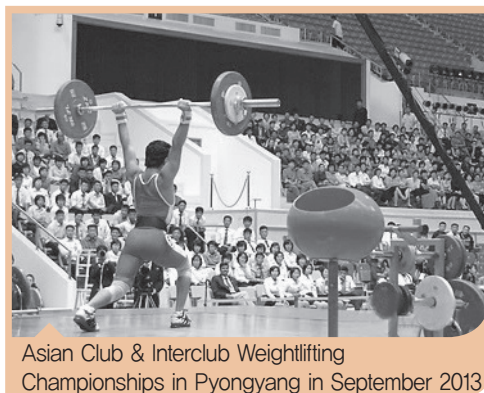
In 2007, North Korea's under-17 youth soccer team had train session in Jeju island, South Korea, in March, a North Korean Taekwondo demonstration team visited South Korea in April, and friendly matches were held in Pyongyang between the two Korean youth soccer teams in June and November. In October, a professional boxing competition was held on Mount Geumgang.

In 2008, North Korean athletes participated in the Senior Asian Wrestling Championships and the Asian Judo Championships, held in Jeju, in March and April of 2008, respectively. In June and in October, youth soccer teams played two friendly matches in Pyongyang.

In 2010, Asian qualifiers for the 2010 FIFA World Cup were held in Seoul in

June, and the final qualification tournaments for the FIFA World Cup were also held in Seoul in April 2009. In 2012 and 2013, soccer matches between athletes from South Korea and North Korea were supposed to take place, but North Korea chose not to participate.

In 2013, the World Taekwondo Federation met in Tianjin, China, in April, to discuss retaining Taekwondo as an Olympic sport. At the 2013 EAFF East Asian Cup held in South Korea in July, 39 female athletes from North Korea and 23 cheerleaders



from the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan participated. At the UN's Youth Leadership Program (YLP) held in Gwangju, South Korea, in August, three North Korean youths and one chaperone participated. South Korean athletes competed at the 2013 Asian Club & Interclub Weightlifting Championships³ in Pyongyang in September.

Exchanges by Regional Governments

Exchange projects by regional governments began in 1999 starting with the shipment of mandarin by Jeju Province. At regional government-level, these projects have mainly focused on humanitarian aid such as emergency and medical supports. Regional governments had raised fund on their own to carry on these inter-Korean projects.

In 2006, the Central Government of South Korea formed a consultative body to support the inter-Korean projects by regional governments through which each regional authorities can share information and difficulties in regard with the North. As the strained relations with North Korea have not been conducive

to active exchanges at the regional government level, local authorities have tried to get ready for the resumption of exchanges in the future. To that end, the North Chungcheong Province, for example, enacted an ordinance for South-North Exchanges and Cooperation in November 2012. 16 other municipal governments and provincial governments followed suit.

Efforts to Resolve Humanitarian Issues

Family Reunions

The issue of separated families contains humanitarianism in itself, regardless of differences in political ideologies. Most burning problem in this regard is the fact that the first generation of the separated families have grown too old and many of them have passed away without meeting their love ones before they die



A tearful reunion of long-lost family members

From 2000 to 2014, the two Koreas had only 19 family reunions. In 2005, visual reunions were introduced in the hope of increasing opportunities for the separated families to see their family on-line and held for seven occasions. From 2000 to 2012, only 21,734 individuals

out of presumably 600,000 or 700,000 people in total have been lucky enough to meet their loved ones again.

The South Korean government has also made efforts to confirm the life or death status of separated relatives through a third country, and has also promoted reunions at the private level. In order to support expenses in family reunion at private level, Seoul government, starting in 1998, have given out partial subsidies particularly to separated families with financial difficulties.



An oldman's wish to reunite his family

Mr. Kang Neung-hwan, 93 years old, fled to the South during the Korean War. He left behind his wife who were four months pregnant. He was not able to see his child, but misses a lot. He always wonders how his child grew up without a father. Already 60 years has passed since he left his home in the North. Kang still keeps his home and his family so vivid in his memory. He sighs as saying that "I thought that I would be able to meet my family again when the war ended. Now I don't stand a chance to go back home and see my family there."

On the calendar behind him, he is crossing out days, hoping a family reunion soon to be arranged. From Asia Today on January 29, 2014

Seoul government has brought up ICT to support separated families in more systemic way through which system, called the Integrated Information System for Separated Families, it became easier to preserve data on separated families. The separated family members who become eligible for a reunion are selected by lottery among those registered in the system. As of late July 2013, those who had applied for family reunion counts for 128,842 and 72,882 were still alive as of July, 2013.

In March 2009, the Act on Confirmation of Life or Death and Promotion of Exchange for Separated Families was enacted in an effort to institutionalize exchanges of separated families. In accordance with that statute, a first-ever survey was carried out between April and November 2011 on all 81,800 survivors who had applied to find their families. The results of this study will be used as basic data for the confirmation of life or death of separated family members and for policymaking on family reunion related issues.



The site for separated family reunions at Mt. Geumgang

The South Korean government had long proposed on multiple occasions to

build a reunion site in order to expand and regularize family reunions. At the 4th Red Cross meeting in September, 2002, both Koreas finally agreed on constructing a reunion facility. After a series of working-level meetings, both sides reached an agreement at the 5th Red Cross meeting in 2003 to build a 19,835-square-meter reunion facility at Mt. Geumgang. Construction began in August 2005 and was completed on July 12, 2008. The facility was unilaterally expropriated by the North Korean authorities on April 27, 2010 until now in a move to put pressure on the South to resume the Mt. Geumgang tour.

On the occasion of the Chuseok holidays, family reunion was held twice in September, 2009, and November, 2010, respectively at mountain Geumgang. From 2009 onwards, reunions in group were held at the reunion facility. In 2009, individuals who took part in the reunions totaled 888 from 195 families: of those, 554 were from the South, and 334 from the North. In 2010, there were 886 individuals from 191 families, with 573 from the South, and 313 from the North. After 2010, reunion event came to pause for a while, due to provocations by North Korea, including the artillery shelling of Yeonpyeong island. In 2012, the South proposed twice in February and in August to the North to have a working-level meeting to discuss resumption of family reunion, but the North remained silent.

It was on August 23, 2013 when the two Koreas again agreed to hold a reunion event from September 25 to 30, on the occasion of Chuseok holidays. However, on September 21, the North's Korea's Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland unilaterally postponed the event.

In 2014, at working-level Red Cross contacts, both sides reached an agreement to resume reunion event at Mt. Geumgang from February 20 to 25, 2014. At the reunion events, 82 eligible individuals from the South met 178 family members from the North, and 88 eligible individuals from the North met 357 family members from the South.

Meanwhile, from August 6 to September 28, 2012, the South Korean

government conducted a survey for those who wished to record video messages for their loved ones in the North and identified 16,800 applicants. In 2012, 800 video messages and 2,000 additional messages in 2013 were recorded. The rest of the applicants recorded their messages in 2014. Those visual letters are stored in the server for Integrated Information System for Separated Families, waiting to be delivered to their family members in the North in the future.

South Korean Prisoners of War(POW's) and Abductees

POW's at the Korean War from either the UN forces or the Communist forces were repatriated for three times between April 1953 and January 1954. At the time, UN forces estimated the number of South Korean soldiers missing to be around 82,000; however, only 8,343 POWs were finally repatriated to the South from the Communist forces. It is probable that most of the POW's were forcibly detained in North Korea.

After 1994 when KPA First Lieutenant Cho Chang-ho was repatriated to the North, a total of 80 South Korean POWs had barely escaped from the North and returned home by December 2013. The Ministry of National Defense of South Korea estimates that there are approximately 500 South Korean POWs still alive in North Korea, based on survey with returned POW's and North Korean defectors who have settled down in the South.

Regarding abductees, they can be classified into two groups: those who captured during the Korean War and those who taken after the signing of the Korean Armistice Agreement. The exact number of wartime abductees greatly varies, depending on surveys. According to the Korea Statistical Yearbook in 1952, abductees are up to 82,959.

After July, 1953 when the armistice agreement took in effect, starting from fishing vessel Daeseong in 1995 to the end of 2013, a total of 3,835 abductees were taken to the North. Among those abductees, 3,310 people came back home. Except those nine people chose to stay in North Korea, it is estimated

that 516 South Koreans are still detained in the North against their wish.

Since the year 2000, the South Korean government has consistently called for meetings with the North to resolve the POW's and abductees issue. North Korea, however, has asserted that the POW's issue had been already resolved with the POW exchange that took place in accordance with the armistice agreement and that there were no more abductees within its territory. The South Korean government, including those POW's and abductees as separated families, went on to discuss with the North whether or not they are still alive. If they are found surviving, Seoul has included some of them in the reunions of separated families. From the second round of reunions in August 2000 to the Chuseok reunion of 2010, 17 POWs and 16 abductees met their families. However, this approach, which is far from being a fundamental solution, has gained little support from the public.

The South Korean sees it that it is the obligation of the government to protect those POW's and abductees and brought up this issue at a Red Cross meeting held in Mt. Geumgang in August 2009 for more fundamental solution. But no specific agreement has been reached on this issue, mainly due to the North's reluctance to discuss the matter

At the 2010 Chuseok reunion, South Korea asked the North to confirm the status of 26 individuals, comprising 10 POWs and 16 abductees. The North responded that one POW had already died, and others are impossible to trace. At the Red Cross meeting in October, 2010, held prior to the scheduled reunion, the South Korean delegation expressed its regret with it and urged the North to make a more sincere investigation of the status of them. The North then included four POW's in the 2010 reunion group, allowing them to meet their families in the South.

South Korea had the Act on Compensation and Support for Abductees Taken to the North after the Military Armistice Agreement into effect on October 2007. In accordance with this act, a Deliberative Committee for Compensation and

Support of Abductees was established under the Office of the Prime Minister. This committee, until late 2011, decided to pay compensation for 425 abductees with 14.5 billion won, or approximately 13 million dollars.

In the meantime, for abductees during the Korean War, South Korea has passed bill the Act on Discovering the Truth about Abductions to the North during the Korean War and Restoration of Honor for Abductees on September 2010. Accordingly, the South Korean government has investigated many abduction cases during the Korean War as well as estimating the damages incurred to the abductees and their families. On December 13, 2010, the Committee for Discovering the Truth about Abductions to the North, and its secretariat, came into operation. In three years, the committee has recognized 2,560 individuals as Korean War abductees.

Aid to North Korea

An end to North Korea's food crisis is nowhere in sight, as the crisis is deeply rooted in a structural problem rather than a one-time phenomenon; the North's inefficiency in the agricultural production system, a shortage of fertilizer and inconsistencies in the economic system. To address the problem, the South Korean government has been providing aid to North Korea from the perspective of humanitarianism and fraternity.

South Korea's aid to North Korea has been carried out mainly three different channels: governmental, private and international.

Beginning with its first aid in 1999 of 155,000 tons of fertilizer, South Korea has since been supplying between 200,000 and 300,000 tons of fertilizers every year to the



South Korean fertilizer aid to North Korea

North. South Korean fertilizer aid had reached an aggregate of 2.55 million tons by 2007.

After first granting 150,000 tons of rice in 1995, South Korea has, since 2000, provided food aid to North Korea in the form of a loan under the condition of payable in 20 years with a 10-year grace period, at an annual interest rate of 1%. Between 1995 and 2007, South Korea sent a total of 2.85 million tons of food aid to North Korea and worked hard to raise the transparency and effectiveness of its food aid to the North. During a Red Cross contact in Beijing in 1997, the two Koreas agreed to change on the delivery procedures of relief aid from an indirect assistance through the International Federation of Red Cross Societies to direct aid between the two Koreas. The two sides also established an institutional framework for the aid by agreeing on delivery procedures, transport paths, beneficiary regions, marking donors on the packages and a way to improve transparency of distribution.

Under the Lee Myung-bak administration (2008~2013) in the South, large-scale food and fertilizer aid to North Korea was discontinued because of the overall worsening of inter-Korean relations and transparency issues, with the exception of purely humanitarian assistance for infants and other vulnerable groups, and disaster-related emergency relief aid.

