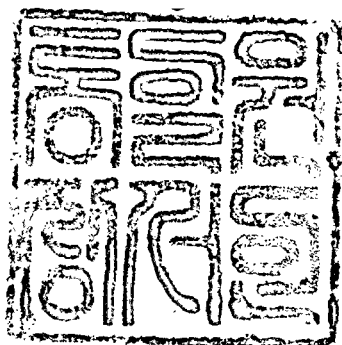


To Build a National Community through the Korean Commonwealth

A Blueprint for Korean Unification



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through the Korean Commonwealth**

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I. Unification as a Reality : What Path to Take?

Unifying the divided homeland is a paramount mission for all Koreans. The Koreans have longed for national unification of Korea for more than 40 years. But for the most of the time unification was a sort of an ideal cherished in the heart of everyone, or a slogan shouted in unison. Hardly was it an imminent reality before anyone's eyes.

However, toward the end of the last decade, the unification issue drew on a more practical ground as a reality than an idealistic goal.

Such a conspicuous change was made possible by democratization and stronger enthusiasm for unification which swept every sector of South Korean society following the birth of the Sixth Republic. Also, the energetic effort of President Roh Tae Woo's government in pursuing its Northern Policy and the progressive approach to unification contributed decisively to the change.

At the same time, the nation witnessed a powerful wave of reforms in the Soviet Union and other former socialist countries in Eastern Europe. Consequently, Germany and Yemen achieved unification which offered lessons for Korea which now remains the only divided nation in the world.

As the reunification of the two divided parts of Korea has become an imminent task, the most pressing questions

should be what methods and procedures have to be adopted in realizing national unification and what form the new unified state should adopt.

Obviously, the most desirable approach to these questions should be the pooling of the wisdom and will of the entire Korean public. Seeking the consensus of the people must be the most desirable way in tackling the thorny issue. Adopting such procedures would surely expedite the unification process.

There is no doubt in the minds of Koreans that it is the common wish and goal to eliminate the distrust and hostility that pervade between the two divided parts and to restore national homogeneity while constructing a unified democratic state which guarantees freedom, human rights and well-being for all of the 70 million Korean people.

With this in mind, the government of the Republic of Korea has mapped out a unification formula of building a single Korean National Community. This plan, 『Korean National Community Unification Formula』 is based largely on President Roh Tae Woo's special declaration for 『national self-esteem, unification and prosperity』 on July 7, 1988; his address at the United Nations General Assembly on October 18, 1988; and the opinions of people in various walks of life. The formula was announced on September 11, 1989.

II. What is the Korean National Community Unification Formula?

The 『Korean National Community Unification Formula』 is designed to achieve the reunification of the two Koreas on the basis of independence, peace and democracy. The formula calls for a 『Korean Commonwealth』 as an interim stage in building a fully unified, democratic state in which every individual is guaranteed freedom, human rights and the right to seek happiness.

Basic Principles of Unification

The formula emphasizes the principles of independence, peace and democracy as the basic positions and attitudes in promoting national unification.

The principle of independence calls for resolving the unification issue among Koreans themselves without interference from any external power. In other words, the two Koreas must realize unification by their own will and mutual consultations which is to be based on the spirit of self-determination of Koreans.

Korea was divided by external powers more than 40 years ago. But it is unrealistic and unacceptable to expect foreign powers to bring the peninsula back to its original state before territorial partition. If the unification is to be genuine, it must be achieved solely by the will and power of the Korean people.

However, this does not entail Korea to cut off ties with its traditional allies and to refuse their well-intended assistance.

The principle of peace emphasizes that unification must be achieved only by peaceful means. Even if unification is a task of paramount importance and is desired very strongly by the entire Korean public, military power or violence should never be resorted to for its quick realization.

It is self-evident that a fratricidal war or any violence for unification is not an option as it will only lead to widespread bloodshed and a wholesale destruction of lives and properties. The tragic experience of the Korean War should never be repeated.

Finally the principle of democracy stresses that the entire process to realize unification must be based on democratic ideas and methods and that unification must result in building a democratic society in which every individual is assured of freedoms and the rights to lead a respectable life.

The principle also emphasizes that all of the 70 million Koreans must be given the opportunity to participate in the process in deciding the methods and procedures of realizing unification.

In this regard, the Republic of Korea takes a totally different position from North Korea. The North advocates the so-called 『people's democracy』, recognizing 『proletariats』 as the sole class to monopolize all and every political proc-

esses.

Process of Unification

The 『Korean National Community Unification Formula』 opts for a gradual approach to unification in consideration of the wide differences in social structure of South and North Korea. It proposes the creation of a 『Korean Commonwealth』 as an interim system for promoting peaceful co-existence, mutual exchanges and cooperation between the two Koreas under the aegis of a national community before building a fully unified, democratic state.

South and North Korea, divided under different political ideologies and systems, have confronted each other in a deep distrust and hostility during the last four decades. As a result of this protracted division and deep-seated rivalry under the contrasting systems of democracy and communism, people in the two Koreas now have considerably different life-styles and mind-sets.

Under these circumstances, it is obvious that unification cannot be a simple process. National unity and harmony cannot be created overnight merely by dismantling the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ). As long as such differences and enmities continue to persist, achieving unification would be difficult.

On the path to unification, South and North Korea will have to admit the reality that two different systems exist on the Korean peninsula. They must recognize each other and

co-exist peacefully, thereby gradually strengthening the foundation in which a single state can be created.

