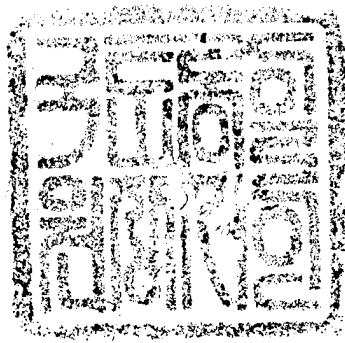


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To Build a National Community through the Korean Commonwealth

A Blueprint for Korean Unification



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**To Build a National Community
through the Korean Commonwealth**

A Blueprint for Korean Unification

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. BACKGROUND	5
II. SIGNIFICANCE	7
III. THE FORMULA	13
• Graphic Overview	13
• Specific Aspects of the Formula	14
IV. PRINCIPAL FEATURES	18
V. SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION	30

APPENDICES

# President Roh Tae Woo's Special Address Concerning National Unification	37
# Special Presidential Declaration for National Self-es- teem, Unification, and Prosperity	51

I. BACKGROUND

Recently significant changes in the domestic and external environments have taken shape, particularly in the need to reexamine the unification issue with the advent of a new and democratically elected government.

The unification debate, the public yearning for, and concern about unification have been intensified owing to the sweeping democratization process. In particular the successful staging of the Seoul Olympics in 1988 together with the vigorous pursuit of Northward Policy have bolstered the nation's self-confidence vis-a-vis the North. Accordingly, it has become an imperative to take a more progressive stance in the undertaking of unification policies

Externally, such fundamental changes in the world-order as the East-West *détente* and the moves toward reforms and openness in the Communist bloc have created more favorable conditions leading to a potential improvement in the prospect for unification, and a more active and flexible response has been necessitated by a corresponding change in the situation surrounding the Korean peninsula.

In response to such broad changes in the unification environment, and the desires of the Korean people, the Roh Administration has been pursuing toward a North Korea policy based not on adversarial confrontation but on the basis of a national community and to welcome the North as an equal partner in the quest for unification.

The Government's position has been consistently expressed in President Roh Tae Woo's July 7, 1988, Special Declaration, his address at the General Assembly of the United Nations on October 18, 1988, and his Liberation Day address on August 15, 1989.

Unfortunately, North Korea still refuses to abandon its long-standing strategy of unification by force and continues to ignore the Republic's efforts to promote inter-Korean reconciliation and cooperation. However, through the successful pursuit of its Northward Policy, based on the spirit of the July 7 Declaration, together with the various practical steps it has taken to promote a national community, the South has steadily built the foundations for inter-Korean peace and unification.

Reunification of the divided nation is the solemn historical mission of the present generation and must strive to find emergent possibilities and a new-found optimism with the penultimate purpose of constructing a unified nation.

It is in this context that, President Roh announced a new blueprint for unification based on the concept of a single Korean national community, while maintaining the basic character of previous unification plans. The Korean National Community Unification Formula has been developed with a critical examination of recent social changes, as well as an extensive survey and analysis of the views of citizens from all walks of life.

II. SIGNIFICANCE

The Korean National Unification Formula is firmly based on a broad public consensus

A unified Korea must be decided according to the collective will of the entire Korean people. No unification formula is meaningful and nor can it be materialized unless it is rooted in a national consensus.

To develop a new unification formula, the government has liberalized the unification debate and conducted 250 seminars and round-table discussions with the academic, media, religious, cultural and business communities, together with women's groups and representatives of all other sectors of society. Some of these sessions have taken place abroad with the participation of the Korean communities in the United States, Japan, Canada and Europe. The Administration has also taken stock of the views of the major political parties and other participants in the hearings held by the ad hoc Committee on Unification in the National Assembly.

Several hundred views on unification as articulated through the news media or otherwise made public have been compiled and analyzed. In addition, since June 1988, polls have been conducted of over 16,800 respondents across the country, including leaders of overseas Korean communities, to pool their wisdom in crafting the new unification formula. All such efforts have been aimed at preparing a unification

plan that can be supported by the entire Korean people.

The Korean National Community Unification Formula encompasses the most practicable way to end partition.

In the past, both North and South Korea put forward a number of proposals, but their scope was limited only to territorial, political or institutional approaches to unification, thus failing to lead to a breakthrough.

