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South-North Dialogue in Korea

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Part I

Continuous Efforts to Renew Unification Dialogue

1. President Chun Renews Call for Meeting between Top Leaders of South and North Korea

In a New Year policy statement delivered before the 115th Extraordinary Session of the National Assembly on January 18, 1983, President Chun Doo Hwan emphasized the need for a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea, setting forth four pressing issues to be discussed and solved at the suggested meeting.

President Chun said in the policy statement that he is convinced that should a South-North summit materialize, the two sides could generate a strong impetus to:

- Make effective arrangements to ease tensions between South and North Korea, and prevent the recurrence of war;
- Arrange a springboard toward resolution of the unification question through all-inclusive discussions on both the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification and a Unification idea advocated by North Korea;
- Take practical steps to prevent the waste of national energies arising from executive competition between South and North Korea in the international arena; and
- Foster international conditions conducive to accelerating peaceful unification.

President Chun then urged North Korea to agree to holding the top leaders' meeting at an early date.

Pointing out, in particular, that unification is "not only an immediate concern to remove the unhappiness and suffering that the Korean people are now suffering, but also a vital long-term concern critically affecting the destiny of the nation," the President warned that "should we fail to pave the way to unification in the near future, the Korean people will again be pushed back into the wings of the world stage, falling prey to international power politics and reliving the unhappiness of the past."

President Chun stressed that “if we are to ensure that our offspring will not again be subjected to such humiliation, it is imperative to accomplish the historic task of unification without fail during our generation.”

The President, while inviting attention to practical unification efforts the Republic of Korea government has made, said, “If each party adheres to its unilateral position, this would not only contribute nothing to solving the question, but would merely prolong and aggravate the tension and confrontation between us.” He added that even if the best conceivable unification formula was presented, it would be only an exercise in futility so long as either party refuses to open a dialogue on the subject, while paying mere lip service to the idea of unification.

President Chun then said that “in order to abolish the current exceedingly unnatural relationship between South and North Korea, and to throw open the doors to mutual contact and dialogue in response to the call of history and the national craving, a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea should be held at an early date.”

Part of President Chun’s policy statement relating to the question of unification dialogue was as follows:

Although a full 38 years have nearly passed since national liberation, a feasible path to unification has not been found and both the division of the country and the military confrontation still persist. For us to triumph over domestic and international challenges and trials in this turbulent period of global transition and thereby to ensure the survival and prosperity of the nation, it is necessary, first of all, to intensify self-reliant efforts to bring about peaceful unification, while continuing to promote the national interest on the world scene. If we are to fully overcome the pain and agony of the loss of sovereignty and the territorial division that we have alternately suffered during the past century and ensure that our offspring will not again be subjected to such humiliation, it is imperative to accomplish the historic task

of unification without fail during our generation.

Should we fail to pave the way to unification in the near future, the Korean people will again be pushed back into the wings of the world stage, falling prey to international power politics and reliving the unhappiness of the past. Accordingly, unification is not only an immediate concern to remove the unhappiness and pain that the Korean people are now suffering; it is also a vital long-term concern critically affecting the destiny of the nation. This is precisely the reason we must exert our utmost efforts to achieve unification by taking any feasible action with firm confidence in our endeavors.

The overriding justification and driving force for unification is the fact that the people in the South and North belong to the same ethnic family. Should both the South and the North be genuinely determined to put the interests of the entire people before everything else and seek peaceful unification in that spirit, there is no reason that both sides cannot meet in a face-to-face dialogue without conditions attached, boldly transcending differences in ideology and political system.

From such a standpoint, I announced to the world from this same hall last year a proposal for democratic unification through national reconciliation. At that time, I called once more upon the North to agree to an early convening of a summit conference between the top leaders of the South and the North to conduct extensive discussions on the immediate and future problems of the Korean nation. As you know well, the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification not only reflects the yearning of the entire people to be peacefully reunited but also positively encompasses even the assertions by the North, thus opening the door wide for a South-North dialogue. Featuring a Consultative Conference for National Reunification to draft a constitution of a unified Korea and a Provisional Agreement on Basic Relations between South and North Korea designed to remove obstacles and clear the way for peaceful unification, this formula suggests the most appropriate

course of action for genuine national reconciliation leading to democratic unification.

This proposal was aimed at ending the tendency of both sides to insist only on their own unification formula in order to initiate a broad dialogue that would fully reflect the free will of the entire Korean people. In that way, it would be possible to discuss all raised by both sides with a view of jointly shaping the future. If either party adheres to its unilateral position, this would not only contribute nothing to solving the question but would merely prolong and aggravate the tension and confrontation between us. Even if the best conceivable unification formula was presented, it would be an exercise in futility so long as either party refuses to open a dialogue on the subject, even while clamoring for it.

In order to abolish the current exceedingly unnatural relationship between South and North Korea and to throw open the doors to mutual contact and dialogue in response to the call of history and the national craving, I emphasize that a South-North summit must be held as quickly as possible; there must not and cannot be any precondition for a get-together of the two top leaders. All that is required is a common forum to crystalize the yearning for unification by the entire people and to jointly explore the future course of national progress. Should a South-North summit materialize, I am convinced that we will be able to generate an epochal impetus to achieve the following:

— Effective arrangements to ease the South-North tension and prevent the recurrence of war;

— A springboard toward unification through all-inclusive discussions on both the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification and the North Korean proposal;

— Practical arrangements to prevent a waste of national energies due to excessive competition between the South and the North in the international arena;

— International conditions favorable to peaceful unification.

I wish to take this occasion to once again emphasize the necessity for a Seoul-Pyongyang summit and urge North Korea to agree to an early top-level conference.

Several background factors can be taken as impelling President Chun's renewal of the proposal for a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea, and presentation of the four pressing tasks to be solved at the suggested meeting.

First, the South cannot suspend efforts to prepare means for the solution of the unification question. As is well known, President Chun, in search of a breakthrough to peaceful unification, has put forward a series of realistic and reasonable proposals, repeatedly calling upon North Korea to respond affirmatively. These included a proposal for an exchange of visits between the top leaders of South and North Korea, made on January 12, 1981; a proposal for a meeting between the top leaders of the two sides (June 5, 1981); and the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification (January 22, 1982).

Further, the Republic of Korea government has proposed 20 pilot projects for joint implementation, and a meeting of South and North Korea high-level delegates to embody the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification.

However, North Korea, while continuing to harp on the themes of alleviation of tensions, peaceful unification and a confederation system, has been obstinately opposed to any concrete action to improve the tension of inter-Korean relations and advance peaceful unification, refusing even to have contacts and dialogue between the two sides.

Undaunted by the persistently negative attitude of North Korea, President Chun, in his policy statement, again called for the holding of an inter-Korean summit meeting, in the firm conviction that the Republic of Korea cannot cease self-reliant efforts to bring about peaceful unification, and that North Korea will not be able to resist forever the pressures of public opinion at home and abroad supporting the peaceful solution of the Korean question.

Second, the task to explore essential avenues toward unification and prosperity is the need of our history.

The decade of the 1980s in which we live now is entering a stage of even greater uncertainties and unpredictabilities than in the past. World powers continue the race for military superiority; resource nationalism becomes ever fiercer; protectionism keeps mounting; and even weaker nations get involved in escalating conflicts of one sort or another.

Under the circumstances, the surest way to ensure the survival and prosperity of the Korean people is for them to intensify their self-reliant endeavors to realize peaceful unification at home, and externally to promote continuously the nation's interests in the world community, thereby creating internal and external conditions conducive to the unification of the divided land.

President Chun thus reaffirmed in his policy statement the importance of the pressing historic task of building a better tomorrow for the Korean people through peaceful unification, and once again displayed before the world his unflagging determination to achieve an inter-Korean summit meeting, thereby exploring ways to peaceful unification.

The part of the 1983 policy statement dealing with the question of inter-Korean dialogue featured several highlights.

The first is that it reaffirmed the basic spirit of the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification.

In the policy statement, President Chun emphasized the historical justness of joint inter-Korean exploration of roads to reconciliation and unification, terminating once and for all the territorial division that has been causing pain to the Korean people for almost four decades.

The President then stressed that a broad dialogue must be opened without delay to reflect fully the free will of the entire Korean people, and comprehensively discuss all issues raised by both South and the North, in order to explore jointly the question of unification and other matters affecting national future.

President Chun also called for an immediate end to the un-

productive war of polemics over the idea of unification, pointing out that no matter how well-conceived a unification plan either party may propose, it will be only an exercise in futility so long as one side rejects dialogue and fails to show any practical approach. The President then reiterated the basic spirit of the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification, that in the forum of dialogue designed to discuss the question of national unification, all ideas raised by both sides should be discussed without any conditions, with neither side attempting to impose its will upon the other.

The second highlight is that the President called for a practical inter-Korean dialogue with no conditions attached.

President Chun made it clear in the policy statement that if North Korea is genuinely interested in putting the interests of the people above everything else, and seeking peaceful unification in that spirit, there is no reason why they cannot have a face-to-face dialogue without any conditions attached. He also stressed that there cannot be any prerequisites for a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea.

The President, at the same time, stressed that in order to abolish the current exceedingly unnatural relationship between South and North Korea, and to throw open the doors to mutual contact and dialogue in response to the call of history and the national desire, a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea should be held at an early date.

For the two sections of Korea to do away with their unnatural discontinuity and confrontation in favor of the joint exploration of avenues leading toward reconciliation and unification and contributing to world peace, doors should be boldly thrown wide open to unconditional contacts and dialogue. Therefore, North Korea should desist from adhering to an unreasonable attitude in which they reject any dialogue due to their rejection of the incumbent system of the Republic of Korea, and their demand for repeal of the anti-Communist system of the South and the withdrawal of the U.S. forces from Korea.

The third of the highlights is that by concretely setting forth the tasks the South wishes to discuss and solve at the suggested top leaders' meeting, North Korea was enabled to realize clearly what the South seeks to accomplish through such a summit meeting. It also served as an occasion to display the South's sincerity toward the suggested meeting.

The agenda topics President Chun offered for a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea were the following four:

1) The question of taking effective measures to ease tensions between South and North Korea and prevent the recurrence of war.

This issue is surely a pressing task that must be undertaken between the two sides of Korea by all means. Since this is a matter requiring the political determination of the top leaders of both sides, a clue to the resolution of this question should naturally be found at a top leaders' meeting.

If and when the top leaders of South and North Korea would manage to take effective measures to defuse tensions and remove the danger of war, it would certainly lead to the dispelling of the mutual distrust and accumulated in the protracted continuation of national division and to the fostering of an atmosphere for reconciliation in all sectors of national life.

2) The question of discussing all-inclusively the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification and an unification idea advanced by North Korea.

The question of unification should be discussed at the forum of dialogue. Any attempt to generate controversies and disputes over the question should be done away with. If either of the two sides sticks to its own idea as the only workable solution, while rejecting any compromise with the other side, this cannot but be an act of rejecting dialogue itself, and further evasion of peaceful unification.

Therefore, all the ideas of the two sides should duly be sub-

ject to discussion in any future inter-Korean dialogue. The people's opinions must be reflected fully in an atmosphere of compromise, without any restrictions or prerequisites.

It was in this context that President Chun suggested in the policy statement that the two sides discuss, at the suggested top leaders' meeting, the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification advanced by the South, along with the "confederation system" being advocated by North Korea.

3) The question of forestalling national waste stemming from excessive competition between South and North Korea in the world community.

South and North Korea have been involved in excessive mutual confrontation and competition, only fomenting mutual distrust, tension and animosity. In particular, South and North Korea have staged an unnecessary diplomatic race in the world community in quest of larger, stronger supporters, a race which has only resulted in waste of our national energies. Moreover, there were not a few instances of national self-injury, in which Koreans themselves undermined the interests and prestige of the Korean people.

At a number of international meetings held abroad, for instance, North Koreans made propaganda tirades against, or unfoundedly slandered, the Republic of Korea on matters that had nothing to do with the meetings they were attending, solely to influence foreign delegates and harm the prestige of the Korean people.

Moreover, North Korea, while itself in deep economic trouble so serious as to threaten default on some 3 billion dollars in foreign debts, provides hefty assistance to under-developed countries or pro-Pyongyang organizations abroad in an effort not to lag behind the South in the diplomatic race.

If the Koreans' self-reliant efforts is to be strengthened for peaceful unification internally, and the nation's prestige to be promoted externally there must be resolute measures to end useless confrontation and competition between the two sides in

the world community.

The suggested top leaders' meeting can become an epochal opportunity to take such practical measures by means of political decisions.

4) Question of providing momentum to fostering international conditions conducive to accelerating peaceful unification.

The question of national unification is a crucial issue directly linked to the survival and prosperity of the Korean people. At the same time, it is a matter intertwined with the interests of major powers converging on the Korean peninsula. It is necessary, therefore, to foster an international climate conducive to securing support and cooperation from the community of nations to clear the way for unification.

To this end, both South and North Korea must demonstrate a common determination to resolve friction and discord between them with unity of purpose, and must act together to seek peaceful unification. At the same time, both sides should actively deal with changes in the international situation and take the initiative in fostering an international peace structure favorable to peaceful unification.

The reiteration of the call for a meeting of the top leaders of South and North Korea, made in the recent policy statement, was designed to provide an epochal impetus to induce the major powers with converging interests on the Korean peninsula to improve relations with South and North Korea, and to take other necessary steps to foster an international environment helpful to resolving the unification question.

2. The Minister of National Unification Proposes Meeting of Representatives of Government Authorities, Political Parties and Social Organizations of South and North Korea

Minister of National Unification Sohn Jae-shik proposed to

North Korea on February 1, 1983 that a meeting of the representatives of government authorities, political parties and social organizations of South and North Korea be held at an early date to discuss all-inclusively the question of convening a meeting of the top leaders of South and North Korea and other issues raised by both sides concerning peaceful unification.

In a statement, Minister Sohn suggested that “to realize the meeting, South and North Korea should hold a working-level preparatory meeting at Panmunjom, Seoul or Pyongyang during March with the participation of two representatives of government authorities and three of political parties from each side.”

Stressing that the Republic of Korea keeps its doors open always to North Korea for an open and all-inclusive dialogue, the Unification Minister urged North Korea to show an affirmative response to the proposal.

Minister Sohn recalled that “the government of the Republic of Korea has made a series of proposals to end the abnormal relations between South and North Korea, characterized by recurring disruptions and a persistent confrontation, in order to open a broad dialogue leading to reconciliation and unification,” adding that such overtures included the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification, a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea, 20 special pilot projects, and a meeting between high-level delegates of South and North Korea.

Minister Sohn then stressed that should North Korea really mean, as they claim, to open contact and dialogue with the South in order to move toward reconciliation and unification, they must promptly discard all unreasonable conditions and beguiling slogans, and come to the conference table without any reservations.

The full text of Minister Sohn’s statement is as follows:

The Republic of Korea government has recently made steadfast efforts to end the abnormal relations between South and North Korea characterized by recurring disruptions and a persistent confrontation in order to open a broad dialogue leading

to reconciliation and unification.

On January 22, 1982, President Chun Doo Hwan enunciated, in a new year policy statement, a historic Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification and proposed that the South and the North carry on all-inclusive discussions with the aim of resolving current issues between the two and shaping the future of the Korean people. He called for an early conference between the top leaders of South and North Korea to resolutely throw open the doors to mutual contact and dialogue.

This was followed by my statement of February 1, 1982 in which I proposed 20 specific pilot exchange projects designed to begin translating the formula into reality; they included the opening of South and North Korean societies to each other and exchanges and cooperation in the economic, technical, athletic and other fields with the aim of easing tension. I urged North Korea to respond affirmatively.

Furthermore, in full consideration of North Korean proposals, I proposed on February 25 last year high-level inter-Korean talks to be attended not only by the authorities concerned but also by representatives of political parties in the South and the North. I proposed that such talks discuss both the proposal for convening a South-North summit and issues raised by the North.

For nearly a year since, however, North Korea has turned a deaf ear to all these reasonable proposals which we have put forward in good faith; they have been intent only on stepping up propaganda to slander and denounce us, thus persistently refusing any dialogue.