In the period 2008-2010, South Korea provided medicine and hand sanitizers when the swine flu broke out in North Korea in 2009 and provided rice, cement, and instant noodles to the North after severe floods had ravaged Sinuiju in 2010. Some supplies, however, were discontinued due to the North's artillery shelling of Yeonpyeong island. In 2011, South Korea expressed its will to provide emergency relief aid in the form of nourishing food for infants in flood-damaged areas, but the plan was abandoned as the North showed no response.

Since 2008, the South has also provided public health support for infants, pregnant women, and other vulnerable groups in the North through private

channels and international organizations (WHO and UNICEF). After North Korea's sinking of the Cheonan and the shelling of Yeonpyeong island in 2010, however, that aid was discontinued. In 2011, in the spirit of humanitarianism and fraternity, the South resumed its purely humanitarian aid to infants through UNICEF. In 2012, from private sources, a total of 11.8 billion won, or about 1.1 million dollars, worth of humanitarian goods, including medicine, nourishing foods, and clothing, were sent to North Korea for those vulnerable groups. In particular, non-governmental organizations, such as the Korea NGO Council for Cooperation with North Korea, World Vision, and Korea Joint Together Society provided 1,500 tons of flour as well as medicines to flood victims.

Aid through international organizations include the USD2.1 million, equivalent to KRW2.3 billion, worth of assistance through the International Vaccine Institute (IVI) in September 2012 in vaccine support to North Korean children and programs to bolster the North's vaccine supplies. In March 2013, the South Korean government gave the Eugene Bell Foundation approval to send tuberculosis drugs to the North; in July, it gave the green light for five non-governmental organizations to send KRW1.5 billion-worth of aid to North Korea for infants and other vulnerable groups. Also in August, it decided to support a USD6 million UNICEF infant program, followed by a September decision to support a USD6.3 million WHO North Korean infant aid program.

Table 4-4. South Korea's aid to infants and other vulnerable groups in North Korea

Year	Aid
2009	Swine flu medicine and hand sanitizer
2010	Rice, cement, instant noodles to flooded areas
2011	Support of an infant aid program through international organizations
2012 (NGOs)	KRW11.8 billion worth of humanitarian goods—46 items including medicine, nourishing food, and clothes
2013 (via International Organizations)	USD2.1 million worth of assistance for vaccination of children and programs to strengthen the North's vaccine capability
2013 (NGOs)	Government approval for the Eugene Bell Foundation to send tuberculosis medicine aid to North Korea; KRW1.5 billion—worth of aid by five non-governmental organizations
2013 (via International Organizations)	USD6 million worth of aid through the UNICEF; USD6.3 million worth of aid through the WHO

Supporting the Settlement of North Korean Defectors in the South

Defectors from North Korea represent “the future come ahead” or “unification come in advance.” In other words, living along with them offers a “foretaste” of what unification would be like and a way or another to grow South Korea’s capacity to successfully achieve unification. Thus, helping the incoming defectors settle in the South is truly a way of preparing the nation for the eventual unification of the Korean peninsula.

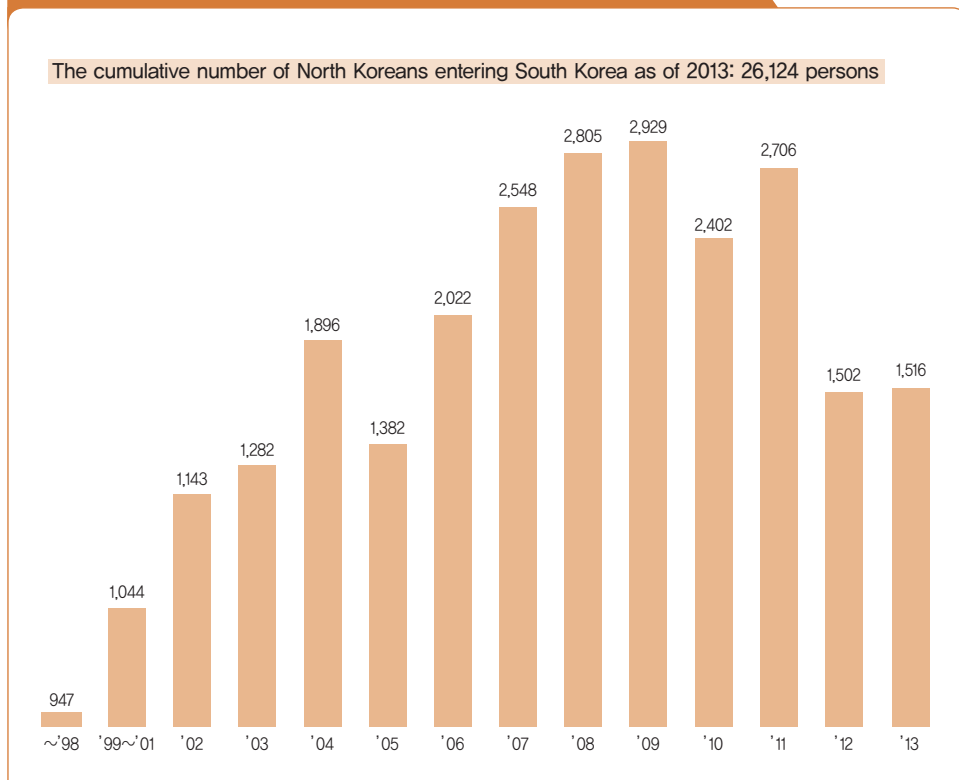
In the mid-1990s, with food shortages exacerbating in North Korea, the number of North Korean defectors seeking asylum in the South began to increase noticeably. The routes by which they arrive have become more diversified over the years, and recent trends have seen refugees starting to escape in groups with their families. The number of North Koreans entering South Korea was a mere trickle in the early 1990s, at about ten per year. By the mid-90s, however, the number had grown to over fifty a year, and, by the late 90s, it had risen to over a hundred. By 2002, there were more than a thousand taking refuge in the South, and by 2006, the number had exceeded two thousand annually. The cumulative number of North Koreans residing in South Korea as of the end of

December 2013 reached to 26,124.

The South Korean government, with belief that their successful assimilation into the South is a test stone to demonstrate South Korea's willingness and capacity to unify the country in the future. Thus, a carefully devised support system has been put in place to enable them to adapt to the life in the South, with an emphasis on independence and self-reliance.

Assistance and support for incoming North Koreans are being provided in three ways: initial support at entry stage, protection, and residential placement. If any North Korean residing overseas expresses a desire to come to South Korea, South Korean diplomatic missions offer them temporary asylum and then helps them enter South Korea.

Table 4-5. The number of North Koreans entering South Korea



Once they come to South Korea, they are subject to receive initial supports from social integration education, financial support to housing arrangements. The social integration education takes 12 weeks at the Settlement Support Center for North Korean Defectors, or called Hanawon, coming into operation in July 1999 or at the a branch at Hwacheon. During those period, they take many vocational training program that are to equip them with necessary skills to survive in the market economy. The training program also offers emotional counseling services, health care, career coaching and an introduction to South Korean society. In addition to this, the South Korean government provides them with a basic settlement fund, settlement incentives, and residential subsidies.

For the purpose to raise the opportunities for North Korean defectors to be hired in the South Korean market, specifically focused vocational training is available in areas such as nursing care, basic electronics assembly, welding, heavy equipment operation, and automobile maintenance. Some technical institutions are designated to provide them further vocational training, if needed.

After they sail out into the South Korean society, they still receive systematic support in terms of vocational training, employment counseling or education. As of December 2013, employment protection officer in each of the 54 employment centers attend to their specific needs. Those who participate in vocational training get promotional stipend paid by the South Korean government. If they make through vocational training for a certain length of time, they can also become eligible for vocational training incentives. A certification incentive is also provided to those acquire vocational certificates.

In order to recommend their long-term employment, employment incentives are given to those who remain employed for at least six months. Business owners who choose to hire a North Korean are also reimbursed for half of their wages for up to three years. Starting in 2010, efforts have been made to create more tailored job opportunities, including support to those who want to set up

social enterprises, start small businesses, or begin small-scale farming ventures. Toward this end, in March 2012, the South Korean government opened the Employment Support Center, which arranges for the employment of North Koreans in the public sector, or reliable corporations through one-on-one counseling sessions. A residential protection officer has been designated in each local district to help them register their residences in the neighborhood and join social security nets. As of December 2013, residential protection officers have been appointed and are active in 223 local government districts of the country.

The South Korean government has strengthened the educational program for North Koreans. Those who attend middle schools or public universities are exempted from tuition fees. If they attend a private university, half of their tuition is subsidized by the government. In March 2006, the Hankyoreh School came in operation as a stepping-stone school where North Korean youth can prepare for joining the regular education system. This school offers both middle and high school curriculums and operates as a boarding school. As of December 2013, there were 190 students enrolled.

In March 2010, the North Korean Defectors Protection and Settlement Support Act was amended to ease conditions under which North Koreans could be employed at public agencies. The existing North Korean Defectors Support Association, a private non-profit organization, was also reorganized to accommodate as many as 20,000 North Koreans per year, re-opening under the new name of North Korean Defectors Foundation. An example of a North Korean's successful settlement in South Korea



Setting-down story by a North Korean defector

Shin Gyeong-sun was forcibly repatriated to North Korea from China. It was her first time in her attempt to escape the North during the “Arduous March.” She was harshly tortured but escaped again later. She eventually made it to South Korea. As her way to South Korea was already spattered with painful tragedies, it also turned out for her to be difficult in settling down in southern half of the peninsula.

She started a business with a strong resolve. She said to herself, “I escaped from North Korea and risked my life to come to the South. I cannot give up now. She bites the bullet and worked hard to become the president of a trading company with profits of over a billion won a year. She dreams now to expand her company into the Chinese market. When asked about the secret behind her success, she said, “If you do not give up, opportunities will come your way.”

About unification, Ms. Shin translates as this: “unification is an opportunity for North Korean defectors to show to the North that they now cherish new hopes in life in South Korea that they didn’t have while in North Korea.”

As of September 30, 2009, the curriculum for teenagers at the Hanadul School was extended to include all-day programs. In 2009, six Regional Adaptation Centers for Defectors, or called Hana Centers⁴, came in service and 31 of them are in place across the nation.

North Korea’s Human Rights Issues

In democratic states where prime importance is placed on human dignity, human rights are defined as the “fundamental rights to which a human being is inherently entitled.” The future Unified Korea, South Korea aspires will be a liberal democracy where freedom and universal human rights are respected. North Korea, however, views individuals as mere parts of the entire organ, and thus, emphasizes their duties and obligations as “citizens” rather than their rights as individuals. Based on a monolithic ideology, the North Korea provides its citizen very few political or civil rights. There is no basic right such as freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of association, or of religion in the Communist country.

Various annual reports on human rights published by the international organizations as well as statements from relevant witnesses’ accounts attest

to the poor human rights conditions in North Korea. Consequently, human right issue in North Korea has become a major concern for the international community. The United Nations as well as the international community is likely to voice serious concern on the matter as well as exerting pressure on North Korea to improve conditions.

On the part of South Korean government, it is also deeply concerned about the conditions of North Korean residents, and has worked hard to make the situation better. As one of its efforts to do so, every year it has published the White Paper on Human Rights in North Korea in association with the Korea Institute for National Unification. In particular, Seoul government had abstained from voting on the North Korean human rights issue at the UN until 2006 when it voted in favor for UN Resolution on the North Korea's Human Rights adopted at the 61st session of the UN General Assembly, which urged the international community on improving North Korea's food crisis and human rights situation.

In 2008, the South Korean government urged the North to improve its human rights situation at the 7th session of the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) in March. In addition, the South also co-sponsored a resolution on North Korean human rights issues led by Japan and the EU at the 63rd session of the UN General Assembly in November. In 2009, the South Korean government co-sponsored and supported a North Korea human rights resolution passed by the Third Committee of the UN General Assembly at its 64th session. In 2010, the 13th session of the UNHRC in March and the 65th session of the UN General Assembly in November each adopted a North Korea human rights resolution.