It must be noted that the division between the South and the North has now persisted for more than 40 years, solidified by continuing hostility and confrontation. Both societies have been built upon contending ideologies, political, and social systems. Should the South-North segregation be prolonged, the essence of the Korean national community is liable to be progressively disintegrated, thus perpetuating the national division.

The Republic of Korea is determined to do its utmost to prevent such a development and extending the burden to the future generations of Koreans. The time has come to explore in earnest the most practical and feasible path to unification.

To that end, it is essential to adopt a new way of thinking with the aims of restoring the cultural heritage and national traditions that both the South and the North used to share, of promoting the prosperity of all Koreans, and of ultimately building a unified country. To form a unitary state,

a unitary society must first be achieved.

The Korean National Community Unification Formula is so designed to restore and to develop the national community as the surest route to unification. This is the more practicable solution to end the inter-Korean confrontation and antagonism stemming basically from differing ideologies and political systems and to move onward the goals of heightened national self-esteem, unification and greater prosperity.

An increasing confidence in the nation's ability to shape an era of unification is embodied in the Korean National Community Unification Formula.

The Republic of Korea has not only achieved a measure of democratization but also has grown economically into one of the 10 largest trading nations in the world. It also successfully hosted the Seoul Summer Olympics in 1988. The nation has thus gained solid self-confidence regarding its capabilities and its status in the world community.

The time has come to give serious consideration to the elevation in the quality of life of Koreans in the North. Only then will they be able to apply newly harnessed capabilities to the creation of a new frontier in inter-Korean relations.

Until recently, the vestiges of the Cold War revolving around differing ideologies and political systems remained quite prominent but a move towards reconciliation and mutual cooperation is now strongly evident. And yet, the two

parts of the Korean peninsula are still locked in a localized Cold War, dissipating national energies, and damaging the Korean people's sense of national self-esteem.

Unification is a national issue that must be solved between South and North Korea--the two parties who are directly involved. And the Korean people have now acquired sufficient capabilities to resolve the issue on their own.

North Korea is also finding it increasingly difficult to resist the global wave of openness and reconciliation and to continue to ignore the desire of the 70 million Korean people for unification. The time has thus come for the Republic of Korea to step up independent efforts to win over the North as a member of a national community and induce them to join in a march towards common national prosperity.

From such a standpoint, the new unification formula embodies a strong determination to usher in an era of a unified Korea by the end of this century. In announcing the new unification formula, President Roh proclaimed that the coming decade will be crucial to Korean unification. He expressed the hope that Koreans on each side will be able to agree on a Korean National Community Charter by August 15, 1990--the 45th anniversary of national liberation from Japanese colonial rule, and thereby achieve a breakthrough on peace and unification.

A newly developed unification formula in the Korean Sixth Republic

The Korean National Community Unification Formula has been promulgated pursuant to the provisions of the Constitution of the Korean Sixth Republic, which declares in its Preamble that the people of Korea have "assumed the mission of democratic reform and peaceful unification of our homeland," and which stipulates again in Article 66 that "the President shall have the duty to pursue the peaceful unification of the homeland."

Having adopted "national self-esteem, unification and prosperity" as the national goals, the Administration of the Sixth Republic has been actively working to cut a path towards unification. It has taken a series of conciliatory steps towards North Korea, especially the July 7, 1988 declaration in which the North was described as "a member of the national community." These overtures have been aimed at accommodating the North in a new framework of reconciliation and cooperation.