Against such a background, President Chun, in the recent new year policy statement, reaffirmed the spirit of the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification. He emphasized that should both the South and the North genuinely put the interest of the people before anything else in search of reconciliation and unification, there would not be any reason

the two sides could not sit down face-to-face for a dialogue without any condition attached. He urged that a meeting of the top leaders of the South and the North be held at the earliest possible date to jointly chart the course toward unification. In particular, President Chun enumerated four urgent topics critical to a summit, including effective arrangements to ease the South-North tension and prevent the recurrence of war and the establishment of a springboard toward unification through all-inclusive discussions on both the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification and the North Korean proposal.

And yet, North Korea has again demonstrated its obstinately negative attitude toward a genuine dialogue through an unjustifiable proposal of January 18 this year for a joint conference between political parties and social organizations in the South and the North to discuss their demand for withdrawal of United States troops from Korea.

It is universally known that North Korea has kept their back turned on any broad and effective dialogue, and has continually aired all sorts of preposterous proposals in an intense effort to mislead domestic and international opinion. Their most recent proposal is thus nothing more than yet another example of such hackneyed tactics. It is reminiscent particularly of their February 10, 1982 proposal for a "joint conference of 100 South and North Korean politicians." In that proposal, Pyongyang unilaterally named 50 South Korean representatives to the proposed gathering, thereby making themselves an object of ridicule and censure here and abroad. They have again come up with a proposal for a conference that would exclude the authorities in the South and the North and, what's more, would only discuss their demand for the withdrawal of U.S. troops. They have thus again demonstrated that they do not have the slightest intention to seek solutions to inter-Korean issues, especially the unification question, through a dialogue.

In that way, those North Korean terrorists who in the past

left an indelible smear on national history are yet to repent their wrongdoings even though the entire people crave for the resumption of a South-North dialogue. They have blatantly bared an insidious scheme to realize their wild dream of unification through communization of the entire peninsula. This is truly shocking. Should North Korea really mean, as they claim, to open contact and dialogue with the South in order to move toward reconciliation and unification, they must promptly discard all unreasonable conditions and beguiling slogans and come to the conference table.

It is our firm belief that a South-North dialogue must not be a sounding board for the propaganda of either side but must be a joint forum to crystallize the wishes and will of the entire people. Accordingly, this forum must be opened to the South and North Korean authorities and other representatives who can speak for all segments of the two societies so that issues involved in clearing the way for unification can be discussed extensively. We hold our doors always open to North Korea for such an open and all-inclusive dialogue.

In that spirit, I hereby make the following proposal to North Korea:

First, for South and North Korea to hold at an early date what may be tentatively termed a "Conference of Representatives of the South and North Korea Governments, Political Parties and Social Organizations."

Second, for the proposed conference to conduct all-inclusive discussions on the question of convening a meeting of the top leaders of South and North Korea and other issues raised by both sides for peaceful unification.

Third, in order to discuss the above proposal, for South and North Korea to hold, during March, a working-level preparatory meeting at Panmunjom, Seoul or Pyongyang with the participation of two representatives of the government and three of political parties from each side.

I look forward to an affirmative reply from the North to this

proposal.

This proposal by National Unification Minister Sohn for a meeting between the representatives of government authorities, political parties and social organizations of South and North Korea was yet another fresh initiative taken by the South to provide a breakthrough and compromise in the deadlocked inter-Korean dialogue. The offer also represented the manifestation of firm resolve of the South in pursuing improved inter-Korean relations and the comprehensive solution of the question and national unification.

As was earlier reported, North Korea on January 18, 1983 demanded the convening of a so-called "joint meeting between South and North Korean political parties and social organizations" to discuss exclusively the question of withdrawal of U.S. forces from Korea, contending that the "withdrawal of U.S. forces from Korea is the most urgent task to solve in accelerating unification." The North Korean demand came in the form of a "joint statement of (North Korean) political parties and social organizations" only three hours after President Chun had reiterated in his policy statement the call for a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea to discuss and solve four pressing tasks.

This North Korean demand was yet another poorly designed scheme to mislead public opinion at home and abroad on the basis of their stereotyped contention that "the U.S. forces in Korea are the source of tension on the Korean peninsula and also an obstacle to unification." It also stems from their strategy against dialogue. By restricting the scope of dialogue merely to the question of U.S. military withdrawal, they in effect attempt to seal off any chance for productive dialogue while, feigning to seek dialogue on the surface.

Future inter-Korean dialogue cannot be turned into a propaganda arena of either side, as it often was in the past. Dialogue must be a common forum where the wishes and will of the entire Korean people can be crystallized. In this sense, it is important that the dialogue must be conducted in open talks where the representatives

of various circles of the two sides can broadly participate, and where the issues raised by the two sides can be discussed all-inclusively.

It was from this context that the government of the Republic of Korea, mentioning even some North Korean ideas, suggested that the two sides could broadly discuss all questions raised on the issue of peaceful unification along with the issue of realizing a top leaders' meeting at the suggested meeting of the representatives of government authorities, political parties and social organizations. The proposal, designed to bring North Korea back to the forum of dialogue, came in spite of the intransigency of North Korea's attempt to block the doors to dialogue by insisting that the dialogue should handle some specific questions only, such as the issue of U.S. military withdrawal.

Moreover, with a view to ensuring a practicable and efficient dialogue, the South proposed that each delegation to the suggested preliminary meeting be composed of five delegates — two representatives of government authorities and three representatives of political parties. The representation of political parties was broad-minded, in consideration of the North Korea idea of talks between political parties and social organizations of the two sides.

The suggested composition of delegations thus encompasses even the North Korean position, while reflecting the consistent stand of the South that unification and other questions pending between the two sides can be efficiently discussed and solved only through a dialogue between the responsible authorities of the two sides.

3. Reactions from Various Circles

The renewed resolve of President Chun and the subsequent proposal by Minister of National Unification Sohn, drew positive support and welcome from various circles in the country.

In particular, all newspapers said that "especially noteworthy in the contents of the January 18 policy statement was President Chun's firm resolve to seek unification." The newspapers observed that the

renewal of the call for a top leaders' meeting and the presentation of four topics to be taken up at the suggested meeting represents another affirmation of the historical need that a national path toward unification and prosperity should be explored by all means.

Noting that the four topics put forth by the President are issues of a kind requiring political decisions by the top leaders of the two sides, the newspapers said that the suggestion by President Chun for discussion of the four questions at the suggested top leaders' meeting is indicative of how strong and earnest President Chun's wish for unification is.

The newspapers, recalling that President Chun exerted various efforts to realize unification based on his firm unification philosophy, stressed that "If North Korea is genuinely interested in peaceful unification and national co-prosperity, they should return to the forum of dialogue at an early date, and agree to a top leaders' meeting to discuss open-heartedly the future of the nation."

Meanwhile, unreserved welcome and support were extended to National Unification Minister Sohn's February 1 proposal to North Korea.

Major political parties such as the Democratic Justice Party, Democratic Korea Party and National Party promptly issued statements to express their wholehearted support for the proposal.

Domestic newspapers welcomed the proposition in feature articles headlined "Will to Dialogue for Broad Discussion," "New Resolve to Broad Discussion" and "Resolve of Peace Knocking on Doors of Dialogue." In the articles, the dailies invariably said North Korea should accept the proposal, stressing that they would no longer be able to find any grounds for their unreasonable contentions.

The newspapers went on to say that Minister Sohn's proposal, which they said constitutes the firm resolve and sincerity of the government of the Republic of Korea to realize peaceful unification, differs basically from propaganda-oriented, one-shot proposals of North Korea in sincerity and logical consistency.

Noting that the Republic of Korea has exerted untiring efforts to

bring North Korea back to the conference table and thereby realize peaceful unification, the newspapers said that the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification has drawn support from no fewer than 97 countries around the world. Such international support is broadening as a result of the nation's expanding diplomatic horizon, as can be seen from President Chun's tours of ASEAN and African nations.

The dailies then observed that North Korea seems inclined to remain persistently negative toward the realistic and reasonable ideas of the South because they are increasingly becoming isolated from the rest of the world community.

The newspapers called upon North Korea to accept Minister Sohn's proposal and come forward to the forum for unification by opening their society at an early date, aware of the principles of the history of world development that closed societies cannot survive long in the flow of the developing world.

4. Reactions from North Korea

Through Radio Pyongyang at 5 p.m. on January 18, 1983, a few hours after President Chun delivered his New Year policy statement, North Korea issued a "joint statement" in the name of the Workers' Party and 20 other political parties and social organizations, demanding a so-called "joint meeting between South and North Korean political parties and social organizations."

In the statement, North Korea, arguing that "both unification and dialogue must be preceded by the withdrawal of American troops," suggested that a "joint meeting between South and North Korean political parties and social organizations" be held among the appropriate numbers and ratios of the representatives of the political parties and social organizations of South and North Korea, and of Korean communities abroad, and individual personages, for the purpose of discussing the "question of U.S. military withdrawal from South Korea."

North Korea said that to prepare for the "joint meeting," a

preliminary meeting should be held among one each of representatives of the Korean Workers' Party, Chondokyo-Chongwoo Party and Korea Social Democratic Party of North Korea and the Democratic Justice Party, Democratic Korea Party and the Korea National Party of South Korea.

In the same statement, North Korea unfoundedly slandered the unification efforts of the Republic of Korea, asserting that "to argue for unification while keeping U.S. troops unremoved amounts to rejecting unification... The so-called Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification is one thing of this type, and so are their calls for an inter-Korean dialogue and a top leaders' meeting."

North Korea then repeated their stereotyped propaganda tirade, contending, "Upon a unification-oriented and patriotic basis, we will have dialogue with any South Koreans advocating the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Korea."

This posture of North Korea obviously indicates that they are in effect rejecting a dialogue by posing an unpracticable condition, while trying to make themselves appear as if they were seriously interested in dialogue.

In fact, North Korea has turned a deaf ear to the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification and other proposals of the South. They have gone so far as to reject any contacts with the legitimate political parties and social organizations of the Republic of Korea, much less a dialogue between government authorities. It is apparent that their latest offer for a so-called "joint meeting" was part of a tactical scheme to cover up their negativism and mislead world opinion at home and abroad.

It is believed that the latest overture of North Korea has several ulterior motives.

The first of the motives was to undermine the expanding base of support at home and abroad for the South's Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification, and the offer of a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea.

In other words, fretful about the broad (97 countries) support

Examples of North Korea Rejection of Major Proposals

Proposals of the South	Rejection by the North
Proposal for Exchange of Mutual Visits between Top Leaders (January 12, 1981)	Statement by Kim Il, chairman of "Committee for Peaceful Unification of Fatherland" (January 19, 1981)
Proposal for Meeting between Top Leaders (June 5, 1981)	Commentary of Rodong Shinmun (June 10, 1981)
Proposal for Sports Exchanges and Formation of Single Team for International Games (June 19, 1981)	Call for "Meeting to Expedite Unification" in "Joint Statement of Political Parties and Social Organizations" (August 6, 1981)
Presentation of Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification (January 22, 1982)	Statement of Kim Il, vice president and concurrent chairman of "Committee for Peaceful Unification of Fatherland" (January 26, 1982)
Proposal for 20 Pilot Projects (February 1, 1982)	Call for "100 Persons' Joint Meeting" is Statement of "Committee for Peaceful Unification of Fatherland" (February 10, 1982)
Proposal for High-Level Delegates Meeting (February 25, 1982)	Commentary of Rodong Shinmun (March 30, 1982)

for the inter-Korean policy of the Republic of Korea in the world community, North Korea attempts to draw international attention to the issue of the U.S. forces in Korea, thereby to weaken the positive dialogue policy of the Republic of Korea. At the same time, aware of worldwide criticism of their negativism, then seek to depart from their hitherto defensive position by offering a "dialogue" to discuss what they call the question of U.S. military withdrawal from Korea.

Second, North Korea, through their latest proposal, attempts to

foment public opinion advocating the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Korea, and use it in their propaganda aimed at instigating an "anti-American and self-reliance campaign."

It is utterly ridiculous and in effect amounts to the case of "a thief crying thief" for the North Korean Communists, who have persistently perpetrated armed provocations and intensified war preparation since the armistice, without repenting their stupendous crime of provoking the Korean War, to attempt to raise a dispute over the presence of the U.S. forces in Korea, who vitally contribute to deterring reinvasion by North Korea.

Through the 1970s, North Korea, while carrying out anti-American agitation, had tried to abet anti-government struggles under the cloak of so-called "struggles for democratization." Since the incident of arson at the U.S. Cultural Center in Pusan in March 1982, however, North Korea has focused their seditious operations on the creation of public opinion in favor of U.S. military pullout, as well as on the fomenting of anti-American sentiments in a policy to have American troops withdrawn from Korea on a priority basis.

The latest proposal, too, was part of their strategy to instigate "struggles for anti-American self-reliance" with immediate aim of forging public opinion for U.S. military withdrawal, and at undermining the Korea-U.S. joint security cooperative system.

Third, North Korea seeks through the proposal to recover from their losing diplomatic race with the South over the unification issue.

They were attempting to apply a brake to the South's diplomatic surge and recover their sagging status in the world community. They were well aware that the South's positive overtures toward the North are enjoying broad support from the rest of the international community, and that the South's unification diplomacy has been highly successful, thanks in large measure to President Chun's summit activities such as his visit to the U.S. in January 1981, tour of ASEAN countries in June 1981, visit to African countries in August 1982 and summit meeting with Japan in January 1983.

In particular, North Korea has raised an issue of the U.S.

presence in Korea with an eye on the 7th non-aligned summit meeting slated for March this year in New Delhi. Knowing that non-aligned countries have lately become less enthusiastic about the issue of the U.S. military presence in Korea, North Korea was attempting to create momentum to influence the New Delhi meeting into adopting a resolution calling for the withdrawal of American troops from Korea.

Meanwhile, North Korea showed a negative response to Minister Sohn's February 1 proposal for a meeting between the representatives of government authorities, political parties and social organizations of the two sides.

In a commentary on their propaganda radio, "Voice of Unification Revolutionary Party," on February 1, North Korea rejected the offer as an "absolutely intolerable traitorous act." Again in a comment appearing in the Rodong Shinmun under the heading "Double-sided scheme to mislead public opinion" on February 5, North Korea falsely contended that "the offer was nothing more than the repetition of the concept of mutual visits between top leaders they have been calling for."

Part II

Desires of Separated Families and Campaign for Promotion of Reunion

Inauguration of Assembly for Reunion of Ten Million Separated Family Members

Some 4,500 representatives of the ten million dispersed family members in the Republic of Korea inaugurated the Assembly for Reunion of Ten Million Separated Family Members in an inaugural ceremony held at the Sejong Cultural Center on February 9, 1983 for the purpose of undertaking projects to realize reunion between family members scattered in South and North Korea.

The Society of Citizens Hailing from Five Provinces in North Korea, which earlier set August 12 as the "Day of Separated Families" after that day of 1971 when the Republic of Korea National Red cross proposed a family reunion campaign, had sought to promote projects to materialize family reunions with the separated relatives' own efforts.

As a result, the chairman and vice chairmen of the Society and other leading figures resolved to form a Assembly for Reunion of Ten Million Separated Family Members, with a view to undertaking a series of projects such as policy recommendation on the question of separated families, study of matters related to the separated family question and cooperation with international organizations.

A promoters' meeting for the proposed Assembly was held on December 20 last year at the conference room of the Society of Citizens Hailing from Five Provinces in North Korea, located at Changchung-dong, Chung-ku, Seoul. The promoters' meeting adopted the Articles of Association and selected Choue Young-seek, chairman of the Board of Trustees of Kyunghee University, as chairman and Park In-kak, Kim Yeon-kyu and Lee Chae-wun as vice-chairmen. It also chose 66 directors and two auditors.

On December 30, 1982, the Assembly registered itself as an incorporated association and was formally inaugurated on February 9, 1983 as a private organization speaking for the desire of the ten million dispersed family members.

The inaugural meeting was witnessed by Prime Minister Kim Sang-hyup and a number of other dignitaries, who wished the separated families' reunion movement a successful fruition. After listening to Chairman Choue's convention address and the Prime Minister's speech of encouragement, the inaugural meeting adopted messages addressed to the President Chun Doo Hwan, the Secretary General of the United Nations and North Korean residents, and a resolution among reunion promotion members, as given below.