At its 16th session in March 2011, the UNHRC adopted a North Korea human rights resolution urging North Korea to guarantee support for humanitarian access and proper monitoring. At the 66th session in November, the UN General Assembly adopted a North Korea human rights resolution. In March

2012, the UNHRC unanimously adopted a North Korea human rights resolution, and in December, the UN General Assembly at its 67th session adopted a stronger North Korea human rights resolution than the one of 2011, separately addressing the serious human rights infringements at political prison camps in North Korea.

Meanwhile, in November 2012, South Korea was elected as a UNHRC member at the 67th session of the UN General Assembly, a position that enabled it to play a more active role in North Korea's human rights issues. In addition, on March 21, 2013, the UNHRC unanimously adopted a resolution to establish the Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights in North Korea which is tasked to its job for a year.

On March 28, 2014, the UNHRC adopted a North Korea human rights resolution. Following a year-long inquiry that culminated in a report by the Commission of Inquiry, the UNHRC urged North Korea to stop its human rights violations and implement the Commission's recommendations.

Table 4-6. The South Korean government's position regarding the UN resolution on North Korea's human rights

Year	Position
2003	Did not take part in the North Korea human rights resolution adopted by the 59th session of the UN Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR)
2004	Abstained from voting on the North Korea human rights resolution adopted by the 60th session of the UNCHR
2005	Abstained from voting on the North Korea human rights resolution adopted by the 60th session of the UN General Assembly Abstained from voting on the North Korea human rights resolution adopted by the 61st session of the UNCHR
2006	Voted in favor of the North Korea human rights resolution adopted by the 61st session of the UN General Assembly
2007	Abstained from voting on the North Korea human rights resolution adopted by the 62nd session of the UN General Assembly
2008	Voted in favor of the North Korea human rights resolution adopted by the 7th session of the UNHRC Co-sponsored and supported a North Korea human rights resolution adopted by the 63rd session of the UN General Assembly
2009	Co-sponsored and supported a North Korea human rights resolution adopted by the 10th session of the UNHRC Co-sponsored and supported a North Korea human rights resolution adopted by the Third Committee of the UN General Assembly at its 64th session
2010	Co-sponsored and supported a North Korea human rights resolution adopted by the 13th session of the UNHRC Co-sponsored and supported a North Korea human rights resolution adopted by the 65th session of the UN General Assembly
2011	Co-sponsored and supported a North Korea human rights resolution adopted by the 16th session of the UNHRC Co-sponsored and supported a North Korea human rights resolution adopted by the 66th session of the UN General Assembly
2012	Co-sponsored a North Korea human rights resolution adopted by the 19th session of the UNHRC (no vote) Co-sponsored a North Korea human rights resolution adopted by the 67th session of the UN General Assembly (no vote)
2013	Co-sponsored and supported the resolution to establish the Commission of Inquiry (one year) on human rights in North Korea at the 22nd session of the UNHRC Co-sponsored and supported a North Korea human rights resolution adopted by the 68th session of the UN General Assembly
2014	Co-sponsored and supported a North Korea human rights resolution adopted by the 25th session of the UNHRC

The South Korean government will strive to bring real improvement in the area of human rights in the North by addressing the issue not from a political perspective, but from realizing universal values. In this light, it has been

discussing about enactment of the Act on the North Korea's Human Rights at National Assembly.

South Korea, seeing that improving human rights conditions is in its own interest of North Korea, will try to persuade Pyongyang in this regard. In order for the general public in the South, Seoul government will endeavor to raise public awareness about the North's human rights conditions by systematizing data to make it readily accessible to the public. In the future, the government of South Korea considers to set up the North Korean Human Rights Foundation and the Archives for North Korean Human Rights.

Improving the Environment in the North

Environmental issue has become one of global agendas. North Korea's environmental situation has appeared to be an issue for the entire Korean



Deforested mountains in North Korea


peninsula beyond that of only North Korea. As North Korea's economy continues to falter and its environmental situation worsens, South Korea feels obliged to address this issue as part of building national community and preparing for unification.

North Korea's environmental predicament may be attributable to the regime's lack of environmental awareness, relevant policies, and insufficient investment. Certain activities are seriously hurting the environment, including burning coals, deforestation, water pollution, and sea reclamation. According to the March 2013 statistics of the UN Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), as of 2012, North Korea had about 5.4 million hectares of forest, a reduction by approximately one-third of the 8.2 million hectares in 1990. Every year, 127,000

hectares are getting deforested in North Korea. This is equivalent to the land area of the city of Pyongyang.

Recently, the government and NGOs in the South have paying a greater interest in the deplorable state of the North Korean environment and are looking for possible solutions for it. At non-governmental level, beginning with a project to provide seeds and seedlings for the Forest of Peace in 1999, various NGOs have participated in the projects for pest control and installing tree nurseries in North Korea.

At governmental level, the environmental impact assessment was undertaken when railways and roads between the two Koreas along the Gyeongui and Donghae corridors were connected. The South made sure that South-North cooperation projects are implemented in an environment-friendly manner. When consultations took place for reforestation around the Imjin River as part of efforts to prevent flooding. This is especially significant in that this project was the first inter-government cooperation in this regard.



Deforested mountains in North Korea

The deforested mountains in North Korea have resulted mostly from logging and soil erosion. The ongoing economic difficulty has made it impossible for North Korea alone to stop deforestation and degradation of land. Two Koreas should cooperate in order to reforest mountains in the North which is important to maintain a healthy ecosystem on the Korean Peninsula. Every effort should be made to build “an environmental community” through cooperation in forestry between South and North Korea.

At the first session of the South-North Joint Economic Commission held in December 2007, the two sides pledged to cooperate in the areas of public health and environmental protection. Two sides also agreed to establish tree nurseries, reforest mountains, and implement pest control operations starting in 2008. On December 20-21 of 2008, the Subcommittee for Public Health and Environmental Protection held meetings in Gaeseong and agreements were mad on ten projects. Due to growing tension in South-North relations in 2008,

however, the agreements failed to be implemented.

the South Korean government has kept efforts to get ready for environmental projects in Korea: deforestation, joint pest control, cooperation in the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), and ecological preservation in the DMZ. In particular, the government selected Green Korean Peninsula as a key task for 2010, and has committed itself to the reforestation of North Korea. These efforts by the South yet bears no fruit because of the May 24 Measures, which followed the sinking of the Cheonan. Despite the setback, Seoul sees every possible chances to improve North Korea's environment, including its project to keep the DMZ green as a symbol of a Green Korean Peninsula.

In 2011, upon North Korea's proposal, experts meeting were held twice for a joint study of volcanic activities on Mount Baekdu. Though the two sides concluded to hold a joint symposium and a site visit to Mt. Baekdu at its second meeting, North Korea showed no response on this matter thereafter.

4. Directions for the Future of Inter-Korean Relations

The various challenges caused by the division of Korea have significantly limited the freedom and life of the Korean people. In order to overcome those tragedies and pains caused by the division, it is time for the Korean people to plant the seeds of trust on distrust-stricken Korean peninsula. Developing South-North relations into proper direction is of paramount importance to the Korean people in order to move forward step by step closer to a happier era of unity.

To this end, the following section reviews the nature and structure of the changes that have taken place in South-North relations since the late 20th century, and explores directions for the future of inter-Korean relations.

South–North Relations in the Post–Cold War Era

As the socialist blocs crumbled globally in the early 1990s, the North Korean regime faced a crisis from all directions in the post-Cold War era. This change means that the era of confrontation between the camps was gone and socialism does not bear any significance any longer. It may be said that much more favorable condition for unification of the peninsula based on liberal democracy and a free market economy is appearing up.

In the past 20 years, the Korean Peninsula has been greatly affected by many global events. The nature of South-North relations has also changed as a result of the crisis faced by North Korea and the growing political and economic status of South Korea in the world. Nevertheless, inter-Korean relations are still largely characterized by military confrontation, and continued provocations by North Korea.

One of the features that bear significance in the inter-Korean relations in the post-Cold War era is that South Korea has secured some advantages over the North Korea in terms of economic and political strength. During the Cold War era, North Korea had often aggressively taken the lead in unification talks based on its “superiority” of its system. However, from the late 20th century onwards, South Korea has taken the initiative in inter-Korean relations, on the basis of its superior economic power, democracy, and enhanced stature in the international community.

Second, it should be noted that even though the South Korean government has made efforts on multiple areas to improve inter-Korean relations, little progress has been made primarily due to the incessant provocations and hard line stance of the North; Pyongyang sank South Korean naval ship, the Cheonan, and shelled Yeonpyeong island, to name a few.

Third, South-North relations have become more international in nature. This phenomenon began to emerge as North Korea, having exhausted its ability to sustain itself, decided to play the nuclear card, which became a matter of grave concern to the international community. In fact, North Korea has to date conducted three nuclear tests, in 2006, 2009, and 2013, respectively. With the emergence of the North Korean nuclear issue as a threat to peace not only on the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia but also elsewhere in the world, inter-Korean relations have naturally become more international in scope and in nature.

As such, continued provocations by North Korea have caused a large degree of

uncertainty about the future of inter-Korean relations. The key to achieve stable relations in the two Koreas lies in preventing provocations from the North first. Thereafter both sides should cooperate in creating peace on the Korean peninsula.

Tasks for the Future of Inter-Korean Relations

South Korea's vision with regard to the future of inter-Korean relations begins with the goal of achieving a peaceful resolution of the North Korean nuclear issue, followed by the realization of true peace on the Korean peninsula through the normalization of relations. To this end, South Korea has been making efforts toward easing tensions and establishing peace, through a series of calm, meaningful actions undertaken within a framework of a long-term view of South-North relations. While South Korea continues to respond decisively to North Korean provocations based on a strong security posture, it has urged North Korea to denuclearize and make constructive political and economic changes.

It would be very much of importance for the people of South Korea to build relations with the North and prepare for peaceful unification in the future based on universal values and internationally accepted laws. In this light, the Government of South Korea sees it essential to pursue the inter-Korean relations in the three categories as follows.

First, the inter-Korean relations should be normalized through a trust-building process, which would gradually work to stabilize the relations through creating a bond of trust between the two. While securing a strong security readiness against any armed provocations by the North, Seoul looks for normalization of the relations and a sustainable peace with the North. For this end, the South has kept at least humanitarian aid for the vulnerable groups in North Korea and tried to utilize an open channel of dialogue and renewed multiple party talks to

resolve outstanding issues such as the North's nuclear program. Furthermore, it made it clear to go ahead with mutually beneficial economic cooperation with the North, if genuine progress is to be made on North Korea's nuclear issue. In other words, a balance should be required between political and military trust-building measures and increased cooperation and exchanges.

Second, unification should start from a small step to a larger scale. In order to do so, we should put more efforts on establishing a solid foundation for unification and creating circumstances for "happy unification" by starting from communities in the fields of economy and environment. If genuine progress is made and mutual trust is being added up, then it may be an appropriate time to get ready for an economic community, which may develop into a form of National Community Unification Formula.

Third, North and South Korea should seek their relations to be improved on the ground of mutual respect. If the relationship moves only toward particular direction that North Korea manipulates, then there will be no authentic progress in it and no true peace will be attained on the Korean peninsula. In particular, North Korea's refusal to assume any responsibilities for its armed provocations will not help and should be stopped. If such actions continue, it will be all but impossible to normalize relations. The two Koreas should join forces to turn such mutually debilitating practices into developing a new relationship based on common sense and international norms.

Toward this end, South Korea sees it desired that North Korea should change and particularly in three directions as follow.

First, North Korea must abandon its current nuclear development programs and opt instead for a policy for peace. As long as North Korea adheres to developing nuclear weapons, its economy and the standard of living of the its people will have to pay dearly. Under the current international sanctions and its self-chosen isolation, North Korea's economy is hardly likely to make a significant improvement. If they give up nuclear development programs and

choose to cooperate with the international community, including South Korea, they can grab an opportunity to revitalize its economy through the steadfast support and cooperation of the international community. It is worth noting that the South considers North's nuclear programs grave security threat that needs maximum attention and care.