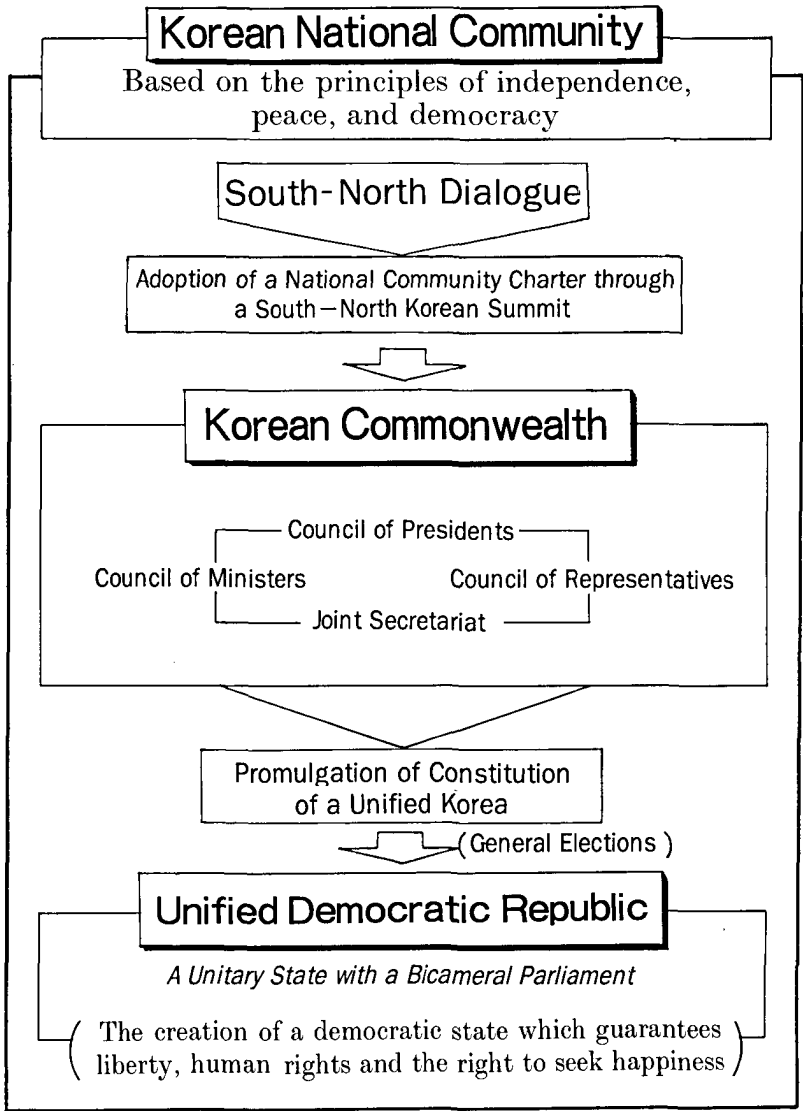
With the opening of an era of democracy in the South, unification debate has become a turning point in all sectors of society, leading to heightened public expectations and eagerness for unification. In response, the Government has endeavored to further develop and refine its proposals.

A unification formula must prescribe the process and procedures for building a unified country in which every citizen will be his own master and will be guaranteed freedom, human rights and the right to pursue happiness. It is thus a momentous task on which the survival of Korea as a unified nation hinges.

The task is made doubly difficult by the paradox that unification must be sought in the face of continuing South-North confrontation. President Roh has, nevertheless, committed himself to a spirit of reconciliation and cooperation as called for by the times and has enunciated the Republic's new formula as an extension of the basic unification policy of his Administration.

III. THE FORMULA

Graphic Overview



Specific Aspects of the Formula

1) Basic Principles

The Korean National Community Unification Formula is designed to achieve the reunification of the divided nation on the principles of independence in keeping with a spirit of self-determination, peace without the use of military force, and a democracy conducive to grand national unity.

As an interim stage towards full unification, the formula calls for the linking of the two separated parts of the peninsula into a Korean Commonwealth.

2) Korean Commonwealth

The Korean National Community Unification Formula proposes that an inter-Korean summit meeting adopt a Korean National Community Charter containing a comprehensive package of agreements 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. The Charter would be promulgated with the consent of the legislatures of both South and North Korea.

By integrating the two parts of Korea in the economic, cultural, social and other arenas, the proposed Commonwealth should be able to integrate South-North Korean societies, which are diametrically different owing to differing

ideologies and political systems. In short, a common sphere of national life should be established.

As noted, the Roh Administration hopes that a National Community Charter will be adopted by August 15, 1990, the 45th anniversary of the national partitioning, to set in motion a mechanism for ending a protracted national tragedy.

3) Organization of the Commonwealth

A Council of Presidents, or the chief executives from the two parts of Korea, would be established to function as the highest decision-making organ of the proposed Korean Commonwealth.

A Council of Ministers, to be co-chaired by the Prime Ministers of the South and the North and to comprise around 10 cabinet-level officials from each side, would discuss and adjust all pending South-North issues and ensure the implementation of its decisions.