Convention Address

On the inauguration of the Assembly for Reunion of Ten Million Separated Family Members, I, on behalf of the Assembly, wish to express my hearty appreciation to His Excellency President Chun Doo Hwan who has been striving for peaceful unification of the fatherland, to Prime Minister Kim Sang-hyup, personally attending this meeting despite his busy schedule and giving us speech of encouragement, and the Minister of National Unification and the Minister of Home Affairs who have been providing unsparing cooperation and assistance to our Assembly.

I am also grateful to you distinguished guests who are here to support the ten million dispersed family members reunion movement which this Assembly is promoting, and you Assembly members who are present at this inaugural meeting today.

To look back, it is already 38 years after our nation was liberated, a period even longer than the 36 years of forcible occupation by the Japanese imperialists.

Our jubilation at the August 15 liberation was so great that any person who didn't experience it could hardly even imagine it. Learning about national liberation then, our people embraced one another and shouted in tears, "Long live the independence of Korea!"

On that emotion-packed day, our 30 million people, firmly united in oneness, pledged our loyalty to the fatherland in the

singing of our national anthem. Waving our national flag, Taeggeukki, we firmly vowed not to allow our nation to come under alien rule nor to have our country robbed by other people ever again.

There was no animosity between the ruler and the ruled nor any confrontation between the ruling class and the ruled class. It was a warm-hearted scene where only the pure brotherly spirit of the nation functioned. This was the real look of our country at that time.

However, the 38th Parallel drawn by the allied forces to receive the surrender of the Japanese troops still remains today as a resented line that has divided our homeland into two, and that caused the fratricidal Korean War, a source of eternal regret. What has brought about this unexpected misfortune?

To us who have never ceased to dream of reunion with our missing blood relatives and peaceful unification of our homeland, the July 4 Joint Communique issued just ten years ago in 1972 was the source of great joy, an ecstasy comparable to our jubilation at national liberation. However, this rosy picture simply ended an empty dream, giving us a greater disappointment.

Today, about ten years after the contacts broke off, we see no bright prospects for peaceful unification ahead of us. Nevertheless, we knock on the unresponding doors of the North, pathetically calling for reunion between dispersed families and for an independent, democratic peaceful unification achieved through national reconciliation.

In the world situation, meanwhile, the mood of detente has faded, and a far-reaching space war seems in the offing, with the East-West competition for the mass production of nuclear weapons as well as the development of killer satellites and laser weapons. This prompts us to doubt if there can really be a future for human beings. On our Korean peninsula, we are utterly abashed at the strained reality.

What objective does mankind have today, and where are we

headed?

As many world scholars worried, human society has come to face a first global-scale crisis with the turn of the 1980s. Whether mankind can wisely cope with it is directly linked to man's survival.

How would our Korean people survive on this peninsula, which has become a miniature replica of the world political situation, and which has become the arena of world power competition?

I am convinced that in order to wisely surmount the international crisis of the 1980s, we must reaffirm that we are the same posterity of the same forefathers with the same blood line, and are the same people who have forged the same history and same culture, and should jointly march along the road to our future. I am sure that only in this manner can we save our homeland from the crisis and explore the road to our survival.

Inasmuch as the question of a nation stands above whatever ideologies, any ideology and system cannot and should not be allowed to divide our nation into two perpetually. This means that no attempt can be perpetrated to split the nation in the name of "patriotism" or to cause a fratricidal blow to the same people in one's attachment to class distinctions.

If they are the same people, they should unite with one another firmly, regardless of conflicting interests, and silently strive for and serve the homeland and compatriots. Does it make any substantial difference if some of the compatriots or those from the same family fared well and others did not? We all are the same brethren whether we are good or bad. I believe, therefore, that to practice the genuine sense of brotherhood is for us simply to care for and understand one another.

Even if we are now in a position not to achieve unification outright due to conflicting ideologies and thoughts, still, while looking forward to the time of unification, we must desist from slandering each other and cooperate with each other in coping with the reality, going beyond the difference in ideologies and

interests. Otherwise, I think, we would have no way to overcome the pressing historical crisis.

There is only one way before us. The choice is whether we wisely overcome the national difficulties in concert in pursuit of our survival and co-prosperity, or to choose the path to common destruction. We must remember that our hearts hold the very key to the rise or fall of this nation.

To look back over the Korean War, what gains have we obtained and what lesson have we learned from the war that had left our whole land devastated and some one million people killed or wounded? We gained nothing except that we all dug the tomb of our common destruction. Nevertheless, we still live in fear of a second Korean War.

The war which the people in the North perpetrated, according to them, was to bring about early national unification and national prosperity, but it led to fratricidal mass killings and the devastation of the entire land, ending in meaningless killings and destruction without any victor or loser. How can it be good if we fight with people of the same blood line and emerge victorious after destroying all property and killing our compatriots? It can't be a glorious victory but a history of disgrace.

If a second Korean War ever breaks out as our people worry today, it would, experts say, become a horrible nuclear war of a dimension quite different from the previous war.

What they mean is that the Korean peninsula where the political and military interests of world powers converge is prone to become the theater of nuclear confrontation among world powers.

If this really happens, our whole land would be reduced to ruins where even a single fly, much less a human being, can't survive. We can easily imagine that, in such circumstance, our history and culture, too, would go up in flames and no trace of this nation would ever be found on this planet.

We must reflect coolly upon why on earth we must engage in such a final confrontation between the same people. As I know

that the path to merciless confrontation is such a horrible road, I would like to emphasize that no matter how insignificant a meeting may be, it would be better than war.

I firmly believe that the only way to save the nation from destruction and for all of us to win a victory is to arrange through untiring efforts a dialogue to prevent fratricidal war. Therefore, I am convinced that we cannot give up dialogue under any circumstance.

This will also be a way to ease tensions in Northeast Asia and contribute much to world peace.

Now, I shall examine the flow of today's world situation and ponder over the issue of dispersed families.

The neo-international stream of contemporary society lies in the intersection of conventional nationalism and internationalism. In other words, our world has been expanded from the earth to the universe, thanks to the efforts of science and technology. Our life, too, has narrowed the distance of time and space, prompting us to harbor the sense of mankind as a "global village."

Therefore, previous hostility toward strangers has been transformed into the spirit of a human family, while exclusive nationalism has been changed into a single human society oriented toward a worldwide cooperative society.

In such a climate, such old-fashioned values as conquer and control cannot be tolerated, but are taken as crimes. Here, understandings, peace and co-prosperity of cooperating mankind alone have emerged as the criterion of the values of the new age.

Today, when a cooperative society of the global village is looked forward to, we can discover that nationalism, seeking harmony with internationalism, is creating the spirit of the new age and, at the same time, is substantially changing even our social system.

This change is the liberalization trend of socialist countries and the tendency of liberal democratic countries to adopt grow-

ing welfare systems. In other words, the two heterogeneous social systems are approaching each other by mutually complementing their shortcomings.

It is said that if one's decision changes, it leads to a change in everything else. Likewise, if a situation changes, so does our mind. If today's goal changes so fast that it can't be tomorrow's goal, can there be any reason why man has to fight a life-or-death contest at the risk of their own survival, merely because of the difference in today's ideals and systems?

I am sure that therefore the way to follow the natural course, without any unreasonableness and sacrifice, is for us to retain the merits characteristic of democracy and prefer dialogue to confrontation, and improvement to revolution.

In the solution of the question of dispersed families, efforts should be made to cope with the issue from the humanitarian and national points of view, in consideration of the flow of history and the principles of the time, without being bound by political and ideological implications.

Herein lies the reason why we call the dispersed family issue a question standing above politics, ideologies and systems, and why we stress that the question should be solved from the aspects of national homogeneity, an element in common between the two sides.

It was too natural that the International Humanism Law Convention held in Geneva in 1976 ruled that dispersed families' desire to hear about their missing ones is not merely weakness but their right.

East and West Germany, which are in a situation like ours, solved the dispersed family issue completely in 1972 and as a result some eight million family members freely travel back and forth each year. In the case of Palestine, also, mutual visits are permitted around the Christmas season, despite the fact that Israelis and Arabs are different races. Exchange of correspondence can be made with those in Mainland China. Even Vietnam, which had staged a fierce war until only recently,

magnanimously accepts all gifts sent by oversea refugees and delivers them to the relatives they were addressed to.

Our Republic of Korea, too, has recently permitted the exchange of regards between Korean residents in the Soviet Union and Mainland China and their relatives in the country, and paved the way to meet each other by way of third countries, though unofficially. But, why on earth does North Korea refuse to allow the exchange of even post cards between the closest blood relatives in the same country?

It is said all roads lead to one's hometown. It is said that when a man dies the last thing he wants to see is his hometown and blood relatives. This is man's intrinsic nature and fundamental desire.

We are ashamed of the fact that our people, proud of being a cultured people with a 5,000-year history, seem unable to solve even such a humanitarian issue as family reunions. Where can we find our pride and sense of brotherhood?

Since politics are public activities distinct from selfishness, there can be difference in opinions over politics. And, if we can say this difference is one of the elements of the spirit of democracy, then politicians should know how to pursue "fair play," at least in politics.

The same can be said of the issue of separated families. If their separation cannot constitute criminal conduct, then how can politicians ignore the cries for family reunion? How can they demand eternal separation between blood relatives, a condition harsher than the wrath of God?

I am positive that reunion between dispersed families constitutes a way to ensure the eternal integration of this nation. Such reunion would pave the way to an inter-Korean dialogue, marking the first step toward the accomplishment of the historic task of peaceful unification, the desire of this nation.

It was said that those who viewed over television the opening ceremony of the New Delhi Asian Games late last year were deeply moved when they saw a South Korean cheer group ex-

tend an enthusiastic applause to the passing North Korean delegation. That applause was too natural a hand claspping. It was lofty and priceless applause.

What had kept us from such applause in the past? I believe that the time has come for us all to quietly and sincerely think about the future of our nation.

Fellow 60 million compatriots, can't we together, as the same people, work out the great idea of a unified homeland beyond the barriers of confrontation and war, in pace with the changing international flow and the new age at this time on the threshold of the year 2000?

Our Republic of Korea has chosen a new objective in pursuit of the construction of a great, advanced homeland. This great national goal cannot be the objective of South Korea alone. It is more than natural that this should be the common goal of a unified homeland, achieved before long through the integration of South and North Korea

And can't we thereby build, through the creation of a new history, crystallizing the ideas and potentials of this nation, a cultural welfare society where we can live happily in beautiful natural surroundings and in a sound democratic climate in which man can be respected more than any other thing. Can't the South and the North cooperate together in constructing a fine model country where all world peoples will want to come and live, as Confucius once said, "I wish I could go to a country of kindhearted people and live there."

I think that we can reach this destination by following the road not of confrontation but of dialogue, and not war but peace and cooperation.

With an eye on these eternal ideas of our nation, and thinking of the old saying that "A journey of 1,000 miles starts with one step," we have decided to come forward ourselves because we can no longer wait for the solution of the pressing question of reunion of dispersed families.

We hope that we will be able to remove forever the resented 38th parallel, drawn by world powers, through national reconciliation this year, which happens to be the 38th year since national liberation. We pray that if this can't be realized outright, then at least reunions between dispersed families take place without fail.

Even at this moment, those who have come to the South and those who have gone to the North are passing away one after another. Those who had suffered much during the 36 years of the Japanese rule and who dedicated themselves to the future of the nation upon national liberation all pass away after leading regrettable lives, unable to see the nation reunified and to become reunited with missing blood relatives.

It is said that when birds are about to die, they sing their best, and when people die, they make goodhearted remarks. The determination of our separated families to leave behind them as they pass away the peaceful unification of the homeland and reintegration between blood relatives.

On this occasion of the inauguration of the Assembly for Reunion of Ten Million Separated Family Members, we shout:

*Our wish is unification,
The wish in dream is unification,
The day of democratic, peaceful unification,
Come soon.*

I sincerely exhort the North Korean compatriots to positively cooperate in realizing the following two items.

First, exchange of correspondence between dispersed families and the finding of the fates of missing families should be guaranteed at an early date on national and humanitarian consideration.

Second, positive assistance should be made in arranging all

conveniences and opportunities for reunion between dispersed families.

Choue Young-seek
Chairman
Assembly for Reunion of Ten Million
Separated Family Members

Speech of Encouragement

Ten million dispersed family members, Chairman Choue Young-seek, members of the Assembly, and distinguished guests.

I wish to express my sincere congratulations on the inauguration of the Assembly for Reunion of Ten Million Separated Family Members, formed through the pooling of the sincere desire of many leading figures from various walks of life who are concerned about the future of our nation.

You dispersed family members, who have been separated from your relatives and unable to hear even of their fates because of the artificial barrier that has divided the nation into South and the North, are living witnesses to history who have experienced the national sufferings stemming from territorial division more acutely than any other persons.

It is the intrinsic nature bestowed upon mankind by Heaven for people to live together among families, exchanging the love of blood relatives and sharing their joys and sorrows.

This is why the International Humanist Law Convention held in Geneva in 1976 ruled that the reunion of dispersed families is the "intrinsic right of families."

Humanitarian projects to promote the reunion of dispersed families are really sacred activities which no one can block.

As you all know, we promoted the South-North Red Cross Conference and exerted various other efforts to advance the

earnest wishes of the ten million dispersed family members.

Despite our steady efforts, however, the South-North Red Cross Conference failed to come to any fruition to date because of the insincerity of the North Korean Communists trying to use the humanitarian project for their political gain.

Moreover, the North Korean Communists rejected the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification and proposal for a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea, which we proposed to achieve reconciliation of the nation and peaceful unification. North Korea instead put forth a nonsensical proposal for a "joint meeting between political parties and social organizations" to discuss the question of withdrawal of U.S. forces from Korea. In this way, they continue deliberately to shun any inter-Korean dialogue.

In an effort to improve inter-Korean relations and provide momentum for the peaceful unification of the homeland by all means, our government again recently proposed to North Korea a meeting between representatives of government authorities, political parties and social organizations of South and North Korea.

The proposal was meant to display our sincerity and broad-mindedness by discussing the reality and future of our fatherland sincerely and effectively on the basis of national conscience through inter-Korean contacts and dialogue.

I regard it as quite natural and noble for you dispersed families to come forward at this juncture to take the lead yourselves in finding your kinsmen. I hope that your resolve will not end merely in the realization of reunions between dispersed families, but will also be developed into a national endeavor to connect the long-severed blood ties of our people, and thus to advance peaceful unification.

Members of the Assembly for Reunion of Ten Million Separated Family Members,

Your lofty resolve and your righteous crusade cannot be blocked by any person. The conscience of all mankind

throughout the world is on your side, and the prayers of the our whole people are with you.

I wish to take this occasion to make it clear once again that our government is willing to discuss with North Korea anything that can contribute to achieving reunion between dispersed families and national reconciliation and unification.

I expect that the projects to promote reunion between dispersed families, the craving of our nation, will contribute much to overcoming the current discontinuity and confrontation between South and North Korea and to paving the way to reconciliation and unification. I am sure that all of our people will extend unreserved support to your programs.

I pray that there will be many rewards and blessings ahead of you.

Thank you.

February 9, 1983

Kim Sang-hyup, Prime Minister

Message to His Excellency President Chun Doo Hwan

Your Excellency,

We express our deepest respect for Your Excellency who is working day and night for the prosperity of the nation and development of the homeland.

We, the dispersed families in the South and the North, who have been living in the long period of 30 to 40 years separated from our beloved blood relatives due to national division and the fratricidal Korean War, are forwarding to Your Excellency this message embodying our heartfelt feelings, and our resolve, on this occasion of the inauguration of the Assembly for Reunion of Ten Million Separated Family Members.

Your Excellency,

As we have watched the steadfast dialogue efforts of our

government, we have had the hope that such lofty endeavors would finally lead to the peaceful unification of our homeland, our greatest wish, and to the realization of our ardent desire to be reunited with our dispersed blood relatives.

When the historic South-North Red Cross Conference was launched to solve the issue of the ten million dispersed family members as a result of the August 12, 1971 proposal of the Republic of Korea National Red Cross, our hope was highly inflated. We even used to imagine the emotional moment of reunion with separated families.

However, these hopes and emotional expectations disappeared overnight like bubbles, because of the suspension of the dialogue by the North Korean Communists. Nonetheless, we simply could not give up even for a moment our hope for reunion with our missing blood relatives amidst heartbreaking pains over a long, long period. Besides, the affection of blood relatives formed under moral law could not permit this issue to be set aside simply because of the inhumane conduct of the North Korean Communists.