Second, North Korea must take the path toward greater openness and reforms, rather than continuing in its present path of isolation from the international community. Self-reliance and closed economy has proven to be failed policies. North Korea may have to learn lessons from other socialist countries such as China and Vietnam that chose to open up their societies to reform, and now enjoy their successful economic development. North Korean economy seems impossible to revitalize as long as the country remains closed to the outside world. The decision to open the country would, along with denuclearization, prove to be a crucial test of North Korea's ability to adapt successfully in the future.

Third, North Korea should invest more in civilian economy, not military sector. In other words, Pyongyang should abandon its Military First policy and focus instead on enhancing the quality of life of its people. The North's ongoing nuclear development programs and its adherence to Military First policy are often to blame for fundamental reasons why the North Korean people continue to live in abject poverty and depravation. Policy lines like this in North Korea are also criticized to be one of factors that raise military tensions and thereby threatening peace on the Korean peninsula.

Should North Korea move toward these ends, with more responsibility and genuine willingness, trust can be built up between the two Koreas, this leading to develop on a more solid footing than in the past. The future would then involve dialogue and cooperation instead of confrontation and tension. If North Korea chooses to change into "right direction", South Korea, along with the international community, has the willingness and capacity to significantly

increase the level of economic cooperation with the North.

South Korea always keeps its door wide open for dialogue with the North and is ready to talk at any time. However, there should no longer be talks for their own sake. Future dialogues must be based on a genuine will to resolve existing barriers to inter-Korean cooperation. Such legitimate talks should tangibly help to move inter-Korean relations forward and, in so doing, bring the Korean peninsula one step closer to peaceful reunification.

Footnote

- ¹ The Geneva Agreed Framework was signed between the U.S. and North Korea in October 1994 as a result of negotiations between the two sides to resolve North Korea's nuclear issue after North Korea announced that it would withdraw from the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) in March 1993. The main provisions of the agreement are: North Korea to come into full compliance with its safeguards agreement with the IAEA and accept ad hoc IAEA inspections; the spent fuel from the 5MWe reactor to be sealed and transferred to a third country; light water reactors power plants would be constructed in North Korea; 500,000 tons of heavy oil per year to be provided until completion of the first light water reactor power unit. However, implementation of the agreement broke down as a result of North Korea's alleged highly-enriched-uranium nuclear program in October 2002 in violation of the Geneva Agreed Framework.
- ² The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1874 was adopted unanimously by the United Nations Security Council on June 12, 2009 in the aftermath of a second North Korean nuclear test (May 25, 2009). The provisions include banning all weapons exports from North Korea with an exception to small arms, preventing financial services unless they have humanitarian development purposes, and authorizing member states to inspect North Korean cargo on sea.
- ³ On September 14, 2013, South Koreans won gold and silver in the junior competition of the Asian Cup and Interclub Weightlifting Championship in Pyongyang on September 14, 2013. During the awarding ceremony, the South Korean national anthem played and two South Korean flags were raised. It was the first time since the two Koreas were divided that a South Korean flag was officially raised on North Korean soil.
- ⁴ The North Korean defectors' regional adaptation centers, or Hana Centers, are selected and designated by the Ministry of Unification in cooperation with local governments. These centers provide many service to facilitate the rapid and stable settlement of North Korean defectors including an initial three-week cultural program followed by one-year of up-close support services. The Hana Centers play a central role in facilitating the successful assimilation of North Korean defectors into the South Korean market economy.





Future Visions and Preparations for Unification

1. The Costs and Benefits of Unification
2. The Future Visions for a Unified Korea
3. Preparing for Unification

Key Point**01**

Unification would undoubtedly entail costs. However, there is no need to become overly concerned about it. Once unified, the unified Korea doesn't have pay large amount of money attributable to its division any longer. Furthermore, there would be enormous benefits, tangible or intangible, associated with unification that would likely be more than enough to offset the costs of unification. The costs of unification would be temporary; the benefits of it would last almost indefinitely.

02

Unification would dramatically change the quality of life of the Korean people. It would likely be more liberal in political outlook, wealthier in economy and richer in culture by blending cultural traits of North and South. The unified Korea would likely be playing more important role in bringing greater peace and prosperity not only to Northeast Asia but also to the world community.

03

Unification is not a matter of imagination in the far distant future, but the current generation may have to face sooner or later. We can reduce the costs and increase benefits from unification, if we are preparing for it. South Korea will its best to prepare for the coming unification to every Korean's and every country's interest.

1. The Costs and Benefits of Unification

The Costs of Division vs. the Costs of Unification

During the process of its unification, Germany has faced with enormous costs associated with integration with the East Germany which made more Korean concerned about unification cost. It is quite natural for Germans to pay some necessary dues in suiting lives of people acceptable equal in both parts of the country after its unification.

What we have to be aware of in regard with unification is that we will also nourish some benefit, and which can be even greater the cost. Once unified, all the expenses associated with division will disappear instantly and various types of benefits, tangible or intangible, will replace the vacuum. It would be fair to take a look on both sides of unification: cost and benefits.

Costs of Division: Consumable

The Korean people today live in a divided peninsula and have to pay many types of cost because of it; humanitarian issues such as separated families, security threat such as armed conflicts, geographic problem such as disconnected peninsula from the Asian Continent proper and diplomatic competition between the two Koreas in the international arena. Put them all together, we call it as “division cost.”

Now, let us take a look at division cost in detail. Conceptually, we may classify the cost of division into two: tangible or intangible. Tangible costs such as defense budget; diplomatic competition and costs associated with ideological rivalry can easily be calculated and often referred to as “economic cost.” Intangible cost implies psychological cost such as fear for a potential war, pain from family separation, ideological warfare and unbalanced development of land. These costs are not easily quantified and often called as “social cost.”

How much, then, will be the total cost of division? Though it is easy to conceptually distinguish the costs of division into two, but in reality it is not so easy job to put them in financial terms. Fears and pains and opportunity costs are difficult to calculate and sometime quite different, depending upon whom does it. One thing for sure is that we Koreans are paying huge amount of cost under divide condition for non-productive purposes.

The Unification Costs as an Investment

Though consumable unification cost may be, it can be viewed as an investment for the future of Koreans, because it may be used for constructing a strong and rich unified Korea and for rebuilding the North’s lagging economy, once unified or on the process of unification. We may take a close look on the nature of the cost associated with unification as follows.

First, it can be a productive cost in the process of integration between the two parts of Korean peninsula where two different systems have existed for more than seventy years by now. It naturally entails necessary cost to integrate two different governments, monetary and labor markets and welfare systems in North and Southern parts of the peninsula.

Second, it can be referred as a “life cost,” because the people in the now North Korea will be able to enjoy basic human rights as southerners do now, once unified. Just like this, unification cost can save many lives in northern part of Korea from human rights violation and abject poverty.

Third, North Korean economy hardly seems to recover from stagnation by itself without foreign support. We may have to pay great amount of money to update the North's economy which requires financial burden. In this light, unification cost can be classified as "reconstruction cost."

Fourth, if we combine technology and rich capital from the South with abundant natural resources and manpower in the North, it will be another great jumping board for Korean economy to leap forward in the future. If this dream comes true, more jobs higher incomes will be possible, and, in this characteristic, it can be "investment cost."

the tangible costs of unification in itself can be divided further into three subcategories: institutional integration costs, crisis management costs, and economic investment costs. Institutional integration costs are those that incur during the integration of the different institutional systems such as political, administrative, and financial systems, as well as uniting the two countries' currencies. Institutional integration would also include re-educating not only the North Korean public officials but also the general public on how to adapt to the new transitional governmental system. Crisis management costs, on the other hand, are related to various security issues and emergency humanitarian crises arising during the initial confusion created in the unification process. Social assurance costs to ensure the welfare of North Korean residents would also belong to this sub-category. Finally, economic investment costs would incur from efforts to raise the economic well-being of North Korean residents, such as building infrastructure and production facilities to revitalize the North Korean economy.

The most common misunderstanding about the aforementioned costs of unification is that they do not draw no long-term financial dividends. In reality, however, these costs are investments that will yield as a result an economic foundation for more affluent and advanced nation. They are, in other words, "productive investments" in that they help build a stronger economic base,

“welfare investments” in that they would provide relief to impoverished North Korean residents, “reconstructive investments” in that they would help to revive the North Korean economy, and “infrastructure investments” in that they would help to expand the life opportunities of the entire Korean people.¹

In sum, the unification of the South and the North would first and foremost involve building a new nation by integrating two different governmental and ideological systems. The construction of a united Korea naturally would involve costs incurring from the integration of government organizations, currencies, and labor markets. The welfare system would also need to be revamped. However, such costs should be viewed as “productive investments” rather than simple financial burden, in the sense that they would help to build a stronger and more unified nation.

Second, a great number of North Koreans suffer severe human rights violations and absolute poverty at levels unimaginable to South Koreans. In a united Korea, North Korean residents would soon come to enjoy the same level of human dignity, freedom, and abundance as South Korean residents. In this sense, the costs of unification would be providing an economic “lifeline” to a new and better life for North Koreans.

Third, the North Korean economy is so devastated that it appears practically impossible for it to recover on its own. Its revival would require the construction of new production facilities and the installation of improved infrastructure, both of which would necessitate outside resources. Hence, the costs necessary to revive the North Korean economy would in actuality be “reconstructive investments” in that they would help to reinvigorate the stagnant economy in the North.

Fourth, the Korean economy would make another great leap forward if North Korea’s abundant natural resources were to be combined with South Korea’s capital and technology. The economic synergy achieved by uniting the two Koreas could offer more employment opportunities and higher incomes for the

people of both regions. As such, the costs of unification would be an economic “investment” in the future, ensuring everyone in Korea the opportunity to live a more prosperous life.

Below we have some estimates of the unification cost developed by major institutes both within and without of Korea. Estimates vary, depending upon institutes and how they calculate it.

Table 5–1. Unification costs estimates by major institutes

Institute	Presumed Unification Year	Concept of Unification Cost	Estimates (in USD)
Korea Development Institute (1991)	2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The cost to alleviate income gaps between the two Koreas North Korea's per capita income in 2010 about 60% of South Korean level 	263.2 billion–273.6 billion
Economic Intelligence Unit (1992)	2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The cost to alleviate income gaps between the two Koreas North Korea's per capita income in 2000 equivalent to that of South Korea 	1,089 trillion
Korea Development Bank (1994)	1994	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The cost to alleviate income gaps between the two Koreas North Korea's per capita income in 2004 about 60% of South Korean level 	805.0 billion
Rand Institute (2005)	–	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The cost to raise North Korea's GDP by two folds 	50 billion–670 billion
Korea Institute of Public Finance (2009)	2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The cost of rapid integration, except for the National Basic Livelihood Guarantee System 	12% of South Korea's GDP

Source: Cho Dong–ho, Unification benefits outweigh unification costs, Institute for Unification Education, 2011, pp. 47, 49.

Two points are worth noting in regard with unification cost. First, it can be reduce depending upon how we are going to prepare for the prospective unification. Germany is known not to be ready for suddenly coming unification and thus they have to pay huge amount of money when they allowed East Germans to change their old currencies with new one on the equal basis. For Koreans, it may have to make more efforts in preparing the prospective unification as maximizing the late comer's advantage.

Second, the unification cost will be able to be funded by various channels, not only limited to the public sector. It can largely be funded by the South Korean government, of course, but also the private sector and even the international community may join, if they see it profitable in investing in the northern part of the peninsula. As explained previously, a large proportion of the cost may incur in the form of economic investments to revive North Korea's deteriorating economy. So, the more prepared the country is for unification, the less the fiscal burden would fall on the general public.