The Republic of Korea therefore proposes that the two Koreas open wide their doors to facilitate mutual exchanges and cooperation. Through bi-lateral assistance and cooperation in social, cultural, economic and other areas, they will be able to build a foundation for a single national community and then eventually realize political unity in not so distant future.

As it is impossible to immediately realize a full-fledged unification to a single nation-state, the basic concept of South Korea's unification formula is minimizing the inconveniences and pains suffered by the 70 million Koreans as a consequence of division. At the same time, the formula is based on the belief that a more effective management of the present state of division will contribute to unification and national interest in the future.

Building the Korean Commonwealth

The unification formula of the Republic calls for the building of a 『Korean Commonwealth』 as an interim stage pending a full-fledged unification in order to wisely cope with the current state of division and strengthen the foundation for a grand national unity.

The proposed 『Korean Commonwealth』 entails a transitional system for the two Koreas to promote mutual cooperation in the spirit of peaceful co-existence and co-prosperity.

By so doing, they would be able to reinforce the common foundation for national integration, alleviating sharp contrasts of their societies which have resulted from protracted territorial division.

Under the umbrella of the 『Commonwealth』 South and North Korea would form a special relationship as a single nation, not two different states. Under international law, they would join hands to seek common interests. They would discuss and coordinate differences between themselves, thereby ending their counterproductive rivalry in the international arena and combining strengths for national interest.

Organization of the Commonwealth

A 『Council Presidents』 consisting of chief executives of the South and the North, is proposed as the highest decision-making body of the 『Korean Commonwealth』. Also proposed are a 『Council of Ministers』 and a 『Council of Representatives』.

The 『Council of Ministers』, to be co-chaired by the prime ministers of the two parties would comprise around 10 cabinet-level ministers from each side. It would discuss and coordinate all pending issues including the reunion of separated families and the dissemination and development of national culture. In addition the implementation of its decisions would also be guaranteed.

Under the auspices of the Council, Several Standing Committees would be formed to deal with humanitarian, politico-diplomatic, economic, military, and socio-cultural affairs.

The 『Council of Representatives』 would consist of around 100 legislators from each side. The Council would provide policy advice and recommendations to the Council of Ministers, draft the constitution of a unified Korea, and develop concrete methods and procedures to realize a full unification of the country.

A 『Joint Secretariat』 would be set up at the working-level to assist the activities of the Council of Ministers and the Council of Representatives, help implement authorized resolution and handle various administrative affairs. Resident liaison missions would be exchanged between Seoul and Pyongyang to facilitate official communication between the two governments.

A 『Peace Zone』 would be created at an appropriate location in the Demilitarized Zone to accommodate the Joint Secretariat facilities for the Korean Commonwealth, and other institutions.

The Peace Zone would serve as the avenue for various interchanges and joint activities between South and North Korea. A plaza for reunion of separated families, a national culture hall and various other facilities are also proposed for joint use. The zone would thus help demonstrate the determination of the Korean people for unification and at the same

time function as a major pilot project in the process of building the Korean National Community.

Building Unified Korea

What procedures are to be taken to build a unified country on the premises that the conditions for unification have reached maturity through a successful interim stage?

The unification formula of South Korea proposes that the Council of Representatives draft the constitution of a unified Korea and that the constitution be adopted and proclaimed through democratic methods and procedures. The formula further suggests that general elections be held in the entire regions of South and North Korea to organize the parliament and the government of a unified state.

It must be noted here that the formula simply suggests that the constitution of a unified Korea would be adopted and proclaimed through democratic methods and procedures without specifying details of the methods and procedures. Furthermore, it simply proposes that “general elections be held in accordance with the constitution of a unified Korea” without mentioning in detail how the elections would be held.

Definitions of democratic methods and procedures may differ from person to person, and from society to society. Therefore, the formula refrains from going into details of the methods and procedures of writing the constitution of a unified Korea. It would be undesirable to define them in details

if the opinions of North Korean government and citizens are not accounted for.

Imminent Issues for Unification

The unification formula of the Republic calls for an early meeting of the top leaders of South and North Korea to promote reconciliation between the two sides and to work out a stronger catalyst for unification. It also urges leaders of the two Koreas to adopt the 『Charter of the Korean National Community』 in order to open a new era for intra-Korea cooperation and unification.

The Charter would not only be a document of agreements between the two Koreas concerning the principles of unification and the establishment of necessary institutions, but also a basic treaty prescribing the blueprint and policy directions for the overall intra-Korea relations pending unification. Consequently, it would delineate basic methods for peace and unification, mutual non-aggression and form and management of the proposed 『Korean Commonwealth』.

In his special address to announce the 『Korean National Community Unification Formula』 at the National Assembly on September 11, 1989, President Roh Tae Woo strongly urged North Korea to “guarantee freedom and basic human rights for its citizens in order to realize national reconciliation”.

President Roh had made the same suggestion in his congratulatory message for the anniversary of National Liberation on August 15, the same year, because he believed North Korea, without taking such a measure for domestic harmony and stability, would neither be able to open its door to the international society nor be able to join hands with the South for a move toward restoring and developing a single national community.

Respecting freedom and dignity of individuals is a universal value that must be pursued in all countries disregarding political ideologies and systems. Needless to say, a unified Korea should guarantee freedom and dignity of individuals above anything else if it is to embrace the principles of a democratic republic.