Under the Council, a number of Standing Committees would be created to deal with humanitarian, political, diplomatic, economic, military, social, cultural and other affairs.

The proposed agenda of the Council of Ministers would include:

- a. The issue of reuniting dispersed families, whose members are estimated to total 10 million;
- b. The easing of political confrontation between the South and the North;

- c. The prevention of costly and counterproductive inter-Korean rivalry on the world scene and the joint promotion of national interests including the interests of overseas Koreans ;
- d. The opening of both North and South Korean societies and the promotion of multi-faceted inter-Korean exchanges, trade, and cooperation ;
- e. The fostering of a national culture ;
- f. The formation of a common economic zone to achieve a common prosperity ;
- g. The building of military confidence and implementation of arms control ; and
- h. The replacement of the current Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement.

A Council of Representatives would be formed of around 100 legislators, with equal numbers representing the two parts of Korea. It would provide policy advice and recommendations to the Council of Ministers, draft the constitution of a unified Korea, and develop methods and procedures for fully unifying the country.

A Joint Secretariat would be created at the working level 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.

Resident liaison missions would be exchanged between Seoul and Pyongyang to facilitate official communication between the two sides.

A Peace Zone would be created in the Demilitarized Zone to accommodate the proposed Joint Secretariat and other institutions and facilities of the Korean Commonwealth. The Peace Zone should gradually be developed into a Unification-Peace City.

4) Towards a Unified Korea

The proposed Council of Representatives would draft the constitution of a unified Korea, which would in turn 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.

5) A Blueprint for a Unified Korea

A unified Korea should be at once a single nation-state and a democratic republic guaranteeing every citizen's freedom, human rights, and the right to seek happiness. Its legislature would be a bicameral parliament composed of an upper house based on regional representation and a lower house based on popular support.

A unified Korea should pursue the following basic policies :

- a. The development of a democratic republic that would assure every citizen the right of participation as well as equal opportunity and the freedom of expression, political or otherwise;
- b. The promotion of welfare for all;

- c. Firm preservation of national security and contribution to world peace; and
- d. The maintenance of good neighbourly relations with all nations.

IV. PRINCIPAL FEATURES

Basic Principles for Unification

The Korean National Community Unification Formula reaffirms the three long-standing basic principles of unification: independence, peace, and democracy. These principles are not only based on a national consensus but were also embodied in the South-North Korea Joint Communiqué of July 4, 1972, which called for independence, peace and grand national unity. The principles were again enunciated in President Roh's 44th Liberation Day address.

The unification principles represent the basic stance that the Korean people must maintain not only through an interim stage toward unification, but also in discussing and developing methods for creating a unified Korea.

1) Principle of Independence

This principle means that the unification issue must be resolved by dialogue and agreement between both Koreas, the parties immediately involved, with a spirit of national

self-determination and without permitting any foreign intervention.

This does not mean, however, that Korea will have to sever cooperative ties with its traditional friends or isolate itself from the international community. Such an isolationist policy would be impossible anyways when all nations in the world are growing increasingly more interdependent, and even the Communist-bloc countries are pursuing openness. Genuine independence, moreover, could never be achieved through an isolationist policy.

This is why President Roh emphasized a policy of independence based on the strength of openness in his July 7, 1988, Declaration and again in his Liberation Day address on August 15, 1989. This policy is in keeping with the worldwide trend toward openness and reconciliation. The Republic of Korea has consistently urged North Korea to keep abreast of such a global trend and to respond positively to the South's call for mutual openness.

2) Principle of Peace

The unification of Korea must be achieved only by peaceful means and must never be sought by the use of military force by any one side to overthrow or to subjugate the other. Indeed, any form of violence must be ruled out in achieving unification. This principle of peace is based on the bitter experience of the devastating fratricidal Korean War triggered by North Korea's surprise attack on the South on June 25,

1950. In fact, the North's invasion of the South with the goal of unifying the peninsula by force resulted only in creating and perpetuating a climate of extreme mutual mistrust and confrontation between the two, as well as the wholesale destruction of lives and property throughout the peninsula.

It may be recalled in this connection that in a speech delivered before the United Nations General Assembly on October 18, 1988, President Roh made it clear that "the Republic of Korea will never use force first against the North." In the speech, he also declared that: "on the day when swords are beaten into ploughshares on the Korean peninsula, the opportunity for a lasting world peace will be strengthened." He thus expressed to the entire world the determination of the Republic to play a leading role in preserving regional and world peace.