Exchange of East German marks at the time of German reunification

The exchange rate for currencies between East and West Germany was applied at different rates, depending upon cash, bank deposits, business debt, and current income. In principle, East German marks were exchanged for Western marks at a rate of 1:1. Bank deposits were converted at an exchange rate of 2:1. Though slightly different exchange rate were applied for bank deposits at different age groups, the average conversion rate was 1.475 East German marks for one West German mark. Business liabilities were converted at a rate of 2:1, and so were current income.

Considering that East German marks were only a third of the value of West German marks in terms of productivity and that they were traded at a tenth of West German marks on the black market, such a rate could be said as "a political conversion rate" that was considerably favorable for East Germans. (Jan Priewe and Rudolf Hickel, *Der Preis der Einheit—Bilanz und Perspektiven der Deutschen Vereinigung*. Translated by Han Jong-man, *Cost of German unification*, Publishing Department of Daeryuk Research Institute, 1994, pp.124-132)

The Benefits of Unification

The Benefits Outweighing the Costs of Unification

Unification is expected to entail significant amount of expenditure. We should be aware of the fact that it would also bring in huge benefits that may offset the cost. Once unified, we can expect various benefits, economic or non-economic, would also be produced. President Park Geun-hye emphasized on

this particular point when she stated “Korean unification is a bonanza.” Indeed, many benefits that unification would bring should be sufficient to pacify the general public’s anxiety.²

The benefits of unification are the sum total of all the various economic and non-economic dividends resulting from unification. Unification will drive away many problems and pains such as separated families, fears of war, and other inconveniences. Domestic market would also be expected to grow. Benefits of unification can be classified in two categories: tangible or intangible. As is the case in calculating the cost of unification, tangible benefits such as cut-down of the defense budget are relatively easy to estimate, while intangible ones, such as pains from separated families, fear for the potential war, are not so easy job to put them in monetary terms..

What kind of specific benefits would we expect from unification?

First, we are not going to pay any longer the cost that we have to pay while divided. Division cost can be explained as “all opportunity cost incurring while a nation is divided.” This cost includes explicit and implicit expenses. According to a report submitted by Special Committee on Budgetary affairs of the National Assembly in 2007, it was estimated that we will have to pay as much as 1.9 trillion Won as unification cost and 1.3 trillion Won as unification cost when presumed that the two Koreas is to be unified by 2030. As we can see here, it is obvious that the cost of division is greater than that of unification.

Second, we can also expect some benefits from the scale of economies and new engines for growth from unification. When unified, population is expected to exceed more than 80 million and domestic labor and consumption market to be double-sized. The resulting scale of economies would enable companies to reduce production cost which would make Korean products more competitive abroad. In this light, Goldman Sachs, an American investment agency, has remarked as “North Korea should not be assessed in terms of risks only; rather, it should be seen as a potentially tremendous asset should the Koreas become

united.”³

Third, once unified, the whole Korean peninsula will be able to be connected to Eurasian continent. It will be a feasible idea to connect the trans-Korean railways to the trans-Siberian railways or trans-Chinese railways. If those railways are connected, we can transport cargos to Europe by railways and thus can save huge transportation cost, compared to sea routes. One of many estimates about the cost of transportation from Busan, southernmost port of the peninsula, to Belarus suggests that it takes 26 day by sea, but only 16 day by railway, thus enabling senders to save \$800/TEU⁴.

Koreans are also expected to travel more freely to China or Russia by having more options from sea, air and overland transportation. It will be easier for South Korea to import energy from Siberia without worrying about its pipeline which should pass North Korea when divided.

Fourth, in addition to those tangible economic benefits, unification will serve a useful purpose. It will help residents of North Korea to cherish human rights such as freedom of speech and better quality of life. More stabilized Korean peninsula in terms of wealth will eventually contribute to the peace in the region. In this context, it is worth noting the words of German Chancellor Horst Köhler during his visit to Korea in February 2010: “We must not let the cost of division blind us from seeing what is really important. The fact that Germany can enjoy peace and freedom in the heart of Europe is something beyond calculating in monetary terms. The German unification enabled 17 million East Germans to part with decades’ of dictatorship and live in a free, democratic, and ruled-by-law state. The end of the European division has removed the risk of escalating the Cold War into a war.”

Costs versus Benefits of Unification

We can say that, once unified, the cost of division will immediately disappear, and the cost of unification has to be paid temporarily for certain period of time

at the early stage of unification, while benefits of unification will be reoccurring over ages for almost forever. Obviously unification would undoubtedly require some financial burden for South Korea for some time. Considering cost from division and benefits from prospective unification, we must remember that unification would do much better than division to Koreans in many ways.

First, future unification makes us not to pay division cost any more. Cost that we pay under division or unification is temporary payment, while the benefits of unification are permanent. The weighty price tag of division will continue to accumulate for as long as the country remains divided, while the benefits of unification would continue to accrue for as long as the country remains united.

Second, since the benefits of unification would continue indefinitely while the costs associated with unification would be non-recurring by nature, in the long run the benefits of unification would far outweigh the costs. Also, the different estimates that have been given on the costs of unification are an indication that the cost is not set in stone. There would be considerable flexibility to adjust the extent of the cost depending largely on the carefulness of the country's preparation and policies for unification. In particular, Korea could make full use of the "latecomer advantage" to learn from the German experience and minimize its own costs for unification.

Third, while the cost of division can be regarded as "consumable costs," the cost of unification should be considered "productive cost" in that the latter would be used to raise the standard of living and the quality of life of the Korean people. For example, prospective investment on building huge infrastructure such as building roads and manufacturing plants in the northern part of Korean peninsula will bring back to us with more prosper economy.

Table 5-2. Costs of division, costs of unification, and benefits of unification

	Costs of Division	Costs of Unification	Benefits of Unification
Concept	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The sum of all economic and non-economic costs arising in a state of division <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Economic costs: National defense costs, diplomatic costs, ideological education costs, etc. – Non-economic costs: Fear of a potential outbreak of war, the pain and agony endured by families separated by the war, ideological conflict and confrontation, imbalanced development of the territory, etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The sum of all economic and non-economic costs arising after unification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Institutional integration costs: Costs of integrating political and administrative systems, financial system, and currencies, etc. – Crisis management costs: Costs to resolve initial social issues such as public order, humanitarian relief aid, and unemployment, etc. – Economic investment costs: Costs to build infrastructure and production facilities, etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The sum of all economic and non-economic benefits arising after unification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Economic benefits: Costs of division becoming unnecessary, economies of scale, expanded market, increased complementarity of industries and production factors, etc. – Non-economic benefits: Resolution of issues of families separated by the war, enhanced standing in the international community, no more threat of war, etc.
Characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recurring for as long as Korea remains divided • Becomes unnecessary immediately upon unification (opportunity cost of unification) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Costs may differ depending on when and how unification happens • Occurs for a certain period of time after unification • Is more like an investment • Can be flexibly adjusted depending on economic competence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic benefits far outweigh economic costs • Recurring permanently after unification

2. The Future Visions for a Unified Korea

What kind of country will a unified Korea be? We envision that the unified Korea will be a harmonious community where people enjoy political freedom, economic prosperity, cultural diversity based on liberal democracy and market economy. Past human history has shown that liberal democracy and market economy are the most optimal institutions so far created. When unified, Korea should maximize the advantages of these institutions, while working out to fix their flaws; it will be able to realize its potential to the maximum, thus becoming one of the countries that contributes peace and prosperity of the world.

Political Aspects

Over long history, the Korean people have been successful in retaining its national identity. It has also maintained a single kingdom for almost 1,300 years from the unification of the Three Kingdoms in 7th century until the liberation from Japan in 1945. From perspective of Korean history, the 70-year-long division after 1945 can be said as relatively short period and exceptional case in its history. The recent division of the Korean peninsula was imposed by foreign powers against the will of the Korean people. Though Korean people long for unification, a socialist regime in the North and a liberal democracy in the South have yet failed to agree on how to unify divided halves.

Politically, a unified Korea would rectify distorted recent history of Korea. As stated in the National Community Unification Formula, a unified Korea as a single country with “one nation, one country, one system, and one government” would stop unnecessary confrontation and hostility between the same Koreans. Unification would allow people from both sides of Korea to cooperate to make its country richer, more peaceful and more diversified. In addition, people in the unified Korea would enjoy more civil freedom, human rights.

One of the most important factors we can think of from the future unified Korea is that we are going to establish a modern nation-state with a single government. Such a state will uphold universal humanitarian values, such as freedom, democracy, human rights, and peace. The term “nation-state” does not imply an exclusive nationalism or ethnocentrism that seeks only the interests of the Korean people. Rather, it will look for an open nationalism based on cultural diversity.

The division of Korea did not merely beget two different political systems. It is the people in North Korea who are suffering most from one-party dictatorship without even basic human rights. Once unified in a liberal democracy and market economy, every resident in North Korea will also be able to enjoy political freedom, economic prosperity and other types of human rights as southerners do.

After unified, we don't need to compete in the international arena any longer. When divided, North and South Korea have rivaled each other to gain more support from foreign countries, thus wasting national capacity and placing both of them in a disadvantageous standing in the international arena. For example, both Korea could not be admitted into the United Nations until 1991, due to the long opposition from North Korea. After becoming a member of the United Nations, South Korea has expanded its scope in the international activities; it made a Korean to be chosen as UN Secretary-General, has joined the UN Security Council as non-permanent member, and has also actively involved in

other organizations under the United Nations.

As long as Korea remains divided, South Korea has no other way but concentrate its diplomatic efforts primarily on resolving division-related issues. For instance, Seoul government has long cooperated with other major powers to cope with the North's nuclear development programs and other armed provocations against the South. Once unified, either parties, North or South, don't have waste diplomatic efforts and capacity any more in a harmful way to each other.

Unification can also become an opportunity to dramatically boost Korea's national strength. If unified, the population will exceed more than 80 million which will be greater than that of France (64 million), the U.K. (61 million), and Italy (59 million), according to UN statistics, 2010. Such heightened international status will not be a benefit to Korea alone. A unified Korea will contribute to promoting global peace and prosperity, as well as improving the human rights. Unification in itself would contribute to stabilizing the political landscape in Northeast Asia and promoting regional peace and security.

Economic Aspects

The Unified Korea would be a economically affluent society, based on a free market economy, where a balance between growth and distribution is to be sought. A free market economy is more likely to ensures economically rich country because it makes it possible to make rational choices in economic activities. In this light, the unified Korea should be based on a free market system and by so doing, the Unified Korea will be able to play more leading roles in the high-tech industries, fusion industries, and green growth.

South Korea has arduously worked over the past seventy years to develop its economy along the lines of a free market economy. Starting in the 1960s, it

has made a case of building industrialized, modernized economy within a few decades which is known as the “Miracle of the Han River.” Table 7-3 shows the changes in South Korea’s key economic sectors and SOC indicators over time between 1965 and 2010.

Table 5–3. Key economic and SOC indicators of South Korea over time

Classification	1965	1990	2010	Remarks
GNP/income (in hundreds of millions of dollars) (in dollars per person)	30 (105)	2,518 (5,883)	10,146 (20,959)	Assuming that the per capita income of North Korean residents is equivalent to that of South Korean residents, the Gross National Income of a united Korea would be between the sixth and eighth largest in the world.
Power generation (in hundreds of millions of kwh)	33	1,077	4,739	–
Length of expressways (in km)	0	1,551	3,859	–
No. of automobiles (in thousands)	39	3,395	17,941	–
Total trade value (in hundreds of millions of dollars)	6.4	1,349	8,916	Assuming that North Korea’s per capita amount of trade is equivalent to that of South Korea, the total value of trade of a united Korea would be the fourth largest in the world (after China, the U.S., and Germany).