III. A Unified Korea as Envisioned by South Korea's Unification Formula

A Unified Korea envisioned by the 『Korean National Community Unification Formula』 is a single national community in which every citizen will be his own master and a democratic country that will ensure every individual freedom, basic human rights and the right to lead a respected life as human beings. Thus it should be a democratic republican system under which everyone is guaranteed equal opportunity to participate in political procedures and to express their opinions freely.

A Unified Korea should also assure a better life for everyone and be assured of permanent national security while maintaining friendly and cooperative relations with all nations in the world. It should thus contribute to promoting global peace and well-being of human beings.

In particular, the unification formula of the Republic advocates the building of a single nation-state under democratic republican system. Thus it makes clear that the North Korean proposal for a confederation of two states governed by different ideologies and systems cannot be accepted, as it would perpetuate the two states.

At the same time, the formula suggests that a unified Korea would have a bi-cameral parliament, composed of an upper house based on regional representation and a lower house based on popular support. This would assure equality among regions and a fair opportunity to participation in politics for the entire peninsula.

IV. Characteristics of the Formula

The 『Korean National Community Unification Formula』 adopts a gradual approach toward unification. It purports to break barriers and restore mutual confidence between the two divided parts of Korea while building a lasting peace on the peninsula. This results in achieving national harmony and strengthening the basis for territorial reunification. In this regard, it may be said that the formula does not appear

to have a significant difference from the unification policy and the basic direction previously pursued by the Republic of Korea.

However, the formula is designed to cope effectively with the recent changes in the domestic and international situation. As an embodiment of the government of the Sixth Republic's strong will to open a new chapter in national history and intense public desire for unification, the formula has the following characteristics:

Proposal for Korean Commonwealth as Transitional System

One of the most notable characteristics of this unification formula is that it proposes the building of a 『Korean Commonwealth』 to handle the unification issues between the two Koreas during an interim stage pending a full unification.

The Commonwealth is intended as a vehicle for bridging deep mutual distrust and antagonism that exist between the two Koreas.

『The Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification』 which is the previous unification policy of the Republic announced in 1982, also recognized the need for a similar intermediate stage and proposed that the two Koreas sign a 『Provisional Agreement on Basic Relations』. It must be pointed out, however, that the previous formula failed to delineate the institutions to manage the interim

stage and their working-level measures.

The 『Korean National Community Unification Formula』 has moved a step forward from the Republic's previous unification policy to propose a 『Korean Commonwealth』 as a transitional system to manage the current state of division. It further provides for the organization of the Commonwealth and the role of each institution in relative detail.

North Korea denounces the proposed 『Korean Commonwealth』 as “a second scheme to perpetuate the two Koreas”. Moreover, a considerable number of people in South Korea also misunderstand the meaning of the formula and have expressed their *negative opinions*.

Nonetheless, it seems obvious that building a single national community as a transitional system is the best possible way to move forward toward unification in view of the reality on the peninsula. Anyone who is seriously concerned about the current national situation and its future prospects cannot but admit the practical need for such a system.

‘Unification of States’ through ‘National Unity’

Another remarkable characteristic of the unification formula of South Korea is that it is designed to achieve ‘unification of states’ through the process of ‘national unity’.

The formula is basically directed toward seeking ways to

unify South and North Korea by restoring and developing sense of national community among the people in the two parts of the peninsula. It is based on the belief that this sense of national unity would be the greatest source of strength as well as an undisputable justification to unite them.

Today, an invigorating movement is under way around the world to build a new awareness of nations. Drawing strength from the strong nationalistic awareness of the Korean people that they are one and single nation, the unification formula of the Republic of Korea could be considered an answer to this movement for the Koreans who have suffered a great deal from the ideological rivalry of the past.

A Clear Picture for a Unified State

South Korea's unification formula presents a relatively clear picture for a governing form of a unified Korea. It declares that a unified Korea should be a single national community and a democratic state in which every individual is respected as its master and is guaranteed freedom, human rights and the right to seek happiness.

In particular, the formula makes it clear that a unified Korea should be a single state, rejecting the North Korean proposal for a 『Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo』 with two governments operating under two different systems, which will eventually end up as an incomplete state of unification. It also strongly repudiates the theory of those who support a unification for the sake of unification and do not