However, it will be difficult to preserve peace through the determination and faith of the Republic alone. North Korea must also reciprocate and participate jointly in the march towards peace.

3) Principle of Democracy

The Republic of Korea cannot cherish any vision of a unified Korea that does not conform to the principles of representative democracy. A unified Korea must be a democratic country in which every one of its 70 million people can exercise full freedom of choice. The principle must also be applied in any intermediate process towards unification.

If the two Koreas are to overcome their 40 year-old adversarial relations, and move forward towards unification, all of those involved must put the interests of the entire Korean people before those of any specific class or group and accept each other in a spirit of reconciliation and accommodation.

To forge the genuine grand national unity needed to spur the restoration and development of the single Korean national community, the democratic rights of every citizen must be guaranteed, while at the same time, they being charged with commensurate responsibilities. In other words, grand national unity can only be attained through democratic principles.

Intermediate Stage

1.) The Basic Concept

To devise a realistic approach to the unification issue, it is necessary to start from a recognition of the deep scars of territorial partitioning which has bred inter-Korean mistrust and strife for more than 40 years. It would thus be unrealistic to expect to achieve unification in one single step, without going through an intermediate stage. (There are, however, some unrealistic advocates who seek a “quick fix” formula with an emotional obsession of prompt unification.)

From the onset, therefore, both Koreas must recognize and respect each other’s ideologies and political systems and

promote mutual exchanges and cooperation on that basis, thereby building the framework for peaceful co-existence and common prosperity, leading to the restoration and development of the single Korean National Community.

The Korean National Community seeks to bring together a people who have been bound and share common ethnic and cultural roots. This common national heritage is the rationale for the reunification of the Korean people and is, at the same time, a powerful motive which makes it possible to attain that goal.

By joining in a transitional system, the South and the North should be able to work towards eventual unification through establishing a durable sphere of national life. Such a process of creating a social, cultural, and an economic single community should result in the creation of the necessary conditions for political integration of the two parts of Korea, leading eventually to the building of a single nation-state.

2) Transitional Character of the Commonwealth

The Korean National Community Unification Formula proposes the creation of a Korean Commonwealth as the transitional system of linking the South-North together in an intermediate stage toward unification. The proposed Commonwealth is thus not the final form of a unified Korea but a transitional framework for promoting South-North Korean mutual cooperation in a spirit of peaceful co-existence and common prosperity with the goal of building the foundations for unification.

Based on such a concept, the South and the North would be brought together to form a commonwealth under the aegis of a national community. In such a way, bilateral relations would be transformed from those between two different parties into a special relationship within a single national community. Within the framework of the proposed Korean Commonwealth, both Koreas would discuss and readjust their domestic relations as needed, while taking steps to end their counterproductive rivalry on the world scene and jointly promote national interests. In this regard, President Roh's July 7 Special Declaration already stated that trade between South and North Korea "will be regarded as internal trade within the national community."

It should be noted that the proposed Korean Commonwealth is not a union of states or the creation of a federal state in the textbook sense of the term. Its basic character would be similar to that of the European Community or the Nordic Council in which a number of states form a single sphere of economic and social life, with the ultimate goal of political integration. History shows no instance in which two or more polities with different political ideologies and systems have unified themselves through federation or confederation.

In the envisioned Korean Commonwealth, both countries would remain sovereign states with their own diplomatic and military rights. The Korean Commonwealth should not be regarded as a device to preserve a "one nation, two states" situation--a totally unacceptable proposition in view of the fact that the Korean people had previously lived in a single

state for centuries, but as a special association of two divided parts of a single nation in a provisional arrangement preparatory to full unification.

Consideration of the North Korean Proposals and Demands

The Administration of President Roh has taken North Korean proposals and demands into intensive consideration in working out the Korean National Community Unification Formula. Some of the North's demands were adopted with a view to making it attractive to Pyongyang. In this regard, the new unification formula calls for both sides to discuss and resolve all issues pending between them within the framework of the Korean Commonwealth. This means that political and military questions could be dealt with in parallel with those of exchanges and cooperation to restore national homogeneity.