Your Excellency,

We well know that our government has exerted all possible efforts to resolve the question of separated families in the South and the North from the humanitarian point of view, transcending the political situations of South and North Korea. We also remember that all our people have supported such government efforts.

Despite the tight schedule of your work to achieve peaceful unification of the homeland, as characterized by the announcement of the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification, Your Excellency has displayed exceptional concern about the question of dispersed families, endeavoring in person to solve the question on a priority basis, by declaring the guarantee of free travel to and from the homeland by our compatriots residing in North Korea and other Communist countries. Our dispersed families are deeply

grateful to Your Excellency for such endeavors.

Your Excellency,

Enlivened by our government's untiring efforts to solve the bitter dilemma of the dispersed families in the South and the North, and also by the support extended to us by the rest of our people, our dispersed families have resolved to take the positive lead ourselves in finding our missing blood relatives instead of remaining passive, simply lamenting the unfortunate conditions under which we suffer and waiting for the day of reunion. Here, we have come to inaugurate today the Assembly for Reunion of Ten Million Separated Family Members, with a view to translating our resolve more effectively into action.

We plan to contribute to the efforts of our government in though meagerly, for the support the people showed to us by meagerly though, for the support the people showed to us by pooling the perception of our dispersed families, and promoting all the programs necessary for the termination of our tragedy, through the new organization.

We firmly believe in the truth that no matter how high and steep the artificial barrier between South and North Korea may be, it cannot continue to separate the affections of blood relatives so long-severed. Convinced that when our efforts accumulate, it would surely lead to the dismantling of that barrier, we shall continue to exert efforts to solve our problem.

Your Excellency,

On this occasion of our dispersed families' meeting and determination today, we expect that Your Excellency will extend your unreserved assistance and encouragement to our efforts and activities in trying to contribute to realizing reunion with our missing blood relatives, and further to advancing the peaceful unification of the homeland. At the same time, we earnestly appeal to you to urge North Korea once again to respond affirmatively to the resolution of the question of dispersed families.

Confident that our country and people will become more

prosperous and developed under Your Excellency's leadership, we wish you good health and your family continued happiness.

February 9, 1983
Members, Assembly for
Reunion of Ten Million
Separated Family Members

Message to U.N. Secretary General

Dear Mr. Secretary General

I, in awe deference to the United Nations authority and prestige and on behalf of the ten million separated families, would like to express my deep appreciation for your devoted commitment to the maintenance of world peace and security.

Korea continues to witness the sad existence of ten million people, who have had their beloved families separated from one another over a period of 38 years due to the division of the nation in 1945 and the cease-fire of Korean War in 1950 and who have been completely deterred from any access to the information on the whereabouts and/or wellbeing of the displaced family throughout the period. Since the first generation of the separated family is destined to eternity in a few years, the reunion of them has emerged as an imperative, urgent issue in the Republic of Korea more than ever.

Our government has repeatedly sought to fulfill fervent desires of the separated family and consistently implored for the peaceful unification of our divided land. Also, President Chun Doo Hwan has frequently prompted North Korea to come forward for a South-North dialogue whereby the reunion of separated families could be effected as an initial step to the royal road of peaceful unification through a democratic process along with the prevention of potential internecine tragedy. As yet nothing conclusive has resulted from such series of efforts. Con-

sequentially, we, the ten million separated families, found it unbearably painful to wait for the day of reckoning in vain, so we were determined to launch a grass-roots movement to locate our lost blood, culminating in the formation of the Assembly for Reunion of Ten Million Separated Families and its inaugural rally on the 9th of February, 1983 to promulgate our just cause to the world conscience.

We neither intend to preach any political creed to anyone nor attempt to impose any particular social system on against anybody's will. What we are seeking after certainly transcends ideology and doctrine. We are trying to achieve the peaceful unification through having our missing blood reunited.

We are aware that the Geneva Convention Additional Protocol I stipulates "the solemn right of the concerned individuals to know their family's status in quo." And we clearly recall that U.N. representatives made formal statements, as referring to the Protocol I, that the reunion of separated families has become one of the basic human rights. We also understand that countries such as China, Germany, Vietnam and Palestine, beset with the separated family problem like ours, have allowed these families to exchange letters as well as gifts. Besides, we can attest to historical precedents that the total neglect or even a benign disregard of humanitarianism was instrumental in triggering not only international disputes but calamitous hostilities as well.

In view of the facts that political situations in North East Asia could exert critical impacts on the world comparable to those of Middle East or Europe and that schism and disturbance in a region could readily spread over to other quarters of the world, the reunion of separated families in Korea should be taken as the supreme humanitarian mandate and should take precedence over any other priorities merely for the sake of stability in North East Asia.

We sincerely hope that you will do the best in your power to work out the reunion of separated families in Korea. Within that context we humbly beseech you that you will resort to all

possible measures necessary to persuade North Korea into facilitating at least an exchange of letters between South and North Korea.

Former Secretary General Mr. Waldheim attempted to open up a flow of dialogue between South and North Korea eventually leading to peaceful unification of Korea by making his occasional visits to Seoul, Beijing, and Pyongyang in person. To our regret, however, his noble efforts have produced no tangible results. Nonetheless, it is our firm belief that your strong leadership and wholehearted cooperation shall shed light on the impending issue and will help our endeavors bear fruit as richly as hoped for.

We expect that you will make great contributions to the advancement of world peace through your humanitarian works to bring displaced families together. You surely will be remembered as the benefactor of the ten million separated families.

Hoping that you will send us a word of both encouragement and cooperation so as to enhance our spirits, we remain.

March 5, 1983
Cordially Yours,
Young Seek Choue, LL.D., Ph.D.
Chairman
The Korean Assembly for
Reunion of Ten Million
Separated Family Members

Message to North Korean Compatriots

Compatriots in North Korea,

We, who live in sighs for nearly half a century after being deprived of our beloved families and home towns due to the artificial barriers that have divided our homeland into two, try

to placate our longing for the home towns and blood relatives we left behind by singing the Song of Unification loudly, in the northern direction today also.

In today's space age, when man travels to and from the moon, we still cannot visit our home towns on the same land, nor exchange letters of inquiry between parents and children. This misfortune cannot but be an irregularity that runs counter to the reasoning, culture and humanitarianism of the 20th Century.

How long must our brethren, who have maintained the same origin over a five-millennium history, and who have lived more peacefully than any other peoples and cultivated a shining culture, swallow this history of today's discontinuity and confrontation, running counter to the flow of world history, and how long should we shun the road to national reconciliation and unification?

While our brethren waste national potential through fratricidal conflict and confrontation, the outside world has changed and developed so much that you, our North Korean compatriots, would hardly believe your eyes. Our people in South Korea have now completely liquidated the history of past poverty and backwardness, and carry on a forceful march onward toward an advanced homeland while making positive inroads in the rest of the world. The new international society has removed the barrier of ideologies and systems that was erected during the cold-war period, and is about to enter an age of a world family in which all peoples are to live in openness and active exchanges.

Our nation, too, in conformity with such flow of the outside world and times, should resolutely open the doors to dialogue for reconciliation and unification, and thereby pool our energies for the construction of an advanced homeland.

North Korean compatriots,

In recognition of the ardent wishes of the countless families separated in the South and the North, we today inaugurated the

Assembly for Reunion of Ten Million Separated Family Members, for the purpose of realizing the reunion of dispersed families by our own efforts, and thereby contribute, though meagerly, to the reconciliation and integration of our nation.

The question of dispersed families, standing above any legal and political condition, should be solved before any other issue. The South-North Red Cross Conference had begun under this very lofty spirit. But the meeting had to be suspended after North Korea produced political conditions. We are convinced, however, that such a humanitarian dialogue will surely resume before long between the South and the North to launch projects intended to remove the pains of dispersed families.

In nearly 40 years of national division, the sorrows of the ten million dispersed family members have become the sorrows of all our people. Therefore, the project of reunion between the ten million dispersed family members would become a worthwhile undertaking that can be directly linked to the reconciliation and integration of our 60 million people. If and when the families and relatives dispersed in the South and the North can exchange letters and have opportunities to meet, it would lead to cementing the groundwork for connecting the severed breath of the nation and laying a strong stepping stone for reconciliation and unification.

With this firm conviction, we shall exert steady efforts until our resolve comes to fruition. We hope that you North Korean compatriots, too, will overcome all pains with perseverance until the day of sharing the joy of reunion, never losing faith in the reconciliation and unification of our nation. We are sending this message in the name of the Assembly for Reunion of Ten Million Separated Family Members, which is the organization of the 5 million dispersed family members in South Korea.

February 9, 1983
Members, Assembly for Reunion of
Ten Million Separated Family Members

Resolution

We the dispersed families, who have left our beloved families and home towns with the thought that we would be back home soon, have been living separated for nearly half a century across an artificial barrier separating the South and North, trying to placate our piteous longing for our missing families and home towns in the dream for national unification.

In this exigent reality where there is no way to know when the barrier of national division would be removed and whether we would become senile and ready to depart this life without seeing our keen grievance settled, we hereby announce before the world our resolve the question of reunion between the ten million dispersed family members by ourselves, and thereby contribute to advancing national unification.

Unification of the homeland should be realized with democratic and peaceful procedures by all means. In particular, the question of dispersed families must be solved based on humanitarianism and brotherly love, beyond any conditions and reasons. The strong resolve and untiring efforts of our dispersed families trying to solve our problems by ourselves would be helpful to reconnecting the ties between the South and the North, interspersed till now with discontinuity and confrontation, and also to advancing reconciliation and unification. Convinced that this resolve represents the determination of our entire people and the wishes of all mankind, we hereby make a resolution as follows:

— Confident that the question of reunion between dispersed families should be solved from the standpoint of humanitarianism and brotherly love, transcending any difference in ideologies, ideas and systems, we strongly reject the attempt of North Korea to use humanitarianism as a political weapon.

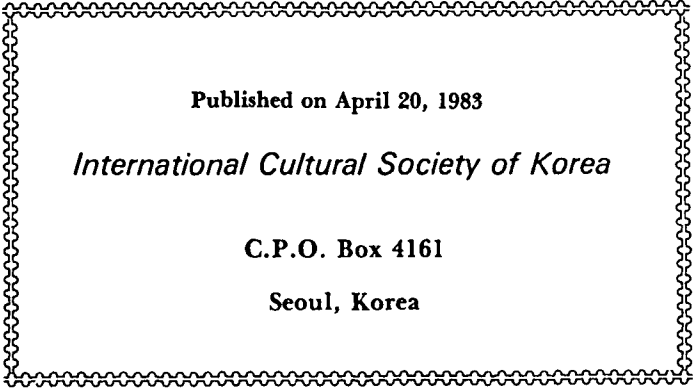
— Confident that the most reasonable and easy method of solving the question of reunion between dispersed families is to

promote a humanitarian dialogue between the South and the North transcending ideologies and systems, we hope that the suspended South-North Red Cross Conference will resume at an early date.

— Confident that national reconciliation is a prerequisite essential to the complete solution of the question of dispersed families and to the realization of national unification, we hope that to this end the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification which our government has proposed will be materialized at an early date. We strongly urge North Korea to respond positively thereto.

— Confident that the movement for reunion between dispersed families we are promoting would contribute much to the unification of the homeland, we pledge ourselves to do our utmost in solid unity until our goal is achieved.

February 9, 1983
Inaugural Meeting
Assembly for Reunion of
Ten Million Separated Family
Members



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South-North Dialogue in Korea

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Part I

Meeting of Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy

I. President Chun's Opening Address

— Renewed Call for Acceptance of Meeting between Top Leaders of South and North Korea, and Expression of Welcome to North Korean Delegates' Participation in Seoul IPU Meeting —

In an opening address at the second plenary meeting of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy held on June 1, 1983, President Chun Doo Hwan, concurrent chairman of the Advisory Council, called upon North Korea again to open its doors before the whole nation and to come forward to the forum of inter-Korean dialogue at an early date.

President Chun expressed concern that "due to the heterogeneous machinations of the North Koreans who run counter to the flow of the national history amidst the prolongation of the artificial division, we are now at a grave crossroads concerning whether or not we would be able to recover the homogeneity of the nation."

Stressing that the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification and the proposed meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea are the most reasonable measures that can improve inter-Korean relations and pave the way to unification, the President said, "It is much to be regretted that notwithstanding, North Korea has turned a deaf ear to our magnanimous and sincere proposals, refusing to come forward to the forum of dialogue."

In particular, President Chun said that although North Korea speaks of peaceful unification, they have not abandoned their contradictory "anti-peace" and "anti-unification" posture, in which they have never striven for peace and never responded favorably to any dialogue for unification.

Pointing out that "if the South and the North of Korea genuinely care for the nation and pursue peaceful unification, there can be no reason whatsoever why they should be afraid of mutual dialogue and exchanges," the Chief Executive once again

urged North Korea to return to the table of inter-Korean dialogue.

Meanwhile, concerning the 70th general meeting of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) set to be held in Seoul in October 1983, President Chun made it clear that "if North Korean delegates visit Seoul, we would welcome them warmly as our brothers and provide them with all conveniences, from the time they arrive in Seoul until they return to North Korea." The President expressed the hope that delegates from North Korea will attend the international event so as to display the nation's harmonious appearance before the whole world. "I am sure that this, if realized, would serve as a valuable momentum much helpful to the realization of unification," President Chun said.

The full text of the opening address made by President Chun at the meeting of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy is as follows:

Members of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy, distinguished guests, and my fellow 60 million compatriots,

We have assembled here today to further expedite our strong march onward toward peaceful unification by pooling our nation's resolves which, along with national power, burn more intensely than at any other time in the past.

I highly evaluate to fact that the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy has exerted great endeavors to advance along the road to unification, although it is only two short years since it was inaugurated, I extend my warm congratulations to you members of the Advisory Council for your efforts.

We all should congratulate you Advisory Council members representing various layers and strata who have voluntarily and devotedly striven to expell factors of instability prone to undermine our political and social stability, and have taken the lead in expanding our capabilities steadily, thus prompting the buds of unification to sprout finally across the country.

In my capacity as chairman of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy established under the Constitution, I solemnly pledge once again to join you in leading the van in pooling the 60 million people's wishes for, and resolve to achieve, unification, translating them into action.

Having liquidated the nearly century-old national history of trials, we are now near the zenith of our national potential, promising an advanced unified country.

The primary challenge we must meet in order to enable ourselves to play a proud role on the center stage of the world history instead of being manipulated, is to overcome soon the barrier of division blurred with fratricidal conflicts and confrontations.

The discontinuation between the same people that persists to date, 38 years after national liberation, is the very source of trials and pains that waste national energies and threaten national well-being.

Moreover, some unusual behavior and endless provocative schemes of the North Korean Communists lately, showing the extreme contradictions of their system, constitute a factor of uneasiness which may bring the havoc of another fratricidal conflict at any time.

Today's international situation, where turmoil and confusion prevail, also creates conditions of uncertainty which may bring some spill-over effect on the Korean peninsula.

In the circumstances, our people must meet one another open-heartedly like real brothers, if only to ensure our own survival and prosperity and urgently explore the avenue toward genuine reconciliation and unification.

We all should have a correct insight of both the present and future realities of our nation and need to foster our subjective capabilities strongly enough to provide, without fail, an impetus to national reconciliation and democratic unification.

The holy task of unification can be accomplished only when our people ourselves, not others, exert endeavors subjectively. It

is self-evident that no unification can ever be achieved in a passive manner in which we simply await with our arms folded.

I firmly believe that only when we totally pool our wisdom and strength, and promote the international environment around us in a way that can be helpful to achieving the great task of unification, will the doors to unification be thrown wide open before us.

My Compatriots,

The historical fact that the South and the North zones of Korea have been a single state and nation for more than 1,300 years is the very propellant and base of national unification.

However, due to the heterogeneous machinations of the North Koreans, who run counter to the flow of the national history amidst the prolongation of the artificial division, we are now at an important point where it is doubtful whether we would be able to recover the homogeneity of the nation.

If we fail to find a key to unification at this juncture, the root of our being a homogenous people may suffer an permanent damage.

To safeguard, therefore, the time-honored national history, we must lead the age of confrontation into the age of dialogue, and the age of friction into the age of reconciliation.

As we all well know, the North Korean Communists pay only lip service to the nation and unification, while behaving to the contrary. They speak of peaceful unification, but they have not abandoned their contradictory "anti-peace" and "anti-unification" posture, in which they have never striven for peace and never responded favorably to any dialogue for unification.