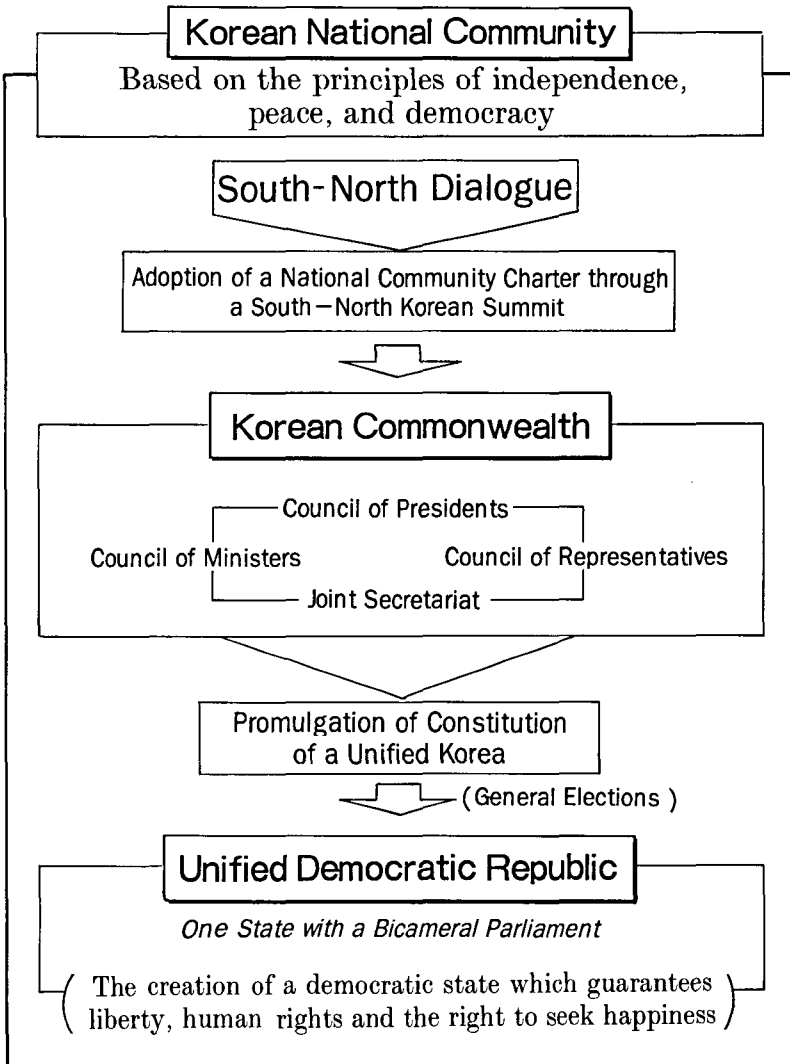
care whatever form of government the unified Korea would have. The formula makes it crystal clear that a unified Korea should be a democratic republican state.

Broad Accommodation of North Korea's Proposals

The unification formula of the Republic takes into full consideration of the North Korea's proposals in the spirit of reconciliation and cooperation. This is far from the North Korea's calling for North Korea's one-sided yielding. For example, it suggests that all organizations of the proposed Korean Commonwealth have the exactly same number of representatives from the two sides.

The formula also accepts a discussion of 'political and military questions' as proposed by North Korea, instead of single-mindedly insisting upon an early realization of mutual exchanges and cooperation to restore national homogeneity. This homogeneity as a nation has been seriously damaged as a consequence of protracted territorial division.

Graphic Overview of Korean National Community Unification Formula



APPENDICES

**# *President Roh Tae Woo's Special Address
for the Korean National Community
Unification Formula***

September 11, 1989

The Honorable Speaker and esteemed members of the National Assembly,

I heartily congratulate you all on the opening of the 147th regular session of the National Assembly. I believe you are meeting in very significant regular session of the legislature that will wind up the 1980s which has been checkered with upheavals and accomplishments and usher in the '90s of hope. I am sure that the new session of the National Assembly will come up with many accomplishments in response to the wishes of the people. Today, in this hall of the popular will where the representatives of the people have gathered together, I consider it very meaningful for me to outline a formula for achieving national unification, in answer to the call of our national history and the yearning of our people.

Esteemed members of the Assembly,

We are now about to enter the last decade of this century during which we must crown with a glorious finale the 20th century that began for us with the ordeal of the loss of our national independence at the beginning of this century, we gradually lost our national sovereignty, due largely to our insufficient ability to cope with the changing situation envel-

oping this part of the world. Though the nation was eventually liberated, misfortune persisted, culminating in the staggering tragedy of territorial division followed by fratricidal war.

Those of us who are living today must pool all our wisdom and energies to dismantle the barrier of national division and clear the way for unification, no matter how difficult that may be. We must not allow the painful separation of our land and people to extend into the next century nor let the next generation suffer the consequences. In response to the will and yearning of the people, we shall now raise the torch of unification high and with all our might, cut a path to unification.

I am convinced that the coming decade will be a momentous era during which it will be possible to open a path to unification by virtue of our expanding national capabilities. Politically, economically and in all other respects, we have now developed the formidable wherewithal to unify our homeland on our own and are determined to carry that out.

Rising from the ashes of a conflagration caused by an all-out invasion from North Korea, we have achieved one of the fastest economic growth in the world, transforming the Republic into a newly industrialized country, ranking among the 10 largest trading nations in the world. Last year, with new vitality stemming from democracy, we staged the most magnificent Olympics ever right here in Seoul. Young people from 160 countries from all corners of the world--East, West, North and South--came together in Seoul, transcending ideological, political, racial and religious barriers. We Koreans, who were

once viewed as a passive people, outside the international mainstream, pulled off a great feat by hosting such a grand festival of global harmony and thus taking the lead in promoting a global wave of reconciliation. Such an achievement is aiding our efforts to create the proper conditions for unification : We have managed to cultivate positive relations with socialist countries leading to increasing exchanges and cooperation with them. This is extending our diplomatic horizons.

The world is now engulfed in a maelstrom of change. The currents of openness and reform now sweeping the Soviet Union, China and the East European socialist countries are causing changes not only in their internal politics and policies but in the international order in general. The world order and the power structure that imposed national division on us and have prolonged it for over 40 years are now undergoing fundamental change.

I have endeavored positively to cope with and adapt to such enormous changes in the world around us with the goal of breaking through to unification. In July last year, I proclaimed a policy of developing a partnership between South and North Korea in the interest of common prosperity, rather than allowing hostility and confrontation to continue any longer between the two parts of Korea. Again, in a speech before the United Nations General Assembly last October, I outlined to the entire world my initiative for reconciliation and cooperation between South and North Korea intended to lead to durable peace on the Korean Peninsula in particular and in Northeast Asia in general. Both the

East and the West have extended support and encouragement to our policy of inducing North Korea to end its self-imposed isolation and instead to pursue openness so that reconciliation and peace can be achieved on the Korean Peninsula, creating the necessary conditions for unification.