Source: Korea Statistics Agency, “a Comparison of the Economies and Societies of North and South Korea,” “Key Statistics of North Korea”

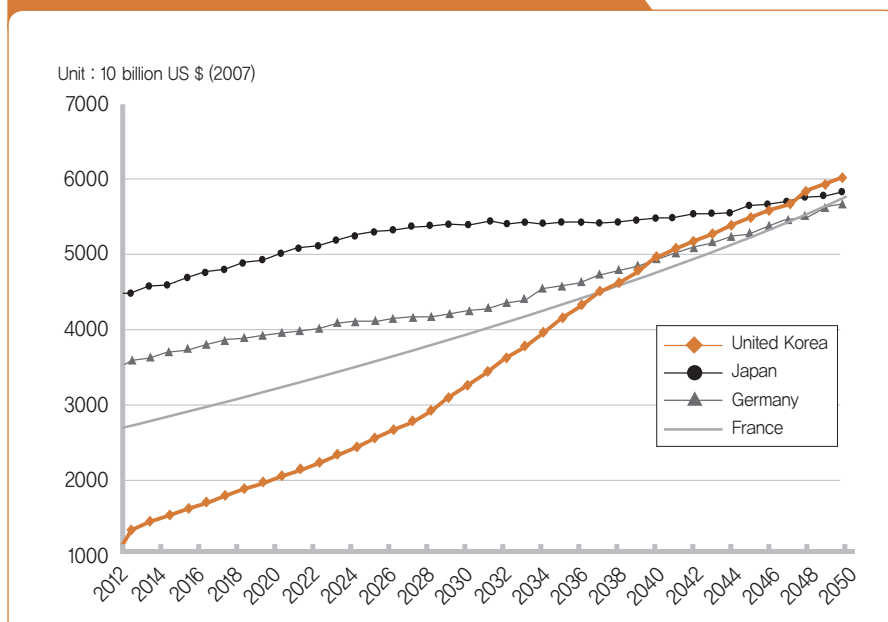
As show in the table above, South Korea achieved a remarkable growth from the 1960s onwards. All other conditions are unchanged, that the economic size of a unified Korea would be a larger one. For example, assuming that the per capita income of North Korean residents is the same as that of South Korean residents, the GNI (Gross National Income) of a unified Korea would be somewhere between the sixth and eighth largest in the world (World Bank, 2010). Likewise, assuming that North Korea’s per capita trade value becomes the same level as that of South Korea, the trade volume of a united Korea would be the worlds’ fourth largest behind China, the U.S., and Germany.

These estimated figures could be even greater if the post-unification economic synergy effects were to be accounted for.

Upon unification, and thus the eliminating a major security threat from North Korea, Korea would further expand its market and economic base which could eventually lead it to another economic leap. Goldman Sachs once concluded that North Korea would not be merely a risk but also an “asset in a unified Korea” (Goldman Sachs, 2009: 9-11). The assessment was based on North Korea’s abundant and competitive labor force, rich mineral wealth, high growth potential, and an expected synergy effect with South Korea. It also projected that a united Korea could overtake Germany and Japan in 30-40 years in terms of economic size, becoming the world’s eighth largest economy.

Goldman Sachs also made the following projections with regards the possible post-unification utilization of North Korea’s labor force and mineral resources.

Table 5-4. Economic status of a united Korea in 2050



* Source: Goldman Sachs Global ECS Research

The Unified Korea would no longer be restricted to the peninsula, but be connected the Eurasian Continent. Then, it would enjoy both overland access to China and beyond Russia and maritime access to the U.S. and Japan. Thus, unification would be instrumental in maximizing Korea's geographic advantages as a peninsula.

As explained above, unification would make Korea a major connecting link between the continental powers of China and Russia and maritime powers of U.S. and Japan. The major East Asian economies, including those of China, Japan, and Russia, have been continuously expanding its size and clout, and are likely to continue the trend in the future. Such growth would, in turn, result in an ever-increasing volume of trade moving around the Korean peninsula. If so, a unified Korea would emerge as a strategically positioned trade hub, serving as a conduit for the shipment between the Eurasian Continent and the Pacific.



The Korean peninsula reaching out to the world

A unified Korea would then be highly likely to become a social and cultural nerve center of the region. Thus, the future vision of a unified Korea includes the spatial integration of the Korean peninsula with the adjacent continent and the ocean.

Social and Cultural Aspects

All told, the ultimate purpose of unification is to enhance the quality of life of all citizens. A unified Korea would, through economic growth and political freedom, expand opportunities for everyone and create a strong foundation for a more dignified and prosperous life for every citizen. Thus, the country must strive to overcome the social alienation caused by an inequitable distribution of

wealth and class structure, while keeping up social care for minorities such as foreign laborers, and multicultural families.

From a societal perspective, unification would pave the way to a more diversified society. Up until now, division has caused ideological differences, which in turn resulted in mistrust and conflict among various social groups. In an integrated Korea, in contrast, it would promote a mutual trust and respect among various social groups, while fostering a harmonious community with a mature citizenry.

A united Korea would also play a central role in uniting the national members of the Korean expatriates around the world. There are approximately 75 million Koreans living on the Korean peninsula and about 7 million more overseas in 2014, according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Despite their sizeable numbers, unfortunately, the strength of the Korean expatriates has dissipated for reasons such as the nation's division, international competition, and ideological differences. A unified Korea would thus be a melting pot for 82 million ethnic Koreans to overcome all the differences and disputes over division of the Korean peninsula.

Furthermore, unification would dramatically expand the radius of living and travel space. The South Korean radius of land stops at mere 500 kilometers, about a two-hour trip by express train. In a unified Korea, however, it will be double-sized in life span on the peninsula itself. Moreover, the possibilities of travel across the Eurasian continent will become "endless." For example, the distance from South Korea to Moscow is approximately 10,000 kilometers. It would take a hundred hours day and night, or four days, to reach Moscow on the trans-Siberian railroad at a speed of 100 kilometers per hour. As such, a unified Korea would considerably expand possible access overland.

In sum, South Korea dreams of a post-unification society in which human dignity is respected under a liberal democracy and a market economy. A unified Korea will be a national community where the 80 million Korean live a

safe and prosperous life together. By realizing a national, unified nation, Korea will see the freedom and human rights of each constituent of the society grow, while contributing to the peace and prosperity of the international community. After unification, Korea will be transformed into a more balanced regional development of its territory, and the establishment of an economic hub for the Northeast Asian region. Socially, Korea will be a welfare state in which people will enjoy higher standards of living based on matured citizenship, autonomy, and upright community values. It will be a culturally diverse country where national cultural heritage and traditions fuse with universal culture of the world. In short, the vision of a united Korea will be an advanced nation enjoying political freedom, economic prosperity, social trust, and cultural pluralism.

3. Preparing for Unification

If unification holds the potential to transform Korea into a more powerful advanced nation where the dignity and happiness of the entire Korean populace could find fulfillment, then South Korea should address this task in a proactive manner. This is all the more so if one recalls the advice given by former German President Horst Köhler during his visit to South Korea in February 2010 that, “unification may come sooner than expected, so it is necessary to plan and prepare in advance.” Given the uncertainty of when or how unification might take place, it would appear even more paramount to begin preparing for such an eventuality now in order to maximize the benefits and minimize the negative effects.

The phrase “preparation for unification” refers to all the measures taken to plan for the unification of the country as well as the implementation of those plans in order to ensure a smooth post-unification integration process. Since unification issues would need to be dealt with at the national level, the primary responsibility of preparing for unification should fall on the government. The launching of the Unification Preparation Committee in July 2014, directly overseen by the President, can be understood in this context. The committee will serve as the nerve center for all matters related to preparation for unification. The committee is comprised of government officials and private sector specialists who will pool their wisdom and resources to undertake the preparatory steps necessary in laying the groundwork for unification.

The issue of unification concerns the general public as a whole, and thus public engagement is critical for its realization. One way of such engagement is to increase their conviction about the future vision of unification and to enlist their support for that vision. In this sense, preparation for unification would require a concerted effort to raise public awareness, secure the necessary funds, help North Koreans settle into South Korean society, improve legal and institutional frameworks, and strengthen international cooperation.

Raising Public Awareness about Unification

As the division of the country became seemingly permanent, many people in South Korea seem to accept the division as normal. Some even come to view unification as too cumbersome to be worthy of consideration. The emergence of “unification cost” issues following the case of Germany has also played a role in spreading the pessimistic views. Such a trend is regrettable especially since unification matters are often significantly impacted by public opinion.

It is important to understand that unification issues pertain not only to the state, but also to individuals. If the general public continues to devote little attention to the issue of unification, then, Korea may remain divided forever. The so-called “Tragedy of the Commons⁵” is a case in point showing how a rational decision at the individual level can produce destructive outcomes at the state level. Though every citizen need not be an expert on this issue, at least they should try to better understand it on behalf of future Korea.

A positive view of unification can emerge when unification seen by its potential benefits and its cost. As mentioned earlier, unification would entail huge benefits that may far outweigh the cost. President Park Geun-hye declared that “unification is a bonanza” in the early 2014. Her statement may suggest that the benefits of unification would extend far beyond the economic sphere: peace, freedom, human rights, and prosperity to citizens of both South and North

Korea. Thus, we may understand that the unification of Korean peninsula is an important matter that may have much more implications on domestic, regional and international sphere.

To raise public awareness about unification in South Korea, one of effective ways can be to provide more education opportunities to the public. As provided in the Unification Education Support Act, it is said to promote a value system and an attitude among the public toward peaceful unification based on liberal democracy, a market economy through providing many educational opportunities on the issue. For this end, the public and private sector should go hand in hand.

While trying to raise public awareness, it would be necessary to invest in training those who are ready to deal with all the necessary works in preparing for unification. This professionally trained corps of experts would contribute a lot to building a general consensus among the people in South Korea, to managing the process to unification in a peaceful and stable manner, and to resolving other complicating issues that may arise after unification. Such personnel would include public officials, instructors, and employees of public corporations. Considering the possible shortage of such personnel after unification, North Korean defectors and non-governmental organizations could also be included.

Securing Funds Necessary for Unification

Unification funds serve as one of economic preparations for unification. In addition to the multiple uncertainties involved, unification would require a substantial financial outlay in order to overcome the economic gaps between South and North Korea. “Unification cost” would cover all costs incurred with respect to unification which would be incurred not only during the process of unification but also after the process has been completed. A lot of investment

would be especially needed to expand SOCs and production facilities in the North. Given that such costs are inherently production-related, they would need to be carefully planned for in order to maximize their return.

In practice, several difficulties would most certainly arise in securing the necessary funds to cover the cost of unification. First, it will be difficult to estimate with any degree of precision the costs associated with unification. Second, it is not easy to obtain public approval for the fund, because it is unclear when unification will actually occur. This is particularly so, especially on the matter of introducing a special tax on unification.

That being said, if we don't get ready for prospective unification, we may face serious difficulties to cope with uncertain situation that unification may bring. So it is quite natural to say that a preparation of funds prior to unification is extremely important. A case in point was Germany, which experienced a lot of difficulties in securing the funds because its unification happened so much earlier than was expected. Obtaining funds from various sources and careful plans to mitigate costs would turn out to be useful means to guide the process of unification in the right direction. In this regard, the words of German Chancellor Horst Köhler ring true that, "it should be a sin to history to miss an opportunity for unification when that opportunity arises because there is no money or because of financial concerns."

The public's concern about unification cost is largely related to the possible tax hikes. But raising taxes is not the only way, but there are many other ways through which the necessary funds for unification could be procured. In addition, proper preparation for unification could also minimize such costs. Sources from which unification funds could be garnered can largely be divided into domestic and international sources. Domestic sources can be further divided into government and private sources. Those unification funds can be procured through various sources as follows: Inter-Korean Cooperation Fund, funds from the private sector, issuance of bonds and the conducting of lotteries,

privatization of land in North Korea, taxation, and foreign loans.

Having a thoughtful public discussion about how to raise the funds necessary for unification may be difficult given the uncertainty of when unification will occur. Despite the difficulty, however, it is necessary to plan for ways to secure those funds. In the case of private sector businesses, it would be expected that they would substantially increase their level of investment in the North once the country was unified. The South Korean government could help facilitate this process by giving some incentives such as tax breaks to companies that look for investment in the North.