The North Korean Communists talk about the unity of the nation. In reality, however, they openly pursue frictions between the same people and proceed along the road to disunity.

Any idea to subvert the other side and attempt to exploit the question of unification for political propaganda are legacies of the age of confrontation that should be abandoned once and for all.

Upon the birth of the Fifth Republic, I have steadily made positive and comprehensive efforts to explore the way to national reconciliation and unification.

The Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification, and a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea which I have suggested, are the most reasonable measures that can improve inter-Korean relations and pave the way to unification, which are wholeheartedly supported at home and abroad.

It is much to be regretted that notwithstanding, North Korea has turned a deaf ear to our magnanimous and sincere proposals, refusing to come forward to the forum of dialogue.

No unification can ever be achieved without talks or visits. Rejection of dialogue and exchanges, therefore, is tantamount to refusing unification.

If the South and the North of Korea genuinely care about the nation and pursue peaceful unification, there can be no reason whatsoever why they should be afraid of mutual dialogue and exchanges.

I would like to take this occasion again to urge North Korea to open its doors to the whole nation, the subject of unification, and to come forward to the table of inter-Korean dialogue at an early date.

Today's world is a village where even different nations open themselves to one another and mutually cooperate beyond the barrier of different ideologies.

Our people must dismantle the barrier at an early date and explore a new age of harmony and unification, thereby participating subjectively in the historical flow of such openness.

Compatriots at home and abroad,

As you all know well, the 70th general meeting of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) is scheduled to be held in Seoul this coming October. Delegates from numerous countries will visit Korea to attend the meeting. How fine it would be if many delegates from North Korea attend such an international event

to display our people's harmonious appearance before the whole world.

I am sure that this, if realized, would serve as a valuable momentum very helpful to the realization of unification, the craving of our people.

Our government makes it clear that if North Korean delegates visit Seoul, we would welcome them warmly as our brothers and provide them with all conveniences from the time they arrive in Seoul until they return to North Korea.

Brethren,

Today we are on an energetic march with a nearly mystic national vitality and potential toward creating an advanced homeland and realizing a unified homeland at this historical turningpoint, swept by violent wind and waves, the waves of change and development, involving many difficulties and trials.

The paramount goal we are to accomplish in this generation and, at the same time, my ardent wish is to build a prosperous country in which all the people can lead comfortable lives, and to perfect a unified homeland where the 60 million compatriots of South and North Korea can get along well and live peacefully inside the same fence.

To this end, we all should put together our resolve and potential on the basis of a firm stability.

Only when political and social stability is secured and national strength expands powerfully, based thereon, can the foundation for unification be laid solidly, and the peaceful unification we all wish to be achieved becomes reality, not a dream.

But stability can by no means be realized easily without any effort. Just near us, there is a force which impatiently looks forward to any shift in our stability. They are the North Korean Communists.

The North Korean Communists, who are anxious about shattering our stability, attempt to foment chaotic confusion inside our society with an eye to breaking up our potential. The

recent malignant deceptive propaganda they waged through the so-called "Voice of Unification Revolutionary Party," their black propaganda machine, to the effect that the "South Korean government is promoting a constitutional amendment," is an example of such an attempt.

Of course, I well know that none of our people would be taken in by such a shallow machination. The Constitution of our Fifth Republic is the charter of the new age born of the wish of the whole nation for the peaceful transfer of power. The Constitution provides for the single term of the Presidency, with the intent of basically forestalling disputes over prolonged holding of power, disputes which scattered our national potential in the past. In this way, almost every provision of the Constitution incorporates a spirit for the expansion of national strength and for national harmony.

The North Korean Communists are certainly afraid of the fact that our national strength would be further built up when this Constitution takes sound root in our political history.

Therefore, no matter whatever agitation or provocation they may perpetrate, our people should carefully foster the foundation of stability without being disturbed in the least.

What I would like to emphasize here is the fact that the development of a country can by no means be realized by the efforts of any single political leader, but can be achieved soundly through the concerted endeavors of all the people.

The foundation of national development will be further consolidated when all the people in various strata, such as political, economy, social, culture, religion and press refrain from doing anything harmful to national harmony or national development, and positively participate in the securing of sustained stability.

Therefore, I wish to ask you members of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy to exert pioneering endeavors to this end, mindful that our political and social stability constitute a shortcut to the peaceful national unifica-

tion we all seek.

Deeply aware that political and social stability is essential to surmounting difficulties at home and abroad, to building up national strength and to achieving the sacred task of peaceful unification, I in the capacity as chairman of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy, would like to stress that should there be any factor of instability detrimental to such efforts, it would be acted on resolutely, no matter what sacrifice it may entail.

Let us all carry on our energetic march onward to explore a shining national history, as pillars supporting the creation of an advanced homeland, and as the subjects of national unification.

As I ask you members of the Advisory Council to exert more dedicated efforts to advance the time of such a glory, I pray that all blessings will always be with you and your families.

As can be seen in the above, President Chun, in his opening address at the meeting of the Advisory Council for Peaceful Unification Policy, again called on North Korea to accept a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea, and expressed the willingness to welcome it if North Korean delegates attend the Seoul IPU meeting. The Presidential call underscores the practical unification efforts and the spirit of national reconciliation which the government has consistently made and pursued from a comprehensive and positive position.

As is well known, President Chun proposed on January 12, 1981 an exchange of visits between the top leaders of South and North Korea, and a meeting of the top leaders of the two sides at the first plenary meeting of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy on June 5 of the same year. Ever since, the Republic of Korea has on every opportunity called for an effective dialogue such as a meeting between the two sides' top leaders for the purpose of providing a breakthrough in the strained inter-Korean relations.

Nevertheless, North Korea, turning a deaf ear to the sincere

proposals by the South for unification dialogue, persists in an "anti-dialogue" posture, in which they in effect block the resumption of the dialogue by putting forth unreasonable preconditions, denying the system of the other side in dialogue.

The repeated calls by the South for a meeting between the top leaders of the two sides are more than justified in view of the various conditions and demands of the times.

The South remains confident that of various possible forms of dialogue, meeting directly between the top leaders of the two sides is the most efficient method of dialogue for the solution of pending and future problems of South and North Korea. A summit meeting is a kind of dialogue whose efficacy has been objectively proven in the course of the normalization of inter-German relations and those of other disputing nations.

The need of a top leaders' meeting has become all the more pressing because of the experience of past contacts between the two sides of Korea, and in view of the nature of the pending questions that have to be ironed out between the South and the North.

Since the early 1970s, several channels of working-level talks and contacts were maintained between the two sides of Korea. The North, however, has persisted in a passive attitude, engaging in arguments to sell its own cause instead of trying to make a positive approach to the essence of the question.

In order, therefore, to facilitate more efficient contacts, having an access to the core of the problem, instead of a dialogue of unproductive arguments, it is important that a top-level meeting be held between the two sides. Moreover, it goes without saying that to solve the sophisticated problems of a military nature, such as the easing of tensions and prevention of the recurrence of war, top leaders of the two sides having the highest political discretion and power should meet in person at an early date.

All in all, a meeting between the top leaders of the two sides should be held at the soonest date possible to provide a breakthrough in the efforts to improve inter-Korean relations and resume contacts and dialogue between the two sides.

At the same time, the government's willingness to welcome North Korea's participation in the IPU meeting taking place in Seoul in October 1983, is a realistic move designed to provide momentum to reaffirm the nation's homogeneity and promote national reconciliation. It also is part of the government's practical efforts to foster conditions for national unification by way of exchanges and dialogue.

On the Korean peninsula today, tensions are building up, and so are the mutual distrust and hostile sentiments, due largely to unending provocations by the North Korean Communists, consequently reinforcing barrier of division. Under the circumstances the only way to realize peaceful unification of the divided land is for the two sides to promote mutual understanding and trust through exchanges and cooperation.

Seoul's hosting of an IPU meeting would become a national event which will certainly elevate the pride and dignity of Korea, and a great historical festival which will serve to consolidate the country's cooperation and amicable relations with the rest of the world.

Nevertheless, North Korea has been attempting to obstruct the Seoul IPU meeting by all available means, only bringing about damage to Korea's national pride and prestige in the world community.

As is well known, today's world is an age of "global village," in which even different peoples open themselves to one another and mutually cooperate beyond the barrier of ideologies. If the Koreans, raised with a common heritage, fail to become reconciled but continue to engage in confrontation, under such conditions of the times, peaceful unification we all crave for would only drift far off.

If North Korean delegates, too, could attend the Seoul IPU meeting and help display the image of the nation's unity before the world it would, as President Chun pointed out in his opening address, serve as an important momentum to advancing unification.

2. Policy Debates by Representatives of Various Circles

The Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy held its second plenary meeting on June 1, 1983 with a total of 10,074 Council members from at home and abroad attending. At the meeting, participating members waged active policy debates with respect to the implementation of peaceful unification policies.

In the debates, representatives of the political, art-cultural, religious and labor circles, the Society of Five Provinces in the North, and the Korean communities in America and Japan presented sincere and forward-looking policy ideas for consideration by the government, vowing to play a leading role in laying the foundation for peaceful unification.

Kim Kyu-byok, chairman of the Federation of Korean Trade Unions, suggested in the policy debates that the two zones of Korea exchange groups of industrial inspection teams formed among workers and that workers' athletic games and cultural festival be held between the two sides, under the joint sponsorship of the workers' organizations of the South and the North. Another debator, Shin Young-kyun, chairman of the Federation of Artistic and Cultural Organizations of Korea, proposed the creation, as a joint undertaking, of a South-North cultural exchange center at Panmunjom to promote cultural exchange programs between the two sides.

Shin Young-sok, special member in charge of unification issues, Democratic Korea Party, who represented the political circles, suggested that "the nation's doors should be opened, even to those Korean residents abroad who are critical to the government, so that they can have a first-hand observation of the development and peaceful unification efforts of the homeland." Shin also suggested the government declare that if some of the foreign delegates attending the IPU Seoul meeting wish to visit Pyongyang, the government would provide the convenience of allowing them to enter North Korea by way of Panmunjom.

Meanwhile, the members of the Advisory Council adopted a five-point resolution, in which they renewed their resolve or peaceful unification, stressing that all issues pending between South and North Korea should be solved peacefully through dialogue between the direct parties of the South and the North, and to this end, North Korea should respond affirmatively to a proposed meeting between the top leaders of the South and the North and other inter-Korean contacts suggested by the Republic of Korea.

The gist of the remarks made by the representatives of various circles in the policy debates, and the full text of the resolution adopted at the plenary meeting were as follows:

Gist of Remarks by Representative of Political Circles

Shin Young-sok, special member
in charge of unification issues,
Democratic Korea Party

.... We have maintained that no matter how exigent our unification may be, it should be achieved in a peaceful way under any circumstances. The Communist regime in the North does not, at least in words, deny peaceful unification. But, so far as the North is concerned, peaceful unification does not mean the integration of the land and people or the selection of a social system by way of the free will of the whole nation, but means the realization of unification under Communism based on Marxism-Leninism. In the North, there exists in effect only a Communist party designed for them to exercise one-party dictatorship. The other political parties they purport to exist in the North carry no meaning other than window-dressing and propaganda purpose. ...

At the same time, we cannot but recognize the uniqueness

of the question of unification, a uniqueness that because of its importance, difficulty and internationality, a clue to unification can be found only through a high degree of political decision.

Therefore, the meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea, which we have constantly called for, is a shortcut to solution of the unification question. One thing that remains to be done is prompting a change in the attitude of the North Koreans who refuse to show any affirmative response to our realistic and reasonable ideas, and have them come forward to the conference table.

I would like to suggest several measures to solve these various problems on a step-by-step basis.

First, we open our door to all Korean residents abroad, including those critical of the government, and have them observe and feel our development and efforts for peaceful unification, so that they can modify their posture in favor of a more solid base of national reconciliation.

I believe that the efficacy of this proposal can be proven by the experience we have gained through the homeland visits by Chochongryon-affiliated Korean residents in Japan in the past several years, as well as by the warm hospitality extended by our government and people to the passengers and crewmen of a hijacked mainland Chinese airplane, and the subsequent meeting with mainland Chinese emissaries.

Second, we declare that if there would be any among the foreign delegates to the IPU Seoul meeting this October who wish to visit Pyongyang or tour North Korea, we would provide them with the convenience of entering the North by way of Panmunjom. This would be a way to open the door to inter-Korean exchanges, though indirectly and serve as an opportunity to display our openness, magnanimity and national maturity before foreign delegates and North Korea....

Gist of Remarks by Representative of Religious Circles

Lee Sang-eun, chairman
Catholic Laymen's Society

... The Communist regime of North Korea has shut off and destroyed one after another temples, cathedrals and churches. They have imprisoned, expelled and killed countless clergymen simply because they were clergymen. Even ordinary laymen had basic rights deprived for the sole reason that they had faith.

They have denied the spiritual value of all human beings and trampled upon human dignity and liberty.

Nevertheless, they have put forth fabricated religious organizations in an attempt to mislead our and world public opinion. It was affirmed long ago in their public documents that they had systematically destroyed the social base of religion.

These disguised religious organizations seek to exploit and seduce the fraternalism, magnanimity and kindness which religiously active persons tend to harbor. This childish farce of North Korea has only become a laughing stock.

If the North Korean Communist regime, nevertheless, refuses to recognize this fact, I, as a religiously active person, wish to ask this question:

Are the North Korean authorities willing to allow the religiously active persons of the Republic of Korea, where more than 80 percent of the people lead religious lives, to visit North Korea directly, so that they can verify with their own eyes "if religion really exists in North Korea," "if the North Korean people can really enjoy the freedom of religion," and "if temples, cathedrals and churches really exist in North Korea as in the past?"

The North Korean Communist authorities have the political and moral obligation to answer the question promptly and

directly.

If they fail to answer, it would amount to proving themselves that their propaganda allegations were totally false.

I recommend that these questions be adopted as a proposition to North Korea. If religion and religiously active persons really exist in North Korea, there would be no reason why they should reject visit by religiously active persons....

Gist of Remarks by Representative of Culture and Art Circles

Shin Young-kyun, chairman
Federation of Artistic and Cultural
Organization of Korea

.... All of us active in cultural and artistic circles wish to call upon North Korean authorities to respond favorably to the sacred task of genuine national reconciliation if they are really interested in unification of the homeland. As we urge the cultural and artistic persons of North Korea to return to human conscience in response to the invariable national wish, and to join in the creation of a genuine national culture and art with struggles and glory, I would like to make some suggestions as follows.

I believe that the recovery of the cultural and artistic homogeneity of South and North Korea would be a desirable cultural dialogue, and can serve as a shortcut creating the basis of national consensus, and, through reconciliation and direct approach, to the unification of the homeland. Our cultural and artistic people are sure that cultural exchanges between South and North Korea are one way we can contribute to national unification. We hope that such exchanges will be implemented concretely and positively between the two sides of Korea.

In inter-Korean cultural exchanges, it would be good to

promote the exchange of materials and conduct joint research in non-ideological academic areas such as humanities and social and natural sciences. In the area of culture and art, including folk and traditional arts, performance exchange, exhibition and publication could be carried out selectively also in a non-political and non-ideological sector.

To promote such cultural exchanges between South and North Korea, I believe it is advisable to create jointly a South-North cultural exchange center at Panmunjom. It would be significant to build a cultural area at Panmunjom, where political and military confrontation persists. Through such a center, the two sides could arrange cultural exchange activities on national holidays and other significant commemorative days, so that the two sides would be able to remember that they are the same people of the same blood line, and to explore the zone of national concurrence

Gist of Remarks by Representative of Labor Circles

**Kim Kyu-byok, chairman
Federation of Korean Trade Unions**

... Pyongyang's Kim Il-sung and his son insist that the Communist dynasty they forged is a "paradise on the earth." I wish to take this occasion to offer several proposals to the dynastic ruler of Pyongyang.

First, if North Korea is truly a "paradise on earth," they can enable our workers of the Republic of Korea to directly witness the "paradise." North Korean workers, too, should be allowed to have first-hand observation of our workers here in the South. By so doing, the exchange of labor organizations between South and North Korea would be realized smoothly.

Second, I suggest that the two sides form and exchange in-

dustrial inspection teams formed among workers. Such mutual visits would expressly show on which side workers work under better conditions and which system — a Communist controlled economic system or a liberal economic system — is better.