Esteemed members of the Assembly,

Even though we ourselves, as well as the world in general, have undergone tremendous changes over the last four decades or so, a major obstacle that has refused to change still stands in the way of unification. This is the unrelenting tension and confrontation embodied in the fact that the world's two densest concentrations of military might are pitted against each other across the Demilitarized Zone that cuts across the Korean Peninsula. This is so because the rigid system that has been ruling North Korea has not changed at all--it is still resisting the massive wave of change--even though the 10-year period during which even mountains and rivers supposed to change has repeated itself four times over since its beginning. There has been no change yet in North Korea's basic strategy of unification by communizing the South nor in the regimentation of its own society. Our passion for unification is burning bright but the reality of division facing us is as cold and stark as ever.

Squarely facing such a situation, I am nevertheless confident that although North Korea may turn out to be the last shore that the massive wave of global change will reach, it will not be able to resist it forever. With its isolationist policy now pushing against the limits, North Korea will sooner or

munity in which every citizen is his own master, that is to say, a democratic nation that guarantees the human rights of every individual and his right to seek happiness. The entire Korean people have long craved a democratic republican system which will assure every citizen the right of participation as well as equal opportunity and under which diverse creeds and opinions can be freely voiced and represented. This is the only choice for a unified Korea if it is to achieve grand national unity.

Accordingly, a unified homeland must not tolerate special privileges, dominant positions or the usurping and wielding of dictatorial powers by any specific individual, group or class. A unified homeland should be the kind of nation that promotes welfare for all and guarantees permanent national security, while maintaining good neighborly relations with all nations and contributing to world peace and global well-being.

The Korean people are one. Therefore, a unified Korea must be a single nation. This is what the Korean people long for. No system for bringing the two parts of Korea together will accomplish genuine unification so long as it is aimed at perpetuating two states with differing ideologies and political system. Indisputably, unification must be achieved independently in keeping with a spirit of national self-determination and under the principles of peace, non-use of military force, and grand national unity through democratic procedures.

Esteemed members of the Assembly,

later find it advisable to swim with the current of change, thus eventually opting for openness and cooperation. We will attempt to help and guide them in this process so that such a day will come sooner. No matter how much sweat, patience, wisdom and united might of the people this may require, we will devote our body and soul to inducing them to join us in a journey to unification.

Distinguished members of the Assembly,

On October 4 last year, I promised in this hall to present, in due course, a feasible and reasonable formula for peacefully unifying our homeland in response to the will of our people and in keeping with newly changing circumstances. The administration has since worked out a new unification formula to fulfill the popular yearning. It is based on an extensive pooling of the views and wisdom of citizens from all walks of life, including experts, and on the outcome of hearings conducted by the National Assembly.

In line with the solemn duty that the Constitution imposes on the President, I am going to outline the Korean National Community Unification Formula. It calls for the merger of South and North Korea, under the principles of independence, peace and democracy, in a unified democratic republic, which is to be built upon a Korean Commonwealth to be formed in an interim stage.

Distinguished members of the Assembly, fellow countrymen at home and abroad,

Our unified homeland must be a single national com-

Unification should be achieved as quickly as feasible. However, the reality is that it will be impossible to achieve unification overnight without ending the long-standing deep distrust, confrontation and antagonism that have been built up between the South and the North over the past 40-odd years since the partitioning of the land into two halves committed to different ideologies and political systems.

For millenniums until that partitioning, we had lived in a single national community which evolved on the Peninsula, cemented by common ethnic origin and common language, culture and traditions. This national heritage still binds our people together, even though we are forced to live in a divided land. It is the reason why the Korean People must become one again. It is the ultimate guarantee that we will succeed.

Our territorial division has deepened into a national schism due initially to bloody rightist-leftist clashes in the wake of liberation and subsequently to the savage fratricidal war sparked by North Korea's invasion of the South on June 25, 1950. Having thus lived for nearly half a century in a land divided into two hostile polities, Koreans in the South and the North have come to follow different lifestyles and different values. As long as our national community remains so deeply divided and differentiated, it will be impossible to re-form a single country. Properly restoring and developing our national community is the key to realizing unification at the earliest possible date.

It is thus imperative for the South and the North to set

an interim stage toward unification in which both will recognize each other and seek co-existence and co-prosperity, irrespective of the existence of different political systems and will endeavor to speed the homogenization and integration of the national community. This, of course, will require expanding openness, exchanges and cooperation between the South and the North to build mutual trust that will be the basis for integrating them into a single nation-state. If a single social, cultural and economic community is thus progressively developed, while issues pending between the South and the North are resolved one after another, conditions for political integration will ripen.

To institutionalize such moves to speed unification, I propose to create, under a charter agreed to by both parties, a kind of commonwealth to link the South and the North together. In such a commonwealth, the South and the North would be formed into a common sphere of national life to promote common prosperity and restore national homogeneity, thereby accelerating the development of a national community.

I propose that the Korean Commonwealth have a Council of Presidents, or chief executives from both parts of Korea, as the highest decision-making organ. There would be a Council of Ministers, composed of delegates from both governments and a Council of Representatives, to be composed of members of the legislatures in both the South and the North.