Unification of the Korean peninsula should also be a matter of utmost interest and concern to the international community. Jim Rogers, a global financial investor, has once viewed a unified Korea as a promising investment destination when he stated, “If possible, I could put all of my money into North Korea.” Considering the untapped human and natural resources in North Korea and the economic potential of the United Korea, unification would in all likelihood lead to a substantial flow of investment into Korea from various parts of the world. In this regard, the Korean government must seek ways to attract foreign capital ahead of unification.

Assistance for North Korean Defectors to Settle Down in the South

As far as unification is concerned, North Korean refugees are both a challenge and an opportunity for South Korea. From the end of the Korean War to late 2013, more than 26,000 North Korean defectors have entered South Korea, with most of them arriving after 2000.

Those North Koreans seem to experience many difficulties settling in South Korean society. On average, both employment rate and income level are below those of South Koreans. They also face psychological problems, including sense of guilt for leaving their families behind in the North, yearning for loved ones,

and the fear to adapt in a new environment in the South. Adaptation to the local community is hindered further by the prejudice and discrimination of local residents.

The successful settlement of North Korean refugees in South Korea bears some significant implications for unification preparations. First, they can contribute to social integration after unification. In other words, before actual unification happens, South Koreans are having an opportunity to interact socially with North Koreans. If South Koreans fail to embrace the small number of North Koreans, how can they live in harmony with North Koreans on the larger scale after unification?

Second, North Korean defectors can be valuable human resources who can contribute to the unification preparation efforts. Unification can be a challenge for North Koreans; they may face difficulties to adapt in a liberal democracy and in a free-market economy. North Korean defectors who have gone through adaptation period can help majority of North Koreans adapt in the new environment. Therefore, the successful settlement of North Korean refugees in the South is significant, not just from a humanitarian perspective, but also in the sense of better preparing for unification.

Preparation in Legal and Institutional Areas

The actual process of unification is just as important as the outcome. All issues arising in the process must thus be dealt with in accordance with law and order. Germany was able to deal its unification peacefully and with extensive support both at home and abroad because the process carried out strictly under laws and procedures. In this sense, we should pay more attention to harmonizing laws and institutions regarding unification before the actual act of unification.

The two Koreas have developed very different political systems, remarkably disparate legal systems for the last seventy years. Statutes of South Korea have developed based on the principle of liberal democracy and market economy, while those of North Korea have developed based on the Juche ideology and a planned command economy. Furthermore, the North developed a legal system in which the Covenant of the Workers' Party overrules the Constitution and other laws. These differences in legal systems should be resolved in the process of unification.

Provisional laws and procedures which may apply every stage of unification should be ready. The National Community Unification Formula envisions the three stages toward unification and relevant laws and institutions are needed to apply at each phase of the unification. At the phase of Reconciliation and Cooperation, for example, Laws that govern mainly on exchanges and cooperation between the two Korea are needed. Likewise at the Korean Commonwealth phase, the laws governing inter-Korean ministerial conferences are necessary. Given that orderly unification will not just happen by itself, a calibrated unification scenario must be carefully drafted according to specific guidelines for each phase.

To ensure a stable and cohesive approach and smooth integration in all areas during the unification process, the course for legal and institutional improvements must proceed according to a pre-determined set of principles.

First, there must be legal consistency with South Korea's legal system and international laws. Also, while the unification of the two Koreas is not a matter requiring international approval, which was the case with German unification, international law needs nonetheless to be considered, including the force of the Korean Armistice agreement as well as international treaties or agreements concluded by North Korea, North Korea's border issue, and other the legal resolution of past wrongdoings.

Second, any legal and institutional improvements must be made in line with

the trend of world history and with respect to universal humanitarian values. Even both sides agree on unification on certain terms, it should not undermine the foundation of liberal democracy and free market economy. In other words, universal values, including human dignity, freedom, human rights, equality and welfare, must be respected no matter what course unification may take. In this light, it will be more desired to find legal roots that the Unified Korea should look for in the Constitution of South Korea which guarantees political freedom and individual human rights.

Third, it may be necessary to enact laws at the early transitional period after unification. Considering the income gaps between residents in the South and the North, the lagging production facilities and infrastructure in the North, “friendly investments” will be required for a certain period of time in the North. Besides economic areas, relevant laws should be introduced in dealing with social issues: issues of bigamous relationships and inheritance for separated families, and the return of land confiscated by North Korean authorities to the original owners.

Strengthening International Cooperation

Korean unification is a matter within and without the Korean peninsula. The German experience shows that the German unification did take place when the occupying countries at the World War II like the U.S., Soviet Union, U.K., and France, support the idea of German unification. The role of the Kohl Administration of West Germany in strengthening cooperation with the U.S. and then gradually obtaining the consents from other relevant countries, points to the importance of unification diplomacy.

The Korean case, on the other hand, is different from the Germany in that it does not require consent from other countries in terms of legality. Nevertheless, the Korean unification will still be directly or indirectly influenced by the

surrounding powers, namely U.S., Japan, China, and Russia, as each country has an interest in the peninsula. We can assume that these surrounding powers will support the Korean unification only when they see it favorable to their national interest. Standing on this ground, the South Korean government should strive to promote the idea that unification of the Korean peninsula will bring peace as well as economic benefits to the Northeast Asia as follows.

First, it should start “unification-friendly diplomacy” to foster international consensus on the Korean unification. Korean unification would reduce politico-military instability and promote economic cooperation in Northeast Asia which will obviously be in every country’s interest. Such unification diplomacy would be more efficient when conducted in tandem with South-North cooperation programs. Najin-Hasan Logistics Project, for example, is one of key projects that promote inter-Korean and international cooperation. In addition, Seoul should learn lessons from German experiences on unification for the purpose of gathering more information and references on the matter.

Second, South Korea should reinforce multilateral diplomacy while securing a strong alliance with the U.S. No single country among the U.S., China, Japan, and Russia can be neglected. In the case of Germany, unification was possible because of strong support from the U.S. despite initial opposition from the Soviet Union, U.K. and France. In this sense, the ROK-U.S. alliance can serve as a valuable asset for South Korea in the unification process. Of course it is needless to say that South Korea should try to get support from other major powers, too.

Third, more active public diplomacy may be required to receive support on the Korean unification from the international community. Considering the complexity of the Korean unification, public diplomacy may help traditional diplomacy to overcome its limitations. Nowadays, many countries engage more actively in public diplomacy as a good tactic to buy hearts of the people around the world. South Korea should also proactively implement public diplomacy

with various countries in the world. Fostering favorable opinion among opinion leaders scholars, media, and even artists will greatly help in getting more international support for Korea unification in the future.

Footnote

- 1 Ko Seong-joon, Rethinking the Need for Unification, (Institute for Unification Education, 2011), pp. 55-57.
- 2 At her New Year's press conference on January 6, 2014, President Park Geun-hye said, "Korean unification would amount to hitting the jackpot, as it would give the chance for our economy to make a huge leap."
- 3 Goldman Sachs, A United Korea? Reassessing North Korea Risks, Goldman Sachs Global Economics Paper, 2009, No. 188.
- 4 TEU, or twenty-foot equivalent unit, is a unit of cargo capacity that is based on the volume of a 20-foot-long standard-sized container.
- 5 The Tragedy of the Commons is a concept, originally used by American ecologist Garrett Hardin, to denote a situation where rational acts that are beneficial to individuals can result in destructive outcomes at the collective level. For example, shepherds can receive more benefits by increasing the number of sheep, but because overgrazing inevitably results in the depletion of a common parcel of land on which they let their sheep graze, the group shares damage to the commons.



Appendices

1. The July 4th South–North Joint Communiqué
2. Agreement on Reconciliation, Non–aggression and Exchanges and Cooperation between the South and the North
3. Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula
4. June 15th South–North Joint Declaration
5. Declaration on the Development of South–North Korean Relations and Peace and Prosperity

1. The July 4th South-North Joint Communiqué

Recently, talks were held in Pyongyang and Seoul to discuss the questions of improving South-North relations and of unifying the divided country.

Lee Hu-rak, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency in Seoul, visited Pyongyang from May 2-5, 1972, and held talks with Kim Young-joo, Director of the Organization and Guidance Department of Pyongyang; Vice Premier Park Sung-chul, acting on behalf of Director Kim Young-joo visited Seoul from May 29-June 1, 1972, and held further talks with Director Lee Hu-rak.

With the common desire of achieving the peaceful unification of the fatherland as early as possible, the two sides engaged in a frank and openhearted exchange of views during these talks, and made great progress toward promoting mutual understanding.

In an effort to resolve the misunderstandings and mistrust, and mitigate the heightened tensions that have arisen between the South and the North as a consequence of their long period of division and moreover, to expedite unification, the two sides reached full agreement on the following points.

1. The two sides agreed on the following principles as a basis of achieving unification:

First, unification shall be achieved independently, without depending on foreign powers and nor foreign interference.

Second, unification shall be achieved through peaceful means, without resorting to the use of force against each other.

Third, a great national unity as one people shall be sought first, transcending differences in ideas, ideologies, and institutions.

2. In order to ease tensions and foster an atmosphere of mutual trust between the South and the North, the two sides have agreed not to slander or defame

each other, not to undertake military provocations whether on a large or small scale, and to take positive measures to prevent accidental military confrontations.

3. In order to restore severed national ties, promote mutual understanding and to expedite independent peaceful unification, the two sides have agreed to carry out numerous exchanges in various fields.
4. The two sides have agreed to actively cooperate in seeking the early success of the South-North Red Cross talks, which are currently in progress with the fervent support of the entire people of Korea.
5. In order to prevent the outbreak of unexpected military incidents, and to deal directly, promptly, and accurately with problems arising between the South and the North, the two sides have agreed to install a direct telephone line between Seoul and Pyongyang.
6. In order to implement the above agreements, to solve various problems existing between the South and the North, and to settle the unification problem on the basis of the agreed principles for unification, the two sides have agreed to organize and operate a South-North Coordinating Committee co-chaired by Director Lee Hu-rak and Director Kim Young-joo.
7. Firmly convinced that the above agreement correspond with the common aspirations of the entire Korean people, all of whom are anxious for an early unification, the two sides hereby solemnly pledge before the entire Korean people to faithfully carry out this agreement.

Upholding the instructions of their respective superiors

Lee Hu-rak Kim Young-joo

July 4, 1972

2. Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-aggression and Exchanges and Cooperation between the South and the North

The South and the North,

In keeping with the yearning of the entire Korean people for the peaceful unification of the divided land;

Reaffirming the three principles of unification set forth in the July 4 {1972} South-North Joint Communiqué;

Determined to remove the state of political and military confrontation and achieve national reconciliation;

Also determined to avoid armed aggression and hostilities, reduce tension and ensure peace;

Expressing the desire to realize multi-faceted exchanges and cooperation to advance common national interests and prosperity;

Recognizing that their relations, not being a relationship between states, constitute a special interim relationship stemming from the process towards unification;

Pledging to exert joint efforts to achieve peaceful unification;

Hereby have agreed as follows:

CHAPTER I: SOUTH–NORTH RECONCILIATION

Article 1

The South and the North shall recognize and respect each other's system.

Article 2

The two sides shall not interfere in each other's internal affairs.

Article 3

The two sides shall not slander or vilify each other.

Article 4

The two sides shall not attempt any actions of sabotage or overthrow against each other.

Article 5

The two sides shall endeavor together to transform the present state of armistice into a solid state of peace between the South and the North and shall abide by the present Military Armistice Agreement {July 27, 1953} until such a state of peace has been realized.

Article 6

The two sides shall cease to compete or confront each other and shall cooperate and endeavor together to promote national prestige and interests in the international arena.

Article 7

To ensure close consultations and liaison between the two sides, South-North Liaison Officers shall be established at Panmunjom within three (3) months after the coming into force of this Agreement.

Article 8

A South-North Political Committee shall be established within the framework of the South-North High-Level Talks within (1) month of the coming into force of this Agreement with a view to discussing concrete measures to ensure the implementation and observance of the accords on South-North reconciliation.

CHAPTER II: SOUTH–NORTH NON–AGGRESSION**Article 9**

The two sides shall not use force against each other and shall not undertake armed aggression against each other.