.Third, the labor organizations of South and North Korea would jointly sponsor workers' athletic games and cultural festivals. The workers of the two sides are fully capable of understanding and caring for each other because they are the same workers. If and when these are materialized, our workers would literally become a pivotal force in the promotion of unification.

What our workers need urgently is peace. Industrial peace, above all, brings social peace and prosperity. At the same time, it is an immovable truth that political and social peace play a guardian role of safeguarding industrial peace.

Only when tension between South and North Korea is removed, and when military and political peace is guaranteed, can industrial peace be assured, the cradle of the well-being of workers.

To this end, an inter-Korean dialogue should be resumed early to ease tension. National reconciliation should be achieved first, before our homeland is reunified democratically and peacefully

Gist of Remarks of Representative of Five Provinces in North Korea

**Ahn Myung-ryon, chairman
Federation of
Five North Korean Provincial
Citizens' Association**

... To our expatriates, the most pressing and urgent wish is to meet our dispersed family members, or to ascertain each

other's fate. But this extremely human and exigent desire has been left unfulfilled due to the intransigency and unreasonableness of the Kim Il-sung regime of North Korea. It really is distressing.

If the Kim Il-sung regime had not suspended the South-North Red Cross Conference begun in early 1972, the humble wishes of our expatriates might have been met by this time. They asserted that even such basic things as exchange of letters and mutual meetings could be done only after a so-called "environment" was created. Finally, they suspended the meeting altogether, demanding ridiculously that "U.S. forces should be withdrawn from Korea" and the "anti-Communist policy of South Korea must be renounced." What do the U.S. forces in Korea have anything to do with the project of exchanging letters and arranging meetings between dispersed families? If they were really interested in resolving our pains at a time when our government called for the arrangement of family reunions, could they raise the issue of the law and policy of the South?

Our 5 million people hailing from the five North Korean provinces are well aware of the truth of Kim Il-sung's Communist Party. Their ulterior motives are too clear.

First, Kim Il-sung continues to seek unification of Korea under Communism in a bid to recover the failure he suffered in the Korean War.

Second, to prepare for another aggressive war for such purpose, they attempt to squeeze out even the last drop of blood from the North Korean compatriots.

Third, for this purpose, they maintain a suffocating closed society by blinding the eyes and stuffing the ears of their people ...

If Kim Il-sung and his son repent for their past crimes, and return to national and human consciences, we won't insist in holding them responsible for the past wrongdoings.

We are also willing to explore with them a way to bring about peaceful and democratic national unification before the

grand cause of national reconciliation.

Even today, though belated, Kim Il-sung and his son should positively respond to the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification announced by President Chun Doo Hwan. This is the only way to forestall internecine destruction of the nation.

They must further agree unconditionally to the early resumption of the suspended South-North Red Cross Conference. Our expatriates have not many more years to live. How can we close our eyes without becoming reunited with our missing families? The Kim Il-sung regime should no further perpetrate the national crime of ignoring the pathetic wishes of our 10 million dispersed family members

**Gist of Remarks by Representative of
Korean Community in America**

Ma Chong-in, chairman
Washington Area Council
Advisory Council on Peaceful
Unification Policy

... We believe that the most pressing task facing us in the United States is for our Korean residents in the American society to become united into oneness and harmony. We are confident that united and harmonious strength becomes the very driving force of our national unification.

Our Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification is in accord with the flow of the world situation, which is moving toward peaceful coexistence and prevention of war between the East and the West. Our Formula is a rational and realistic idea which can be accepted by any party, for it does not run counter to the interests of any of the world powers — the U.S., Japan, USSR and mainland China — having keen

stakes in the Korean peninsula.

In particular, the proposal for a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea is being acclaimed by the whole world. To look into today's world, it was the results of open-hearted dialogue between top rulers that tension has been alleviated and peace installed in areas of extreme political confrontation or military tension.

In this sense, a meeting between the top leaders should be realized at an early date even to combine the will of the homeland into one.

No matter whatever excuses the Pyongyang regime may produce in their rejection of the proposed meeting, they can't have any persuasive power.

I am convinced that the Pyongyang regime should correctly grasp the flow of world situation and accept our unification formula

Gist of Remarks by Representative of Korean Community in Japan

**Chang Chong-myung, chief
Central Headquarters, Korean
Residents Association in Japan**

... The extreme activities of Chochongryon, a pro-Pyongyang Korean residents' group in Japan, which is wholly controlled by the North Korean Workers' (Communist) Party, are often misunderstood by a third country as if they were free behavior of some Korean residents, making it difficult to judge objectively which is the genuine opinion of the Korean people.

What our residents' association badly needed under the circumstances was a frame under which our nation's opinion could be bonded into oneness externally.

It was at this time that we received the Formula for Na-

tional Reconciliation and Democratic Unification, which President Chun Doo Hwan, concurrent chairman of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy, announced on January 22, 1982.

The Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification featured:

First, that a Consultative Conference for National Reunification be organized among the representatives of the residents of the two areas, where a unified constitution is to be drafted;

Second, the name of a unified country, the basic domestic and foreign policy directions, and the form of government should be discussed and agreed on in the course of drafting a unified constitution; and

Third, North Korea, too, can produce a draft for a unified constitution of their own.

This epochal proposal was designed to integrate the nation's will and resolve into unity by encompassing even North Korean ideas. This is why the Formula incorporates the recovery of national rights to combine our national demands and needs into oneness externally for effective enforcement.

However, the Pyongyang regime of Kim Il-sung and his son is yet to show any affirmative response thereto. They instead insist in an old-fashioned idea of so-called "confederation system."

The Kim Il-sung regime calls for recognition of the existing systems of the two sides, but only in words. They attach preconditions to their idea, arguing that even this so-called "confederation system" can be adopted only after the incumbent government of the Republic of Korea has "stepped down" in favor of a pro-Communist regime, and the U.S. forces withdrawn from Korea.

This is not an act of combining the opinions of South and North Korea into one but an attempt to enforce their own ideas upon the other side. Therefore, this is intended to seek not reconciliation but confrontation, and not unification but further split...

Resolution

At this juncture, when all the people are marching onward toward the grand goal of creating an advanced homeland, we, on the second anniversary of the founding of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy, deeply renew our mission and, incorporating the wishes of the 60 million people craving for peaceful unification of the homeland, hereby resolve as follows:

— *We reaffirm that unification of the homeland and other issues pending between South and North Korea should be solved peacefully through a direct dialogue between the parties, namely, South and North Korea.*

— *Convinced that the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification announced by President Chun Doo Hwan is the most rational device to solve the present and future problems facing our nation, we wholeheartedly support and welcome our government's resolve and broad efforts for a unification dialogue intended to translate the Formula into action.*

— *We urge North Korea to abandon their mistaken attitude to reject inter-Korean dialogue on undue excuses, and come forward to the table of dialogue in response to the proposed meetings between the top leaders of South and North Korea and between the representatives of South and North Korean government authorities, political parties and social organizations.*

— *We urge North Korea to desist immediately from engaging in acts of undermining the nation's interests and prestige in the international community, and adopt a rightful posture of pursuing the nation's common interests and development in accordance with the spirit of national reconciliation.*

— *We pledge ourselves to exert all efforts to create a*

glorious advanced homeland and advance the realization of peaceful national unification.

June 1, 1983
Members of Advisory Council on
Peaceful Unification Policy

The plenary meeting of the Advisory Council, held for the first time in two full years, was thus significant in that it provided yet another momentum to pool the resolve and capabilities of the whole nation for national unification, and thereby to carry out more forcefully the unification policy of the country.

In this respect, continued efforts are needed to encompass, and reflect on government policies, the varying opinions of various circles in connection with the promotion of unification policies, so that the nationwide will to participate in the holy task of unification can be further spread and deepened among the people.

Only by so doing can the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy meet the people's expectations and fully fulfill its inherent role and function, to affirm national consensus on peaceful unification and advise the government on the establishment and execution of various necessary policies.

It is highly evaluated that since the birth of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy on June 5, 1981, the Council members, with a firm conviction in unification, have played a pivotal role in laying the foundation for unification by 1) engaging in advisory activities on unification policy, 2) establishing theoretical grounds for the realization of national reconciliation and democratic unification, 3) sponsoring seminars and conducting research activities, 4) helping create an environment abroad for the support of the country's unification policy, and 5) launching positive public relations activities on unification.

3. Reactions from Various Circles

President Chun's call upon North Korea to accept the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification and the proposed meeting between the top leaders of the two sides of Korea, made in his opening address before the second meeting of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy on June 1, 1983, was highly acclaimed by various circles in the country, which observed that the Presidential urge manifested before the world the practical efforts of the Fifth Republic to realize peaceful unification. As for the President's remarks that if North Korean delegates attend the Seoul IPU meeting this fall, the government would welcome them, the circles fully supported it, saying that it "displayed the government's unchanging zeal for national unification and positive policies toward North Korea."

Domestic newspapers, too, saluted the Presidential remarks made at the Advisory Council session, as "having reaffirmed our constant unification policy and unchanging resolve to achieve peaceful unification." The press media then strongly called upon North Korea to come to the table of dialogue for national reconciliation and unification.

4. Reaction from North Korea

North Korea levelled all abuses to the second plenary session of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy held on June 1, 1983. In a commentary appearing in the newspaper *Rodong Shinmun* on June 5 under the heading "Dirty Farce," North Korea asserted the event was "an anti-Communist fuss aimed only at misleading public opinion and fomenting enmity and confrontation." However, they didn't mention the professed willingness to welcome North Korean delegates to the Seoul IPU meeting should they attend it.

The North Koreans also charged that the South has been trying

to “have national split recognized internationally by attempting to seek simultaneous entry of the two sides into the United Nations, and cross recognition.” North Korea then tried to instigate South Koreans to stage anti-government and anti-U.S. struggles to “force through the pullout of U.S. forces from Korea,” one of the pre-conditions they attached to the realization of a “confederation system.”

Part II

**Urging of North Korea's Acceptance of
Offer for Meeting of Representatives
of South and North Korean Authorities,
Political Parties and Social Organizations**

1. Statement by Minister of National Unificatin Sohn

Minister of National Unification Sohn Jae-shik, in a statement on April 1, 1983, urged North Korea to agree to the earlier proposal for a meeting of the representatives of South and North Korean government authorities, political parties and social organizations. Noting that in his February 1 proposal, he suggested that a preliminary meeting be held some time in March, the Minister said that though the proposed period had already passed, "we will sit face to face with them and open-heartedly discuss all issues at any time if only they come to the conference table."

Minister Sohn charged in the statement that "North Korea, revealing insincerity once again toward inter-Korean dialogue, has failed to show any affirmative response until this day, two months after the new proposal for dialogue was advanced."

The Minister said this is utterly to be regretted, for it amounts to turning a deaf ear to the invariable wishes of all the people that a broad dialogue between South and North Korea should be realized at an early date to bring about reconciliation and unification.

Furthermore, Minister Sohn said, North Korea, immediately after the South made the proposal, proclaimed a "quasi-war state" in all parts of North Korea, placing a further strain on inter-Korean relations, and is perpetrating anti-national schemes to obstruct by all means the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) meeting slated for this coming fall in Seoul.

Stressing that the proposed meeting encompasses even the design of the "South-North negotiations" North Korea has demanded at every opportunity, so there can be no reason whatsoever for them to attempt to attach any further conditions or to reject it," Minister Sohn said that if North Korea truly cares for peaceful unification and the national interests as they proclaim in lip service, they should desist from attempting to mislead world opinion with senseless rhetoric and come forward in actuality to the forum of dialogue to exchange views and discuss matters justly.

The full text of Minister Sohn's statement is as follows:

Last February 1, I proposed to North Korea that a meeting of the representatives of South and North Korean government authorities, political parties and social organizations be held at an early date to discuss the question of convening a meeting of the top leaders of South and North Korea and other issues concerning peaceful unification raised by the two sides. I also suggested that to discuss this matter, the two sides hold a preliminary meeting at Panmunjom, Seoul or Pyongyang within the month of March.

However, North Korea, revealing their insincerity once again toward inter-Korean dialogue, has failed to show any affirmative response until this day, two months after our new proposal for dialogue was advanced, and past the suggested period for a preliminary meeting.

This is utterly to be regretted, for it amounts to turning a deaf ear to the invariable wishes of all the people that a broad dialogue between South and North Korea should be realized at an early date to bring about reconciliation and unification.

Furthermore, immediately after we made the sincere proposal for a dialogue, North Korea proclaimed a "quasi-war-time state" in all parts of North Korea placing a further strain on inter-Korean relations. They are also perpetrating anti-national schemes to obstruct by all means the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) meeting slated for this coming fall in Seoul.

This bespeaks their machination to foment friction and division, contrary to their lip service to peace and unification dialogue, and to realize their wild fancy for unification under communism through violence and force of arms. This double-dealing, treacherous conduct of North Korea, which does not escape the censure of the world community, will never be tolerated by our nation.

Nevertheless in conformity with national aspirations for

unification, the government of the Republic of Korea has exerted steady and extensive efforts to improve inter-Korean relations and solve the question of unification, making a series of practicable proposals and measures.

In this year's policy statement, in particular, President Chun Doo Hwan once again emphasized the need to hold a meeting of the top leaders of South and North Korea at an early date. The President outlined the pressing tasks to be discussed and settled at the top leaders' meeting: how to make effective arrangements to prevent a war on the Korean peninsula, an inclusive discussion of both sides' ideas of unification, an agreement to refrain from excessive competition in the international arena, and the fostering of international conditions favorable to peaceful unification. These are the kind of issues that cannot be put aside indefinitely and that should be solved by all means between the two sides of Korea in opening the doors to mutual contacts and dialogue and in exploring in concert the road to reconciliation and unification.

However, immediately following President Chun's policy statement, North Korea made the preposterous proposal to convene a "joint meeting of South and North Korean political parties and social organizations" to discuss only the question of the "withdrawal of U.S. forces." The limitation of the discussion to the issue of U.S. military withdrawal at a meeting of representatives of political parties and social organizations exclusive of the responsible authorities of South and North Korea, only sheds light on their ulterior scheme to exploit dialogue for propaganda purposes without any interest in real communication.

With a firm determination to explore the road to inter-Korean contacts and dialogue by all means, we broadmindedly and sincerely offered a new proposal again this time, and thereby paved the way for North Korea to come to the forum of dialogue if only they have any interest in peaceful unification. We made the February 1 proposal from the standpoint that not

simply the position of one side only but all issues raised by the two sides should be discussed inclusively at a broad forum of dialogue attended not only by the representatives of the government authorities but also, to reflect the North Korean position, by the representatives of political parties and social organizations.

Since the meeting of the representatives of South and North Korean government authorities, political parties and social organizations we have suggested encompasses even the design of the "South-North negotiations" North Korea demands at every opportunity, there can be no room whatsoever for them to attempt to attach any further conditions or to reject it.

Regretting their intransigency and a series of provocative and anti-national actions they have recently perpetrated, we wish to take this occasion to call for their awakening in the name of the whole people of Korea. If North Korea truly cares for peaceful unification and the national interest as they proclaim in lip service, they should desist from attempting to mislead world opinion with senseless rhetoric and come forward in actuality to the forum of dialogue to exchange views and discuss matters justly.

In the expectation that a meeting between the representatives of South and North Korean government authorities, political parties and social organizations will be realized at an early date, I wish to make it clear that this proposal remains in effect. Even though our hoped-for period for a preliminary meeting has already past, we will sit face to face with them and openheartedly discuss all issues at any time if only they come to the conference table. Confident that North Korea won't be able for long to avert their face from our open-minded and inclusive proposal for dialogue, and that therefore our proposal will without fail be materialized in the not too distant future, we will continue to exert all our available endeavors with perseverance.

The purport of this statement by Minister Sohn can be explained as follows:

First of all, in circumstances where North Korea shows no favorable response to a meeting between the representatives of South and North Korean government authorities, political parties and social organizations, the statement was intended to make it clear that the offer continues to remain in force though the suggested period for a preliminary meeting had passed, and also to call again for any affirmative response to the proposal, keeping the door to dialogue open so that they can come to the conference table at any time.