To logistically support the activities of the Council of

Ministers and the Council of Representatives, to help implement agreed matters and to handle other administrative affairs, the South and the North would set up a joint secretariat and exchange resident liaison missions to each other's capital, namely Seoul and Pyongyang. I propose that the joint secretariat and other institutions and facilities of the Korean Commonwealth be established in a Peace Zone to be created within the Demilitarized Zone. The Peace Zone should gradually be developed into a Unification-Peace City.

The Council of Ministers would be co-chaired by the Prime Ministers of the South and the North and would comprise around 10 cabinet-level officials from each side. Under the council, a number of standing committees could be created to deal with humanitarian, political, diplomatic, economic, military, social, cultural and other affairs. The Council of Ministers would discuss and adjust all pending South-North issues and national problems and would ensure the implementation of its decisions. Among other things, it could work on the following agenda, with assistance from its standing committees in relevant areas:

In the humanitarian field, the Council of Ministers should solve the issue of reuniting dispersed families, whose members are estimated to total 10 million.

In the political and diplomatic fields, the Council of Ministers should take measures to ease political confrontation between the South and the North, prevent counter-productive inter-Korean rivalry on the world scene that only wastes national energies, promote the interests of overseas

Koreans and otherwise advance national interests jointly.

In the economic, social and cultural fields, that Council should accelerate the opening of South and North Korean Societies, promote multi-faceted inter-Korean exchanges, trade and cooperation and jointly foster national culture. The formation of a common economic zone to achieve mutual prosperity would facilitate the development of both the South and the North, thereby enhancing the quality of life for all.

In the military field, measures should be taken to build confidence and control arms with the goal of ending the costly arms race and confrontation between the two parts of Korea. Replacing the current armistice agreement with a peace agreement could also be on the Council's agenda.

The Council of Representatives should be composed of around 100 legislators, with equal numbers representing the two parts of Korea. It should draft the constitution of a unified Korea, develop methods and procedures to bring about unification and advise the Council of Ministers at its request.

In drafting the constitution of a unified nation, the Council of Representatives should discuss and agree on the political ideals, name and form of government for a unified Korea, its basic domestic and foreign policies and the methods, timing and procedures for a general election to constitute its legislature. Both the South and the North would present their own proposals for the constitution of a unified Korea to the Council of Representatives so they can be combined into a single draft.

The agreed draft of the constitution of a unified Korea should be finalized and promulgated through democratic methods and procedures. General elections would then be held under the promulgated constitution to form both a unified legislature and a unified government.

I suggest that the legislature of the unified homeland be a bicameral parliament, composed of an upper house based on regional representation and a lower house based on population.

In the manner I have just described, it should be possible to establish a unified democratic republic, thus accomplishing the momentous task of unification.

Distinguished members of the National Assembly,

I am convinced that the Korean National Community Unification Formula represents a most rational and realistic route to unification in compliance with the ideals and wishes of our people. Ever since the birth of the Sixth Republic, I have repeatedly emphasized that the most effective way to make a decisive move toward South-North reconciliation and unification is through a summit meeting between Seoul and Pyongyang. I hope that a South-North summit will take place as quickly as possible to successfully launch joint efforts to work out an agreed charter for opening an era of full-fledged inter-Korean cooperation and unification. Such a charter could contain a comprehensive package of agreement covering a basic formula for attaining peace and unification, mutual non-aggression arrangements and the founding of a

Korean commonwealth as an interim stage toward unification.

I look forward to the preparation and promulgation of such a charter of the Korean national community at the earliest possible date. And I hope that a breakthrough to peace and unification between South and North Korea will be found by August 15 next year--the 45th anniversary of the partitioning of Korea. In that way, we should be able to accomplish the mission that history has imposed on our generation of Koreans to open a new era of national unification.

Distinguished members of the Assembly, fellow countrymen at home and abroad,

You may recall that the European nations which experienced two horrible World Wars are now in the process of successfully consolidating the European Community, thus ushering in an era of increasing common prosperity. The members of the EC, including Britain, France, West Germany and Italy, have transformed their past confrontation and hostility into a thriving partnership for peace and prosperity and are now moving forward to form a fully-integrated single European market by 1992. Moreover, efforts are being made to achieve political integration also. For us Koreans who managed to preserve a single national community even while we were under foreign domination, there is no reason why it is impossible to tear down the barrier of division and restore that community which had evolved over millenniums.

Esteemed members of the Assembly,

Today, even socialist countries are moving to expand the domain of freedom and human rights and recognize multiple party systems intended to represent diverse views. This is because freedom and human dignity are universal values that no ideology and no political system can ignore.

To achieve national reconciliation, I strongly urge Pyongyang to guarantee our North Korean brethren freedom and human rights. Until and unless they take steps to that end, they will not be able to embark on a path to openness. Nor will it be realistically feasible for them to be earnestly involved in exchanges, cooperation and political association with us, thereby joining us in a national community. Rather than merely paying lip service to unification, North Korea must genuinely abandon its policy of unification through communization of the South. Otherwise, it will not be feasible to open an avenue toward independence, peace and democratic unification.

As I made clear in my recent Liberation Day address, I am prepared to take a series of measures to usher in a new epoch of inter-Korean relations, if North Korea lives up to such minimum necessary conditions for peaceful unification.