Article 10

Differences of views and disputes arising between the two sides shall be

resolved peacefully through dialogue and negotiation.

Article 11

The South-North demarcation line and areas for non-aggression shall be identical with the Military Demarcation Line specified in the Military Armistice Agreement of July 27, 1953 and the areas that have been under the jurisdiction of each side until the present time.

Article 12

To implement and guarantee non-aggression, the two sides shall set up a South-North Joint Military Commission within three (3) months of the coming into force of this Agreement. In the said Commission, the two sides shall discuss and carry out steps to build military confidence and control of major movements of military units and major military exercises, the peaceful utilization of the Demilitarized Zone, exchanges of military personnel and information, phased reductions in armaments including the elimination of weapons of mass destruction and attack capabilities, and verifications thereof.

Article 13

A telephone hotline shall be installed between the military authorities of the two sides to prevent accidental armed clashes and their escalation.

Article 14

A South-North Military Committee shall be established within the framework of the South-North High-Level Talks within one (1) month of the coming into force of this agreement in order to discuss concrete measures to ensure the implementation and observance of the accords on non-aggression and to remove military confrontation.

CHAPTER III: SOUTH–NORTH EXCHANGES AND COOPERATION

Article 15

To promote an integrated and balanced development of the national economy

and the welfare of the entire people, the two sides shall engage in economic exchanges and cooperation, including the joint development of resources, the trade of goods as domestic commerce and joint ventures.

Article 16

The two sides shall carry out exchanges and cooperation in various fields such as science and technology, education, literature and the arts, health, sports, environment, and publishing and journalism including newspapers, radio and television broadcasts and publications.

Article 17

The two sides shall promote free intra-Korea travel and contacts for the residents of their respective areas.

Article 18

The two sides shall permit free correspondence, meetings and visits between dispersed family members and other relatives and shall promote the voluntary reunion of divided families and shall take measures to resolve other humanitarian issues.

Article 19

The two sides shall reconnect railroads and roads that have been cut off and shall open South-North sea and air transport routes.

Article 20

The two sides shall establish and link facilities needed for South-North postal and telecommunications services and shall guarantee the confidentiality of intra-Korean mail and telecommunications.

Article 21

The two sides shall cooperate in the economic, cultural and various other fields in the international arena and carry out jointly undertakings abroad.

Article 22

To implement accords on exchanges and cooperation in the economic, cultural

and various other fields, the two sides shall establish joint commissions for specific sectors, including a Joint South-North Economic Exchanges and Cooperation Commission, within three (3) months of the coming into force of this Agreement.

Article 23

A South-North Exchanges and Cooperation Committee shall be established within the framework of the South-North High-Level Talks within one (1) month of the coming into force of this Agreement with a view to discussing concrete measures to ensure the implementation and observance of the accords on South-North exchanges and cooperation.

CHAPTER IV: AMMENDMENTS AND EFFECTUATION

Article 24

This Agreement may be amended or supplemented by concurrence between the two sides.

Article 25

This Agreement shall enter into force as of the day the two sides exchange appropriate instruments following the completion of their respective procedures for bringing it into effect.

Signed on December 13, 1991

Chung Won-shik
Prime Minister of the Republic of
Korea
Chief delegate of the South
delegation to the South-North
High-Level Talks

Yon Hyong-muk
Premier of the Administration
Council of the Democratic People's
Republic of Korea
Head of the North delegation to the
South-North High-Level Talks

3. Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula

The South and the North,
Desiring to eliminate the danger of nuclear war through denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, and thus to create an environment and conditions favorable for peace and peaceful unification of our country and contribute to peace and security in Asia and the world,
Declare as follows;

1. The South and the North shall not test, manufacture, produce, receive, possess, store, deploy or use nuclear weapons.
2. The South and the North shall use nuclear energy solely for peaceful purposes.
3. The South and the North shall not possess nuclear reprocessing and uranium enrichment facilities.
4. The South and the North, in order to verify the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, shall conduct inspection of the objects selected by the other side and agreed upon between the two sides, in accordance with procedures and methods to be determined by the South-North Joint Nuclear Control Commission.
5. The South and the North, in order to implement this joint declaration, shall organize and operate a South-North joint Nuclear Control Commission within one (1) month of the effectuation of this Joint Declaration.
6. This Joint Declaration shall enter into force as of the day the two sides exchange appropriate documents following through the completion of their respective procedures for bringing it into effect.

Signed on January 20, 1992

Chung Won-shik
Prime Minister of the Republic of
Korea;
Chief delegate of the South
delegation to the South-North
High-Level Talks

Yon Hyong-muk
Premier of the Administration
Council of the Democratic People's
Republic of Korea;
Head of the North delegation to the
South-North High-Level Talks

4. June 15th South-North Joint Declaration

In accordance with the noble will of the entire people who yearn for the peaceful reunification of the nation, President Kim Dae-jung of the Republic of Korea and National Defense Commission Chairman Kim Jong-il of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea held a historic meeting and summit talks in Pyongyang from June 13 to June 15, 2000.

The leaders of the South and the North, recognizing that the meeting and the summit talks were of great significance in promoting mutual understanding, developing South-North relations and realizing peaceful reunification, declared as follows:

1. The South and the North have agreed to resolve the question of reunification on their own initiative and through the joint efforts of the Korean people, who are the masters of the country.
2. Acknowledging that there are common elements in the South's concept of a confederation and the North's proposal for a federation of lower stage as the formula for achieving reunification.
3. The South and the North have agreed to promptly resolve humanitarian issues such as exchange visits by separated family members and relatives on the occasion of the August 15 National Liberation Day and the question of former long-term prisoners who has refused to renounce Communism.
4. The South and the North have agreed to consolidate mutual trust by promoting balanced development of the national economy through economic cooperation and by stimulating cooperation and exchanges in civic, cultural, sports, health, environmental and all other fields.
5. The South and the North have agreed to hold a dialogue between relevant authorities in the near future to implement the above agreements expeditiously.

President Kim Dae-jung cordially invited National Defense Commission Chairman Kim Jong-il to visit Seoul, and Chairman Kim Jong-il decided to visit Seoul at an appropriate time.

June 15, 2000

Kim Dae-jung
President
The Republic of Korea

Kim Jong-il
Chairman
National Defense Commission
The Democratic People's Republic
of Korea(Signed)

5. Declaration on the Development of South-North Korean Relations and Peace and Prosperity

In accordance with the agreement between President Roh Moo-hyun of the Republic of Korea and Chairman Kim Jong Il of the National Defense Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, President Roh visited Pyongyang from October 2-4, 2007.

During the visit, there were historic meetings and discussions.

At the meetings and talks, the two sides have reaffirmed the spirit of the June 15 Joint Declaration and had frank discussions on various issues related to realizing the development of South-North relations, peace on the Korean Peninsula, common prosperity of the Korean people and unification of Korea.

Assuring confidence that we can forge a new era of national prosperity and unification on their own initiative if we combine our will and capabilities, the two sides declare as follows, in order to expand and develop South-North relations based on the June 15 Joint Declaration:

1. The South and the North shall uphold and endeavor actively to realize the June 15 Declaration. The South and the North have agreed to resolve the issue of unification on their own initiative and according to the spirit of "by-the-Korean-people." The South and the North will work out ways to commemorate the June 15 anniversary of the announcement of the South-North Joint Declaration to reflect the common will to faithfully carry it out.
2. The South and the North have agreed to firmly transform inter-Korean relations into ties of mutual respect and trust, transcending the differences in ideology and institutions. The South and the North have agreed not to interfere in the internal affairs of the other and agreed to resolve inter-Korean issues in the spirit of reconciliation, cooperation and reunification. The South and the North have agreed to overhaul their respective legislative and institutional apparatuses in a bid to develop inter-Korean relations in

a reunification-oriented direction. The South and the North have agreed to proactively pursue dialogue and contacts in various areas, including the legislatures of the two Koreas, in order to resolve matters concerning the expansion and advancement of inter-Korean relations in a way that meets the aspirations of the entire Korean people.

3. The South and the North have agreed to closely work together to put an end to military hostilities, mitigate tensions and guarantee peace on the Korean Peninsula. The South and the North have agreed not to antagonize each other, reduce military tension, and resolve issues in dispute through dialogue and negotiation. The South and the North have agreed to oppose war on the Korean Peninsula and to adhere strictly to their obligation to nonaggression. The South and the North have agreed to hold talks between the South's Minister of Defense and the North's Minister of the People's Armed Forces in Pyongyang in November to discuss ways of designating a joint fishing area in the West Sea to avoid accidental clashes and turning it into a peace area and also to discuss measures to build military confidence, including security guarantees for various cooperative projects.
4. The South and the North both recognize the need to end the current armistice regime and build a permanent peace regime. The South and the North have also agreed to work together to advance the matter of having the leaders of the three or four parties directly concerned to convene on the Peninsula and declare an end to the war. With regard to the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula, the South and the North have agreed to work together to implement smoothly the September 19th Joint Statement (in 2005) and the February 13th Agreement (in 2007) achieved at the Six-Party Talks.
5. The South and the North have agreed to facilitate, expand, and further develop inter-Korean economic cooperation projects on a continual basis for balanced economic development and co-prosperity on the Korean Peninsula in accordance with the principles of common interests, co-prosperity and mutual aid. The South and the North reached an agreement on promoting

economic cooperation, including investments, pushing forward with the building of infrastructure and the development of natural resources. Given the special nature of inter-Korean cooperative projects, the South and the North have agreed to grant preferential conditions and benefits to those projects. The South and the North have agreed to create a “special peace and cooperation zone in the West Sea” encompassing Haeju and vicinity in a bid to proactively push ahead with the creation of a joint fishing zone and maritime peace zone, establishment of a special economic zone, utilization of Haeju harbor, passage of civilian vessels via direct routes in Haeju and the joint use of the Han River estuary. The South and the North have agreed to complete the first-phase construction of the Gaeseong Industrial Complex at an early date and embark on the second-stage development project. The South and the North have agreed to open freight rail services between Munsan and Bongdong and promptly complete various institutional measures, including those related to passage, communication, and customs clearance procedures. The South and the North have agreed to discuss repairs of the Gaeseong-Sinuiju railroad and the Gaeseong-Pyongyang expressway for their joint use. The South and the North have agreed to establish cooperative complexes for shipbuilding in Anbyeon and Nampo, while continuing cooperative projects in various areas such as agriculture, health and medical services and environmental protection. The South and the North have agreed to upgrade the status of the existing Inter-Korean Economic Cooperation Promotion Committee to a Joint Committee for Inter-Korean Economic Cooperation to be headed by deputy prime minister-level officials.

6. The South and the North have agreed to boost exchanges and cooperation in the social areas covering history, language, education, science and technology, culture and arts, and sports to highlight the long history and excellent culture of the Korean people. The South and the North have agreed to carry out tours to Mt. Baekdu and open nonstop flight services between

Seoul and Mt. Baekdu for this purpose. The South and the North have agreed to send a joint cheering squad from both sides to the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games. The squad will use the Gyeongui Railway Line for the first-ever joint Olympic cheering.

7. The South and the North have agreed to actively promote humanitarian cooperation projects. The South and the North have agreed to expand reunion of separated family members and their relatives and promote exchanges of video messages. To this end, the South and the North have agreed to station resident representatives from each side at the reunion center at Mt. Geumgang when it is completed and regularize reunions of separated family members and their relatives. The South and the North have agreed to actively cooperate in case of emergencies, including natural disasters, according to the principles of fraternal love, humanitarianism and mutual assistance.
8. The South and the North have agreed to increase cooperation to promote the interests of the Korean people and the rights and interests of overseas expatriates. The South and the North have agreed to hold inter-Korean prime ministers' talks for the implementation of this Declaration and have agreed to hold the first round of meetings in November 2007 in Seoul. The South and the North have agreed that their highest authorities will meet frequently for the development of relations between the two sides.

October 4, 2007

Pyongyang

Roh Moo-hyun
President
Republic of Korea

Kim Jong Il
Chairman of National Defense
Commission
Democratic People's Republic of
Korea

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