The easing of military tension and the securing of a durable peace are vital to building mutual confidence and promoting bilateral exchanges and cooperation. These goals must be attained in order to restore and develop the national community. The Korean National Community Unification Formula thus proposes that the Council of Ministers of the Korean Commonwealth discuss and resolve such issues related to easing political confrontation, how to build military confidence and undertake arms control measures, and how to replace the existing Armistice Agreement with a durable peace agreement. To help the Council effectively deal with such issues, the formula suggests that Standing Committees

be created under the Council to work on political, diplomatic and military affairs.

The proposed Korean National Community Charter to be adopted at a Seoul-Pyongyang summit could also contain a basic formula for the securing of a durable peace, including a mutual non-aggression agreement. In this connection, arrangements could be made to utilize the Demilitarized Zone for peaceful purposes, to promote exchanges of military personnel, to set up a hotline between the top military authorities of the South and the North and to take other relevant steps--all with the aim of building military confidence, ending the arms race and reducing arms--while securing an international guarantee of peace on the Korean peninsula. Such measures to ease military tension and to secure a lasting peace should be pursued in parallel South-North Korean exchanges and cooperation in all other areas.

Unification-Peace City

The Korean National Community Unification Formula proposes that in conjunction with the formation of a Korean Commonwealth, a Peace Zone be created at an appropriate location within the Demilitarized Zone to demonstrate the determination of the Korean people to move toward unification, as well as to provide avenue for various South-North joint projects designed to restore and promote the national community.

The proposed Peace Zone would accommodate the buildings for the Joint Secretariat and other institutions of the proposed Korean Commonwealth, various conference and convention sites and other facilities for joint use, while serving as a conduit for various forms of South-North exchanges and cooperation. The Peace Zone would thus function as a major pilot project in restoring and developing the national community. More specifically, the proposed Peace Zone project could also include:

- a. The construction of Unification Railroad Station to reconnect the currently severed railway line between Seoul and Shinuiju on the North Korean border with Manchuria;
- b. The establishment of a “Reunion Plaza” for families separated between the South and the North;
- c. The construction of a National Cultural Hall and a South-North Academic Exchange Center;
- d. The establishment of a South-North Merchandise Trading Center with the construction of sports stadiums and gymnasiums; and
- f. The establishment of joint religious meeting halls.

The proposed Peace Zone could be gradually developed into a Unification-Peace City if both parties agree. If such a city functions well, a second and even a third similar city could be built in the Demilitarized Zone to help develop the entire stretch of the DMZ for peaceful purposes.

Maintaining the Basic Characters of Previous Unification Policies

The Republic of Korea's concept of unification and its approach to unification has been periodically modified in keeping with the changing times. It can be said, however, that the Republic has consistently adhered to the basic position that unification must be achieved on democratic principles and through democratic procedures, and that general elections should be held under the promulgated constitution to form a unified democratic republic.

The Korean people seek a unification for the people, of the people and by the people. Accordingly, it is only natural and logical that in forming a unified government and legislature, the right of participation by every Korean, as well as his freedom of expression, should be guaranteed.

The unification policy of the Republic of Korea has always called for a progressive approach, beginning with the securing of a lasting peace and the easing of tension between the South and the North and then to move forward to the restoration of trust and national harmony, thereby building the foundations of unification followed by full national integration.

The Korean National Community Unification Formula takes a more gradual approach that calls for the setting of an interim stage to unification. It rejects the notion of unification in one sweep, a proposition that totally ignores the reality. Thus viewed, it is clear that the new unification formula

retains the basic ingredients of the Republic's earlier unification policies but is more closely focused on the feasibility through a positive shift in thinking in keeping with the changing circumstances.

A Vision into the Future

The Korean National Community Unification Formula emphasizes that a unified homeland should be a single national community in which every citizen will be his own master and a democratic country that will guarantee every individual freedom, human rights and the right to seek happiness. It reaffirms that the Korean people's only choice is a unified democratic republic in which no individual, no class and no group will be able to wield arbitrary powers.

At the same time, the formula is intended to prevent the interim stage toward unification from continuing indefinitely, perpetuating the co-existence of two political systems on the Korean peninsula. Thus, the constitution of a unified Korea would be adopted according to the free will of the entire Korean people to determine, among other things, the name and form of the state, political ideals, basic domestic and foreign policies and methods and procedures for electing a unified legislature and a unified government for a unified single nation-state.