Esteemed members of the National Assembly, fellow Koreans at home and abroad,

Just as the barrier of division is tall and thick, so the path to unification is steep and rugged. Just as the great

tragedy of division is unbearably painful, so we are required to muster even greater energies, wisdom and patience in endeavoring to end that tragedy.

Any illusion about an easy way out by disregarding all the hard and cold facts of life will only add to the nation's tribulations, rather than facilitating the unification of our homeland. As far as the issue of achieving unification to resolve painful national problems is concerned, our internal differences, strife, antagonism and divisions should be smelted down in the huge melting pot of democracy in order to create a steel-like national will for unification.

When our capabilities to achieve unification grow further on the strength of democracy and prosperity combined, the barrier of division will crumble and the united might of our people will draw the day of unification closer and closer. Just as the most magnificent Olympics ever unfolded right in this land to everybody's credit, thanks to the glorious achievements of our people in overcoming all manner of difficulty in the past, so unification is bound to materialize through the dedication of the entire people to that goal.

Today, having just enunciated a unification formula embodying the yearning of all our people, I join you and all 70 million compatriots in pledging even more vigorous efforts to usher in the glorious day of unification. Thank you.

Unification Policy of North Korea: How Differs It from the South's Formula?

What is the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo?

North Korea has been consistently proposing reunification through a confederation of two states since the 1960s.

North Korean leader, Kim Il-sung, announced his unification policies related to a confederation of states for the first time on August 14, 1960 in a ceremony marking the 15th anniversary of National Liberation from the Japanese colonial rule. North Korea's unification policy has undergone partial revisions on a few occasions since then. On October 10, 1980, Kim announced the finalized version for his 『Formula for Creating the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo』 during a speech at the Sixth National Congress of the North Korean Workers' Party.

Firstly, in this formula, North Korea proposes that reunification of Korea be achieved under the principles of 'independence, peace and grand national unity,' while the two Koreas maintain their existing political ideologies and systems.

Secondly, it suggests that a 『Supreme National Confederal Assembly』 be formed with an equal number of representatives of South and North Korea and an 'appro-

priate' number of representatives of overseas nationals. The *Confederal Assembly* would form a 『*Confederal Standing Committee*』 to function as a confederal government. The committee would also guide the regional autonomous governments in the South and the North and supervise their military and diplomatic rights as well as other 'affairs related to the general national interest.'

With the creation of a confederation, it is further recommended that the two sides would begin implementing 'ten revision measures,' such as increased mutual exchanges and cooperation and inaugurating the confederal armed forces.

North Korea has stipulated several measures as a precondition to the creation of a confederation. The preconditions include:

- 1) That South Korea abolish its fascist laws such as the Anti-Communist and the National Security Law, and get amend its oppressive institutions,
- 2) That all of the political parties and social organizations in South Korea be legalized, and free political activities of all figures be guaranteed,
- 3) That the present government of South Korea be replaced with a democratic government which safeguards and represents the opinion and interest of the general public,
- 4) That the United States give up its divisionistic policies of supporting two Koreas and withdraw its armed forces from South Korea,

- 5) That the present armistice agreement be replaced with a peace agreement through consultation with the United States with a goal of easing tension on the Korean Peninsula and decreasing the danger of war.

As his unification policy continues to draw criticism from internal and external sources as an unrealistic idea which ignore the current circumstances surrounding the Korean Peninsula, Kim showed a more flexible position and willingness to conduct negotiations with the South in his New Year speech in 1991. He proposed “a gradual accomplishment of unification through a confederation and increasing the rights of regional autonomous governments as a provisional measure toward strengthening the role of the central government.”

But there still was no change in the basic attitude of North Korea seeking a confederation of two governments run under two different systems which may be compared to ‘two households under one roof,’ as the final state of unification.

Problems Involved in the North’s Policy

North Korea’s unification policy may be summed up as creating a confederation of autonomous governments operating under two different political ideologies and systems in the South and the North, based on the concept that the Koreans have one national identity.

The policy involves the following problems:

Firstly, the policy apparently seeks the co-existence of two diametrically different systems as a confederation of states -- the South based on free democracy and capitalism which respects private property and market economy, and the North based on socialism and the communist 『juche』 (self-reliance) idea. It is clear that such a state of affair cannot be regarded as a concrete and genuine unity.

The governments in the South and the North, operating under different systems and ideologies is geared for different policies. They would find it practically impossible to pursue a common national goals and interest. For example, the central government would not be able to execute its military and diplomatic rights effectively under such a vague state of unity. Chances would be very slim in attaining a unanimous consensus for the two sides as they uphold conflicting ideals and thoughts. This is the very reason that there has never been a single successful case of confederation of states pursuing different ideologies and systems in world's history.

North Korea has virtually admitted the self-contradictory and impracticability of its own unification policies by indicating that it is willing to make partial revisions including delegating the regional governments with greater rights.

Secondly, the concept of unifying the nation under a confederal system cannot be accepted in the context of national history and traditions.

The Korean people, blessed with a homogeneous cultural, linguistic heritage and an illustrious history spanning five millenniums, had had a single independent government for over 13 centuries until they were divided by the superpowers in the wake of the Second World War. A unification through confederal system is feared to perpetuate the current state of division, which runs opposite to the strong public desire to restore a single national society and state.

The recent development in the three Baltic nations which has gained independence from the Soviet Union has offered a valuable lesson for the Korean people that nationalism will eventually win over any political ideologies. No political ideology should ever be allowed to destroy the ardent desire of 70 million Koreans to put an end to the painful state of division which was imposed upon them against their will.