The statement was aimed also at letting it be known that since the proposed representatives' meeting incorporates even North Korean demands, they would find no excuse to reject it if only they are interested in a dialogue. In the form of representatives, the meeting is supposed to be attended not only by the representatives of government authorities but also by those of political parties and social organizations. As for its topics, too, the meeting is to take up "all the ideas the two sides produce in connection with peaceful unification."

Moreover, Minister Sohn's statement was to invite public attention to the fact that North Korea, while refusing to come to the forum of dialogue, only attempts to foment tensions through unending agitation against the South and the declaration of a "quasi-war state," and call upon the North Koreans to desist from indulging in anti-peace and anti-national conduct.

2. Statement by Chairman of Central Committee for National Unification

The Central Committee for National Unification on March 2, 1983 urged North Korea to accept the South-proposed meeting of the representatives of South and North Korean government authorities, political parties and social organizations, and thereby

realizing a meeting between the top leaders of the two sides and other matters of mutual interest.

In a statement, Cheon Kwan-wu, chairman of the Central Committee, said it is to be highly regretted that North Korea failed to show any affirmative response to the proposed meeting until one month after the offer. "Considering the fact that North Korea has time and again demanded the participation of political parties and social organizations in the dialogue apparatus, North Korea would find no grounds whatsoever to oppose our new proposal," said Chairman Cheon.

Pointing out that North Korea surprisingly proclaimed a "quasi-war state" immediately after the proposal was advanced, Cheon said that it was an act shocking to the whole people, craving for unification, for the North Koreans to build up tensions through the proclamation of a "quasi-war state" in response to a call for a broad dialogue between the South and the North.

The Chairman went on to say in the statement that there can be no reason why the two sides, if really interested in peaceful unification, cannot sit face to face at the table of unconditional dialogue, beyond the barriers of ideologies and systems. He stressed he is convinced that the realization of a meeting between the top leaders of the two sides is a shortcut to opening the door to inter-Korean contacts and dialogue, and would become an epochal move to find a breakthrough in the strained inter-Korean relations and explore avenues to unification.

The full statement of Chairman Cheon's statement is as follows:

Our people, who live in pain over national division for nearly 40 years, today harbor more pressing the wish for national unification than at any other time, impatiently looking forward to seeing the door to inter-Korean dialogue open at an early date to unfold a new historical chapter toward national reconciliation and unification. Our Central Committee for National Unification, pooling the whole people's wish for unification, would like to present our standpoint to North Korea.

A clue to the solution of the unification question can be found only when we start from the position that we are the same people who have been sharing the same blood line, the same history, and the same culture and tradition on the same land over a long time. If we are to accomplish the task of unification in the interests of our national survival, interests and development, we must respect democratic procedures based on the principle of national self-determination as well as peaceful behavior. To this end, most of all, a dialogue should be realized between the direct parties — the South and the North of Korea. Only when they meet on the joint square of the nation, transcending differences in ideologies and systems, can they lay groundwork for reconciliation and unification.

It was in this context that President Chun Doo Hwan, in his policy statement on January 18, 1983, especially stressed the importance of jointly exploring the road to reconciliation and unification by solving the issues pending between South and North Korea through dialogue in a way that puts national interests above any other thing. At the same time, President Chun called for the early holding of a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea, putting forth concretely the immediate problems that have to be discussed and solved at the proposed meeting. The suggested top leaders' meeting is being wholeheartedly supported at home and abroad, for it is the best way to pave the way to our national reconciliation and unification in today's cruel international circumstances.

Obviously, to shun blame for their rejection of dialogue, North Korea demanded a "joint meeting between South and North Korea political parties and social organizations" for the purpose of discussing none but the issue of "withdrawal of U.S. forces from Korea." They thus openly denied the need of a dialogue for the solution of the unification issue, throwing cold water upon the people aspiring for unification dialogue.

Despite the insincere attitude of North Korea, our government, in a consistent policy to provide for the square of dialogue

between the two sides in the first place, proposed on February 1, 1983 a meeting between the representatives of South and North Korean government authorities, political parties and social organizations, which encompassed even North Korean demands, and suggested that to arrange the meeting, a working-level meeting be held within the month of March either at Panmunjom or Seoul and Pyongyang, with the participation of two representatives of government authorities and three political party representatives from each side.

Considering the fact that North Korea time and again has demanded the participation of South and North Korean political parties and social organizations in dialogue apparatus, North Korea would see no reason whatsoever to oppose the proposed meeting between the representatives of South and North Korean government authorities, political parties and social organizations. Therefore, North Korea should naturally agree to the meeting.

However, immediately after we advanced the proposal, North Korea surprisingly declared a so-called "quasi-war state." It cannot but be an act of shocking the whole people, aspiring for the solution of the unification question through dialogue, for the North Koreans to respond the call for a broad dialogue with the buildup of tension by way of the declaration of a "quasi-war state."

If North Korea truly pursues peaceful unification, there can be no reason whatsoever why they can't sit face to face with the South at the table of unconditional dialogue, beyond the barrier of ideologies and systems. We are convinced that the realization of a meeting between the top leaders of the two sides is a shortcut to opening the door to inter-Korean contacts and dialogue, and would become an epochal momentum to find a breakthrough in the strained inter-Korean relations and explore an avenue to unification.

It is to be extremely regretted that North Korea doesn't show any affirmative response to the suggestion for a meeting

of the representatives of South and North Korean government authorities, political parties and social organizations to date, one month after the proposal was advanced.

We call upon North Korea again to agree to the proposed representatives' meeting at an early date, and thereby open-heartedly discuss and solve the question of realizing a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea and other issues with which the two sides struggle for the sake of unification.

3. Reactions from Various Circles

Commenting on Minister of National Unification Sohn Jae-shik's April 1 statement calling upon North Korea to agree to the proposed representatives' meeting, various circles in the country welcomed it, remarking that it was yet another move to display the Republic's consistent posture toward dialogue clearly once again before the world.

They observed that the statement was aimed at persuading North Korea into the forum of dialogue, and, therefore, manifests the government's sincere resolve to promote inter-Korean dialogue with patience and sincerity.

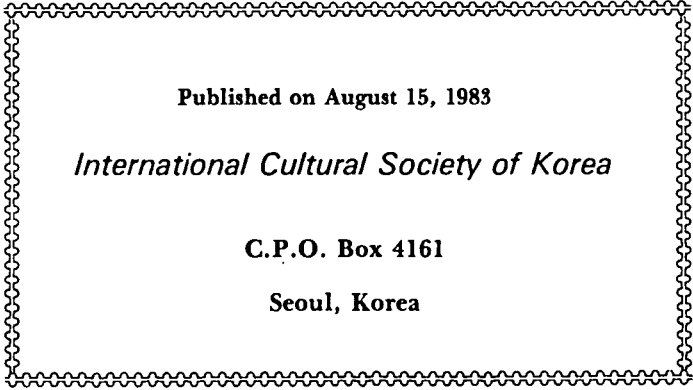
Major domestic newspapers took the occasion to urge North Korea to abandon their anti-national posture and come forward to the table of dialogue unconditionally. They also commented that "if North Korea is interested in the nation's co-existence and co-prosperity, they should naturally respond favorably to the dialogue efforts of our government."

Also upon the release of a statement by Cheon Kwan-wu, chairman of the Central Committee for National Unification, on March 2, major media in the country in their commentaries urged North Korea to give up their foolish obstinacy and return to the table of dialogue by accepting the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification.

4. Reaction from North Korea

Concerning the call by Minister of National Unification Sohn Jae-shik for acceptance by North Korea of the proposal for a meeting between the representatives of the two sides' government authorities, political parties and social organizations, North Korea, in a commentary of the Rodong Shinmun, organ of the Workers' (Communist) Party, on April 8 argued that "it was an attempt to smokescreen their divisive and bellicose nature by misleading public opinion and shifting the blame for the split to others." They then reiterated their demand for a "joint meeting between South and North Korean political parties and social organizations" to discuss none but the "question of withdrawing American troops from Korea." In the same commetary, North Korea asserted that "to cry for dialogue and unification with American troops remaining in South Korea is an act of making mockery of public opinion."

Also reacting against the statement by Cheon Kwan-wu, chairman of the Central Committee for National Unification, a Rodong Shinmun commentary on March 7, headlined "The Same Old Bundle," claimed, "no unification question can be solved in the presence of American troops in South Korea," repeating their intransigent attitude when they said, "We shall talk only with those people advocating the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Korea."



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Seoul, Korea

Dear Reader,

The questionnaire that follows was prepared as an aid towards making **South-North Dialogue** more informative and readable. Your frank answers to the questions would be greatly appreciated. Please forward the questionnaire to the following address:

P.O. Box 4161
Central Post Office
Seoul 100, Republic of Korea

Questionnaire

Nationality:

Age: Sex: Education:

Occupation:

Please check your choices.

1. How often do you use or consult **South-North Dialogue** in your duties and research activities?

- a. Very often.
- b. From time to time.
- c. Seldom.

2. Do you find this booklet helpful to your understanding of the inter-Korean question?

- a. Very helpful.
- b. A little helpful.
- c. Not helpful.

3. How do you like the phrasing and style of this booklet?

- a. Easy to understand.
- b. So, so.
- c. Difficult to understand.

4. Please state your suggestions and comments on **South-North Dialogue**.

No. 033

Nov. 1983

South-North Dialogue in Korea

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Part I

Steady March Toward National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification

1. President Chun's Commemorative Speech on the 38th Anniversary of National Liberation

— Manifestation of Resolve Toward, and Confidence in, Peaceful Unification —

President Chun Doo Hwan, declaring that the nation is entering an era for the dismantling of national division, appealed to the people on August 15, 1983 to determinedly join forces in the effort to achieve unification. "Even though there are no signs of immediate unification at present because of the persistent ambition of the North Korean Communists to achieve unification through communization and other defiant plots, we are apparently entering 'an era for eliminating division' which will put an end to separation and conflict," the President said. President Chun made the remarks in a Liberation Day speech he made at a ceremony marking both the liberation anniversary and the ground-breaking for the Independence Hall in Namha-ri, Mokchon-myon, Chonwon-kun, Chungchong-namdo.

In the address, President Chun expressed the conviction that since the nation has, as a single nation, survived countless alien incursions and wars, the Koreans would go down in world history as having transformed division into unification peacefully, if only they work hard for national unification by taking advantage of such potential.

Noting that the nation's self-reliant ability to unify has been increasing day after day in pace with the expanding national strength, the President stated that the goal of a wealthy, strong and prosperous nation is within reach, and the paramount task of peaceful unification, the craving of the 60 million people, would be realized before long.

These statements were meant to arouse the people's confidence in the mission of the times as well as in unification. As the President pointed out on February 24, 1983, while receiving a report on

the programs of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy, if only the entire people work hard to achieve unification with a strong determination and firm conviction, the road to unification will surely be paved.

Stressing also in the speech that unification would mean that brothers are brought together to live amicably, and that, above all there should be a dialogue to settle the unification question and other issues pending between the two sides of Korea, the Chief Executive again urged North Korea to abandon their negativism and return to the table of inter-Korean dialogue unconditionally.

Turning to the family reunion campaign being staged in the country, President Chun said the pains of the family members dispersed in the South and the North are the sufferings of the whole people and it is everybody's duty to solve their wishes. The President then emphatically said that there is no justifiable excuse in a civilized society, no matter what the ideological or institutional differences, to bar the way to ascertain the fate of blood relatives. He added that the solution of the dispersed family issue cannot be delayed or shunned any further for whatever reason. President Chun stressed the exigency of the question of dispersed families, and urged North Korea to "take a correct look at the pains and pathetic outcries of the dispersed families and show sincerity out of fundamental human conscience in settling their wishes."

The full text of the Liberation Day speech made by President Chun at a ceremony marking the 38th anniversary of national liberation and the ground-breaking of the Independence Hall was as follows:

*My sixty million fellow countrymen at home and abroad!
It is especially significant to observe the 38th Liberation Day at this time when the emotions generated by liberation are burning brightly again in the aspiration to unify the land. I join the rest of the nation in expressing hearty congratulations on the ground-breaking on this symbolic day for the Independence Hall here at the foot of Mt. Huksong in Mokchon,*

an area consecrated with the love of country of fallen patriots. This pavilion will transmit the national resolve to achieve self-reliance and independence to all ages to come. This day also marks the 35th anniversary of the founding of a democratic government in Korea for the first time — a fact that should cause all who are toiling hard to establish democracy to reflect deeply on the past. That we can celebrate this Liberation Day earmarking the reinstatement of sovereignty and the opening of a new era of democracy with bright hopes for tomorrow and with strong self-confidence is due to the precious sacrifices of our ancestors and the unselfish dedication of all citizens. For this I pay them highest honor.

Fellow citizens!

The true significance of Liberation Day lies in the historic call to achieve unification and to build a prosperous nation in the forefront. In compliance with this solemn duty, we have thus far nurtured our national strength with a creative devotion through the generations and with a determination to achieve eternal prosperity. August 15, 1945 should have been a day to make up for the 36 lost years of history, but instead it initiated the tragedy of the painful division of the single nation into South and North. Nevertheless, the heartbreaking sorrow can hardly be relieved by simply sitting idly and shedding tears of grief. To turn this misfortune into an opportunity to make ourselves proud by demonstrating to our ancestors and the world as well our great cohesive power, we must take a great step forward toward national unification.

The tenacity of our ancestors who, for thousands of years, survived countless foreign invasions and disasters of war without allowing the nation to be divided, can only be described as a miracle — a miracle achieved by none other than Koreans. We greet this particular time as an occasion to work another miracle. If we are faithful to this historic task and unify the divided nation into one, not through military force but by peaceful means, the Korean nation will have earned the respect

of the world as a people who have lived out a legend to be remembered in world history.

Fellow countrymen!

Our ground-breaking today symbolizes a firm resolve to energetically carry out the historic dictate to achieve a second liberation. In the conviction that a new liberation must be based on a firm understanding of the lessons of national history, every citizen actively participated in the campaign to construct the Independence Hall. Today, one year after the initiation of the drive, we now break ground.

With a determined spirit of self-reliance and independence, our people — men and women, young and old, rich and poor — provided for the site and for the bricks to construct the Independence Hall. Confident that this campaign of the past year was not only a great victory of national reconciliation and a far-reaching manifestation of national self-esteem, but also a movement for a second liberation, I extend my sincere appreciation to all my compatriots at home and abroad who actively participated in the campaign.

Before long, an Independence Hall, representing our great history of independence and the triumph over difficulties, will be displayed in all its grandeur here at the foot of Mt. Huksong where dwells the spirit of Patriot Yu Kwan-sun who shouted for national independence and the patriotic determination of the gallant independence fighter Yun Pong-gil as well as countless other fallen patriots and over which watches the patriotic soul of Admiral Yi Sun-shin. This Hall will be the very training ground for the national spirit, symbolic of the nation's eternal prosperity achieved through the evolution of the strong determination to forge independence into the prime propellant behind the buildup of national capabilities.

I take this occasion to affirm once again that our determination to safeguard the nation and uphold national history remains indefatigable, and pledge, together with all the people, to build this Independence Hall into a great monument

to bequeath to posterity. To this end we must be very careful in each step of the construction to build a solid structure, strong enough to forever survive any natural disaster, and must exert a nationwide effort to prepare relics, historic records and all other materials both public and private. With this historic groundbreaking today representing a springboard of national potential, we should all strive to attain a firm historic view of the nation and national harmony and exert greater efforts to expand national strength and bring about the new liberation of national unification.

Fellow countrymen!

It is needless to say that the blame for the sterility of our peaceful unification efforts, despite the fervent desire of all Koreans, must be laid on the North Korean Communists' attitude of anti-nationalism, belligerence and resistance to unification. They oppose the entire Korean people's aspiration to be unified into one. They hate to see brothers in peace and on good terms. They refuse to allow compatriots to talk to each other. They even object to brothers meeting face to face. Unification would mean that brothers are brought together to live amicably. But it is impossible to expect any togetherness or for brothers to live amiably when they cannot meet each other.

The attitude of the North Korean Communist regime which stubbornly opposes a South-North dialogue while rhetorically harping on unification is as deceptive and preposterous as saying "Let's embrace without meeting." This clearly illustrates that they do not have the slightest intention to achieve the peaceful unification of the country. It is quite clear that they dread any change in the present situation even if it is directly linked to the happiness of the entire Korean people, simply because they must protect the splendor of the hierarchy or the party which represents a trifle of the 60 million people. Under these circumstances and in view of the need to maintain the continuity of national history, we are deeply concerned that national homogeneity, which is a prerequisite for unification, is

being annihilated.