A unified Korea must be able to enhance national self-esteem and prosperity and also contribute to the well-being of all mankind. The Korean National Community Unification

Formula thus presents the Republic's blueprint for the form of state for a unified Korea and the methods for forming its legislature and other measures, taking into account the need to preserve national integrity, the actual state of inter-Korean relations, and the basic objectives of founding a unified nation-state.

By unequivocally stating the Republic of Korea's basic position on how to achieve unification, the formula rejects the claim by some that "unification is everything." It is thus intended to end confusion in some sectors of South Korean society caused by the liberalization of the unification debate following the birth of the Sixth Republic and compounded by the misunderstanding of President Roh's July 7 Declaration. The new unification formula has thus delineated the scope and domain of the unification debate.

V. SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION

Accommodating North Korea

On October 4, 1988, President Roh Tae Woo noted, in a major policy speech before the National Assembly, that those components of North Korean proposals considered helpful to unification “can be positively accommodated.” In keeping with such an assertion, the Administration took North Korea’s unification policies into account in preparing the Korean National Community Unification Formula.

The formula thus proposes that the Council of Ministers and other organs of the proposed Korean Commonwealth be made up of an equal number of delegates from each side. In particular, the Council of Representatives, which should serve as the joint forum for making preparations to establish a unified Korea, would be composed of equal numbers of legislators from the South and the North. This is intended to enable both the South and the North to present their own drafts of the constitution of a unified Korea, compare them and combine them into a single draft by agreement reached through discussions and negotiations. In light of North Korea’s position on unification talks, the formula also proposes the creation of institutions within the framework of a Korean Commonwealth designed to discuss and resolve political and military issues of common interest in parallel with negotiations for South-North exchanges and cooperation.

In a spirit of reconciliation and cooperation, the Korean National Community Unification Formula is thus meant to accommodate North Korea's position and views by focusing more closely on the justifiability and feasibility of their proposals.

Relationship with Existing Channels of Dialogue

If the proposed Korean Commonwealth comes into being, the existing channels of South-North dialogue should eventually be absorbed into the functions of the various Standing Committees to be created under the proposed Council of Ministers.

Even before a Korean Commonwealth is organized, however, efforts must be maintained to restore and develop the national community through the initiation and expansion of South-North exchanges and cooperation. Accordingly, progress in the existing inter-Korean talks should be valued as part of such efforts. South-North dialogue and exchanges in diverse fields in the existing format should be treated as preliminary but essential steps towards the creation of an atmosphere conducive to the adoption of a charter for the Korean national community and the laying of the groundwork for the establishment of properly functioning Korean Community.

Charter of the National Community

The Charter of the Korean National Community proposed in the new unification formula is intended to be the basic document for governing South-North Korean relations pending the establishment of a unified democratic republic under a single constitution. The proposed charter must go far beyond the scope of the July 4 South-North Joint Communiqué which merely prescribed some basic principles for improving inter-Korean relations and called for the creation of a consultative body to that end.

The proposed National Community Charter should, amongst other things, prescribe a basic policy of peace and unification, mutual non-aggression and the form of a Korean Commonwealth. The charter would be adopted at a South-North summit and simultaneously promulgated in Seoul and Pyongyang with the consent of the legislatures of both sides, thus accomplishing the momentous historic task of ending national division and launching a Korean Commonwealth. The charter would stipulate special domestic relations between the two parts of Korea in transition to full unification, and would therefore be different in character from a treaty governing relations between separate states.

President Roh has expressed the hope that talks on a national community charter will be opened at the earliest possible date so that a South-North agreement on the document can be concluded by August 15, 1990, the 45th anniversary

sary of Korean liberation and the accompanying territorial partitioning at the end of World War II.

APPENDICES

President Roh Tae Woo's Special Address Concerning National Unification

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

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-

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 systems. 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,

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.

Special Presidential Declaration for National Self-esteem, Unification, and Prosperity

July 7, 1988

My dear 60 million compatriots,

Today, I am going to enunciate the policy of the Sixth Republic to achieve the peaceful unification of our homeland, a long-standing goal dear to the hearts of the entire Korean people.