Thirdly, the strategic intentions behind the North's unification policies have to be assessed because it presents preconditions that obviously undermines the South's internal affairs. The preconditions indicate strongly that negotiations for unification would be possible between the two sides only after the South changes its governing system and legal institutions as required by the North.

Therefore, it cannot but be doubted that the North's unification policies are designed more as a strategy for creating a circumstance favorable for what they call a 'revolution' in South Korea rather than pursuing national reunification.

The actual motivation of North Korea has been revealed by the fact that they stubbornly insist on unification talks through a 『Political Conference for National Unification』 participated by representatives of the political parties, social organizations and other groups, or a 『Nation-wide Unification Convention』 including anti-government dissident individuals and groups in South Korea, instead of the responsible authorities of the two sides.

How Differs It from the Korean National Unification Formula?

South Korea's unification formula, based on a clear understanding of the wide difference between the political ideologies and governing systems of the two Koreas, advocates a gradual approach toward unification through a 『Korean Commonwealth』 as a transitional system. In detail, the formula proposes that the two sides increase their mutual exchanges and cooperation for a peaceful co-existence and co-prosperity on the basis of the recognition of each other's ideology and system, thereby restoring national community and developing it further to build an eventual unified state.

On the contrary, North Korea calls for the creation of a confederal system which circumcises an interim stage. The North's policy can at best be interpreted as an impracticable strategy for propaganda purposes which completely ignores the enormous conflict and mutual distrust accumulated between the two sides during the last four decades of division.

The unification policies of South and North Korea widely differ not only in their approach toward unification but also in eventual form of the unified state.

South Korea pursues a single nation-state with one government under a single ruling system, while North Korea seeks an incomplete state of unification in which two autonomous regional governments rule a nation bound by a confederal system.

Some may wonder how the 『commonwealth』 proposed by the South differs from a 『confederation』 suggested by the North.

The two policies may look similar in that both promote the political and social integration of the two divided sides of Korea while maintaining their different ideologies and systems. But they are fundamentally different in that the 『Korean Commonwealth』 is designed as a transitional system for preparing a full unification, while the 『Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo』 is intended as the eventual form of unification.

The 『Korean Commonwealth』 refers to a special relationship between two sovereign states of a nation retaining their respective diplomatic and military rights, which is designed to efficiently manage their current state of division. However, under the 『Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo』 the governments of the two Koreas would only have limited sovereign power as regional entities, yielding their diplomatic and military rights to the confederal government.

At the same time, the 『Korean Commonwealth』 would have a 『Council of Presidents』 consisting of the chief executives of the two sides, a 『Council of Ministers』 comprising of cabinet-level ministers of the two governments, and a 『Council of Representatives』 to be organized by members of their legislatures which would ensure their respective responsibility as institutions equally representing the two sides.

Nonetheless, North Korea does not clarify how the proposed 『Supreme National Confederal Assembly』 or the 『Confederal Standing Committee』 would be organized. It only suggests that the 『Confederal Assembly』 would be composed of an “equal number of representatives from South and North Korea and an appropriate number of representatives of overseas nationals”. This may be interpreted as an indication that the North wishes to organize the council with representatives of political and social groups, excluding participation by the South Korean government in the negotiations for unification. (North Korea suggested that 『Supreme National Committee』 would be organized with representatives of the two governments when it first proposed a confederal system as the means for unification in 1960. Then in the 1980s, they changed its name and organization as mentioned above.)

With regard to the method and procedures of achieving unification, the South proposes that the leading figures of the two sides meet to adopt and proclaim the 『Charter of the

Korean National Community』 which contains a mutual non-aggression pact and the basic measures to ensure peace and unification. It further suggests that a unified constitution be legislated in accordance with the charter and create a unified state participated by the entire Korean public.

In the meantime, the North insists that various political and social organizations and overseas Koreans should organize a nationwide united front such as the 『National Unification Convention』 to approve its unification policy and create a confederal bodies so that they could guide the regional governments in the two sides and handle all affairs related to unification.

At the present, each policy would have to undergo close scrutiny to see which is more reasonable, practical and feasible in attaining national consensus. Then it will be self-evident which policy has to be chosen to realize the long-cherished goal of reunification.

Comparison of the Unification Formula of South and North Korea

Criteria	Korean National Community Unification Formula	Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo
Principles of Unification	Independence, Peace, Democracy	Independence, Peace, Grand National Unity
Preconditions	None	Abolition of the National Security Law / Legalization of Communist Activities / Withdrawal of U.S. Forces
Transitional System	Korean Commonwealth	None
Transitional Bodies	Council of Presidents Council of Ministers Council of Representatives	None
Inaugural Procedures of the Unified State	General elections in accordance with a unified constitution	A nationwide united front to discuss and determine ways to realize a confederal system
Organizations of the Unified State	Bi-cameral Parliament	Supreme National Confederal Assembly Confederal Standing Committee
Basic Policies of the Unified State	A democratic republican system seeking: Welfare of the entire nation; Permanent national security; and friendly relations with all nations.	Ten major policy directions including: Implementation of Independent Policies; Assurance of the Development of National Economy; Progressive Development of National Culture and Education; Organization of the National Confederal Armed Forces; and Peace-Oriented Foreign Policy.
Form of the Unified State	A single nation-state guaranteeing freedom, individual human rights and the right to pursue happiness.	A neutral confederation of two governments under two different systems.