We have been suffering the pain of territorial division for almost half a century. This national division has inflicted numerous ordeals and hardships upon the Korean people, thus hindering national development.

Dismantling the barriers separating the south and the north and building a road to a unified and prosperous homeland is a duty history has imposed on every Korean alive today.

The south and the north, divided by different ideologies and political systems, have gone through a fratricidal war. The divided halves of the single Korean nation have distrusted, denounced, and antagonized each other since the day of territorial partition and this painful state has yet to be remedied.

Even though the division was not brought about by the volition of the Korean people, it is our responsibility to achieve national unification through our independent capabilities.

We must all work together to open a bright era of south-north reconciliation and cooperation. The time has come for all of us to endeavor in concert to promote the well-being and prosperity of the entire Korean people.

Today, the world is entering an age of reconciliation and cooperation transcending ideologies and political systems. A brave new tide of openness and exchange is engulfing peoples of different historical and cultural backgrounds.

I believe we have now come to a historic moment when we should be able to find a breakthrough toward a lasting peace and unification on the Korean peninsula which is still fraught with the danger of war amidst persisting tension and confrontation.

My fellow compatriots,

The fundamental reason that the tragic division is yet to be overcome is because both the south and the north have been regarding the other as an adversary, rather than realizing that both halves of Korea belong to the same national community. As such, inter-Korean enmity has continued to intensify.

Having lived in a single ethnic community, the Korean people have shaped an illustrious history and cultural traditions, while triumphing over almost ceaseless trials and challenges with pooled national strength and wisdom.

Accordingly, developing relations between the South and the North as members of a single nation community to

achieve common prosperity is a short cut to realizing a prosperous and unified homeland. This is also the path to national self-esteem and integration.

Now the South and the North must tear down the barrier that divides them and implement exchanges in all fields. Positive step after positive step must be taken to restore mutual trust and strengthen bonds as members of one nations.

With the realization that we both belong to a single community, we must also discontinue confrontation on the international scene. I hope that North Korea will contribute to the community of nations as a responsible member and that this will accelerate the opening and development of the north Korean society.

South and North Korea should recognize each other's place in the international community and cooperate with each other in the best interest of all Koreans.

60 million fellow compatriots,

Today, I promise to make efforts to open a new era of national self-esteem, unification, and prosperity by building a social, cultural, economic, and political community in which all Koreans can participate under the principles of independence, peace, democracy, and welfare. To that end, I declare to the nation and to the world that the following policies will be pursued:

1. We will actively promote exchange of visits between the people of South and North Korea, including politicians,

businessmen, journalists, religious leaders, cultural leaders, academics and students, and will make necessary arrangements to ensure that Koreans residing overseas can freely visit both Koreas.

2. Even before the successful conclusion of the South-North Red Cross talks, we will promote and actively support, from a humanitarian viewpoint, all measures which can assist dispersed families in their efforts to find out whether their family members in the other part of the peninsula are still alive and their whereabouts, and will also promote exchanges of correspondence and visits between them.

3. We will open doors of trade between South and North Korea, which will be regarded as internal trade within the national community.

4. We hope to achieve a balanced development of the national economy with a view to enhancing the quality of life for all Koreans in both the South and the North, and will not oppose nations friendly with us trading non-military goods with North Korea.

5. We hope to bring to end wasteful diplomacy characterized by competition and confrontation between the South and the North, and to cooperate in ensuring that North Korea makes a positive contribution to the international community. We also hope that representatives of South and North Korea will contact each other freely in international forums and will cooperate to pursue the common interest of the whole Korean nation.

6. To create an atmosphere conducive to durable peace on the Korean peninsula, we are willing to cooperate with North Korea in its efforts to improve relations with countries friendly to us including the United States and Japan, and in parallel with this, we will continue to seek improved relations with the Soviet Union, China, and other socialist countries.

I trust that North Korea will positively respond to the measures outlined above. If the north shows a positive attitude, I will make it clear that even more progressive measures will be taken one after the other. I hope that this declaration today will serve to open a new chapter in the development of inter-Korean relations and will lead to unification. I believe that if the entire 60 million Korean people pool their wisdom and strength, the South and the North will be integrated into a single social, cultural and economic community before this century is out.

I am confident that on this basis we will accomplish the great task of unifying into a single national entity in the not so very distant future.