Fellow countrymen!

The campaign to reunite separated families which is being promoted amid extraordinary domestic and foreign attention is generating profound emotions and great sentiment not only among our own people but among people throughout the world. Both the joyous scenes of dramatic reunion after nearly a lifetime of separation and the desperate grief of those who have not yet located their family members are engraved with deep emotion and painful sorrow in the hearts of our fellow countrymen.

But to our regret, the scope of the campaign is restricted within the boundaries of the Republic. As we all know, those families divided in the South and the North outnumber those displaced within the South. It is a lamentable reality that those whose loved ones were left behind in the North are completely blocked from even knowing if they are alive or dead to say nothing of expecting to meet them. The grief and pain of the divided families is shared by all of us and it is the responsibility of us all to alleviate that suffering.

There is no justifiable excuse in a civilized society, no matter what the ideological or institutional differences, to bar the confirmation of the life or death of relatives. There is no excuse to delay longer or avoid a solution to the problems of families divided in the South and the North. The days of a man being limited, any further delay in the search for missing relatives will only increase the sorrow and make futile the wish to meet in this lifetime. Any further delay on this issue can only be considered a crime against humanity. The North Korean authorities are thus urged to face immediate problems and listen to the painful outcries for the reunion of those divided families. They should show sincerity and a basic human conscience to grant their wish.

Fellow countrymen!

Last year on this very day, I declared the opening of the

Republic to our compatriots living in the Communist bloc including North Korea, and I expressed my welcome to North Korean representatives attending international forums held in Seoul. It is my strong belief that national reconciliation will be truly attained and we will be able to advance the day of our second liberation when South-North contacts and dialogue are opened and free travel guaranteed throughout our land regardless of differences in ideology, ideals and institutions between us and the North.

Fellow countrymen!

Even though there are no signs of immediate unification at present because of the persistent ambition of the North Korean Communists to achieve unification through communization and other defiant plots, we are apparently entering "an era for eliminating division" which will put an end to separation and conflict. Our country has now grown into a powerful nation which will not again suffer the loss of sovereignty which we experienced in the past. We are cultivating our ability to achieve unification along with the expansion of national strength.

Our goal of a wealthy, strong and prosperous nation in the forefront is within reach. The extraordinary task of peaceful unification, the ultimate wish of the 60 million people, will be realized if we are so determined. The groundbreaking today for the construction of the Independence Hall will be the glorious base on which the national vitality will effloresce to create a great future of prosperity and unification. When we, imbued with determination and pride, build a national pavilion upon the cornerstone of the proud tradition of self-esteem, and when we all work hard with such determination and pride as the prime movers, the day of a second liberation will surely come in the form of a unified homeland in the forefront. For the sake of an everlastingly glorious future and with the same jubilation of the day of national liberation combined with today's determination, let us all unite and march forward.

As can be seen above, President Chun in his speech stirred up the people's will to national development and unification, and expressed his firm determination that national unification must be accomplished with the nation's own effort through the open-door policy of the new age and efforts to promote inter-Korean dialogue.

To look upon the past, the Koreans, rediscovering their potential ability, have worked hard in concert since the early 1960s with the conviction that "we can make it if only we try." Especially since the birth of the Fifth Republic that came on the heels of harsh trials just before and after the turn of the 1980s, the nation has recovered a base of stability and cemented the springboard of a "second takeoff" internally while creating a new image of Korea abroad by enhancing national prestige and interests through an open-door policy and other positive endeavors.

The achievement of remarkable national development may well be attributable to the spouting of the relentless vitality and wise creativity of the Koreans who have survived on this land as a homogenous people for thousands of years. The road to a nation in the forefront and peaceful unification would certainly be shortened when the nation renews its resolve to march forward and join forces in the continuous display of its miraculous ability.

2. Minister of National Unification Sohn Asks North Korea to Return to Dialogue

Minister of National Unification Sohn Jae-shik said on September 24, 1983 that if North Korea, belated though, agrees to hold a dialogue, the South is willing to discuss their unification idea along with the South's Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification.

In a report he made at a meeting of the advisors on territorial unification, Minister Sohn said that North Korea turns a deaf ear to the question of national unification by continuing to reject an inter-Korean dialogue and repeating their contention alone outside the forum of dialogue.

The Minister's comment, which stems from the positive policy of the Republic of Korea government to promote an inter-Korean dialogue, was meant to correct the crooked posture of the North Koreans who indulge in a one-sided propaganda campaign outside the forum of dialogue in connection with their unification idea. Minister Sohn was making it express that if they agree to resume the dialogue, the South would not object the discussion of even their "confederation" idea.

The Unification Minister was commenting on Kim Il-sung's latest reiteration of the "reasonableness" of their "confederation system." The North Korean leader was said to have asserted in an address at a reception marking the 35th anniversary of the Pyongyang regime last September 9 that a "confederation system" is the only available unification formula, and suggested that a "Supreme National Confederal Conference" and a "Confederal Standing Committee" conceived under the "confederation system" be headed alternately by those chosen by the two sides.

The gist of the remarks made by Minister of National Unification Sohn are as follows:

— In a speech made on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of their regime last September 9, North Korea's Kim Il-sung reiterated his contention that a "confederation system" is the only available unification formula, and suggested that the head of a "confederal state" be chosen alternately by the South and the North.

— In compliance with the national craving for peaceful unification, the government of the Republic of Korea has time and again urged North Korea to agree unconditionally to resume an inter-Korean dialogue such as a meeting between the top leaders of the two sides. It has been suggested many times that if and when a dialogue takes place, the two sides can discuss their unification ideas and all other issues both sides raise.

— However, North Korea in effect turns a deaf ear to the

solution of the Korean question by one-sidedly insisting on their idea only outside the forum of dialogue while continuing to reject an inter-Korean dialogue.

— The government of the Republic of Korea makes clear its stand again that if North Korea, belated though, agrees to a dialogue, the government is willing to discuss their unification idea together with the South's Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification. North Korea is called upon to desist from shunning an inter-Korean dialogue any further and come forward to the forum of dialogue to discuss all issues related with national unification.

In their idea of "confederation system," North Korea had in the past suggested only the formation of a Supreme National Confederal Conference and a Confederal Standing Committee as the governing bodies of a "confederal state," without mentioning anything about the selection of the head of a "confederal state," one of the prerequisites to the creation and operation of a "confederal state." But, Kim Il-sung abruptly discussed this problem in the speech, seemingly motivated by the fact that: by putting forth the idea about the selection of the head of a "confederal state," one of the elements that make the "confederation system" utterly contradictory and unrealistic, they tried to bolster the external appeal and persuasiveness of their "confederation" idea; and in view of the fact that the remarks were made in a speech before a group of foreign guests attending a reception held in celebration of the regime's anniversary, it seems the remarks were intended to undermine support for the South's unification formula among foreign delegates taking part in the Seoul conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU).

Kim Il-sung's remarks indicated that there is no change whatsoever in their negativism toward a dialogue for unification, judging from the fact that they insisted on their "confederation" idea as the only solution to the issue of unification and that they held fast to their demand for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Korea and

the repeal of the South's anti-Communist policy as prerequisites to the creation of a "confederal state."

Meanwhile, the ideas of a Supreme National Confederal Conference and a Confederal Standing Committee which North Korea has laid down as unified governing bodies of a "confederal state" seem to have been patterned basically after the Soviet Union's Supreme Federal Conference and its standing committee, Presidium.

Considering the fact that in the USSR the president of the Presidium has the power to appoint or dismiss cabinet members and diplomatic envoys as well as to declare war, it seems North Korea's idea is to entrust the chairman of the Confederal Standing Committee with the right to appoint senior diplomats and with the supreme command of the armed forces. In Korea, however, it is simply unthinkable that such a chairman controls the armed forces and diplomatic affairs in a circumstance where the two sides of Korea pursue diametrically conflicting ideologies and political interests and different military roads. The idea of the alternating chairmanship amounts only to the utterly unrealistic system of introducing Communism when a North Korean heads the standing committee and liberal democracy when it is headed by a man chosen by the South.

Moreover, North Korea argues that a Supreme National Confederal Conference should be composed of the same number of delegates from the South and the North plus an "adequate" number of representatives of Korean residents abroad. But, this is a contention that totally ignores the distribution of population in the two sides of Korea.

Apart from the question of forming the unified governing bodies of a "confederal state," the fundamental fictitiousness of North Korea's "confederation" idea is that they reject the democratic method of unification, namely, general elections participated in by the entire members of the nation, and, instead, regard only pro-Communist elements as the other party in a dialogue for unification under their Communist logic of so-called

collaboration.

Despite these undue and contradictory points of the North Korean idea, the government of the Republic of Korea, in a show of broadmindedness, has expressed its willingness to discuss their unification idea along with its own Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification should North Korea return to the table of dialogue. This is because the Republic is convinced that the issues pending between the two sides of Korea can be solved and unification achieved peacefully only through dialogue and compromise.

This stand of the Republic of Korea government has been made known on many occasions in the past. While announcing the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification on January 22, 1982, President Chun Doo Hwan stated that when a Consultative Conference for National Reunification is formed, the South would produce a draft unified constitution, making it clear that the South is willing even to discuss the North's version of a unified constitution. Moreover, the President disclosed its willingness to discuss any unification formula with North Korea by stating that the two sides should discuss and determine at the said Consultative Conference such fundamental issues as the political ideals, the name of the country, the basic domestic and foreign policy directions, the form of government and the methods of the general elections for a unified legislature.

Again in a policy speech he delivered at the National Assembly on January 18, 1983, President Chun urged North Korea to agree to a meeting between the highest authorities of the two sides at an early date, setting forth four topics to be discussed at the meeting, which included the comprehensive discussion of the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification and whatever unification idea North Korea put forth. The President, thereby, let it be known that once the proposed meeting between the top leaders is held, it could discuss the unification ideas of the two sides.

Likewise, the government of the Republic of Korea maintains a sincere posture, making it express that when a dialogue of the kind

contributory to peaceful unification and the improvement of inter-Korean relations is held, it would openly and with sincerity discuss any question with North Korea. In all circumstances, the question of unification must be debated through a forum of dialogue. Any attempt to make the question an issue of dispute away from the conference table should be done away with.

North Korea should abandon its negativism of rejecting any compromise while adhering only to their own idea, and instead agree to the resumption of a dialogue at an early date.

3. Statement by Seoul Side of the South-North Coordinating Committee on the 11th Anniversary of the South-North Joint Communiqué

Seoul-side Acting Co-chairman Min Kwan-shik of the South-North Coordinating Committee stressed on July 4, 1983 that if the South and the North of Korea truly pursue peaceful unification, they, most of all, should sit face to face in a forum of unconditional dialogue in accordance with the basic spirit of the July 4 Joint Communiqué.

In a statement issued on the 11th anniversary of the South-North Joint Communiqué of 1972, the Seoul-side Acting Co-chairman urged North Korea to agree at an early date to a series of proposals the South had made, which included an exchange of mutual visits and a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea, the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification, and a meeting between government authorities and representatives of political parties and social organizations of the two sides. The Acting Co-chairman noted that the government of the Republic of Korea had made the offers since the onset of the Fifth Republic under the basic spirit of the South-North Joint Communiqué which, he said, the two sides agreed on and signed with a view to dispelling misunderstanding and distrust, and easing tension between the two sides, and the further expedition of national unification.

Acting Co-chairman Min emphasized that the door to national reconciliation and unification can be flung open only through inter-Korean contacts and dialogue, and called upon North Korea to come forward to the table of dialogue at an early date in compliance with national wishes, instead of choosing a split and going against national reconciliation and unification.

The full text of the statement by the Seoul-side Acting Co-chairman follows:

Today is the 11th anniversary of the South-North Joint Communiqué agreed upon and signed on July 4, 1972 by the authorities of South and North Korea in the desire to achieve the peaceful unification of the homeland. All our compatriots, in the South, the North and abroad, heartily welcomed the Joint Communiqué which was announced simultaneously in Seoul and Pyongyang and hoped it would serve as a springboard and would open a new chapter in history characterized by peaceful unification and national prosperity.

The two sides of the peninsula, in an effort to remove misunderstanding and mistrust, to mitigate the increasing tensions and further to expedite the unification of the homeland, reached full agreement on seven points: in principle, to achieve unification independently through peaceful means, to foster an atmosphere of mutual trust, to restore severed national ties, to promote the South-North Red Cross Conference, to install a direct telephone line between Seoul and Pyongyang, to operate a South-North Coordinating Committee and to faithfully carry out the agreements.

The two sides solemnly pledged before the entire Korean people to make joint efforts to find a solution to unification and to improve South-North relations through direct contact and dialogue on the basis of the mutual recognition of the existing political systems and ideologies in the South and the North.

However, in contrast to our great expectations in the South-North Joint Communiqué, the Korean people have been deeply

disappointed by subsequent developments in that contact between the South and North and all conferences have been suspended and mutual distrust and tension intensified. The North Korean side unilaterally disrupted the South-North Coordinating Committee and the South-North Red Cross Conference in breach of the agreements stipulated in the Joint Communiqué and have betrayed the basic spirit of the Joint Communiqué by rejecting the new approaches of the Republic of Korea and attempts to reopen the dialogue.

While making new attempts based on the principles of the Joint Communiqué, the Republic of Korea has exerted an all-out effort in the belief that the resumption of contact and dialogue is the only way to bring genuine peace and true unification to the peninsula at the earliest possible date. In parallel with the onset of the Fifth Republic, the Korean government has shown a new determination to solve the unification issue rationally and improve the antagonistic relations between the South and the North by proposing to have an exchange of visits by the top leaders of the two sides and to hold a summit conference.

President Chun Doo Hwan, in a policy statement in January 1982, proposed before the world a Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification, and the government has taken every opportunity to urge the North Koreans to come to the table of dialogue without any preconditions. Again on February 1 this year, the government proposed a conference of representatives of South and North Korean authorities, political parties and social organizations incorporating previous North Korean proposals and displaying our sincere attitude toward reopening contact at any time the North Korean side desires.

When pursuing peaceful unification, among other things, the South and North of Korea should unconditionally face each other at the table of dialogue in compliance with the basic principles of the Joint Communiqué. There is no other way to

achieve national reconciliation and unification than to have South-North contact and dialogue. Such contact and dialogue will bear fruit when the two sides carry out any agreements with sincerity and work to promote mutual trust.

In consideration of the North Korean standpoint, we proposed that the inter-Korean talks to frankly discuss present and future issues of the nation be attended not only by the authorities concerned but also by representatives of political parties and social organizations. With these proposals to promote a South-North dialogue, we have shown our sincerity and tolerance by our willingness to meet with the North Korean side at any time and at any place without any restrictions or conditions to solve all issues raised by both sides.

Our attitude, based on the basic principle of the Joint Communiqué, represents the desire of the entire Korean people who wish to see the early resumption of South-North dialogue, eventually leading to the beginning of peaceful unification.

We regret that the North Koreans merely repeat political propaganda throughout the world, opposing the Republic of Korea and putting forth its own prototype for unification while refusing to come to the table of dialogue. We also regret that this North Korean attitude is increasing the tension and mutual mistrust between the South and the North and thus preventing national reconciliation or an improvement in relations to say nothing about failing to solve the issue of unification. We thus urge the North Koreans to stop creating a greater split and strongly call on them to hold a dialogue at an early date.

Min Kwan-shik
Acting Co-chairman
July 4, 1983

4. Domestic Reactions

The country's press circles welcomed what President Chun Doo Hwan stated in his speech made at a ceremony marking the 38th anniversary of national liberation and the ground-breaking of the construction of an Independence Hall. The press highly evaluated the President's remarks in editorials and commentaries with such titles as "Pursuit of a Unified Independent State," "Independent Spirit Prime Mover Behind Unification and Development," and "The Meaning of Complete National Liberation."

Also commenting on the remarks made by Minister of National Unification Sohn Jae-shik in connection with Kim Il-sung's statement about their "confederation system," the domestic press refuted the North Korean idea, stressing that the latest suggestion was nothing more than a design aimed at taking over the South via Communism instead of seeking a confederation in a genuine sense for eventual unification. The press then positively defended the stand of the Republic of Korea government that North Korea should regain national conscience and unconditionally come forward to the table of dialogue for unification.

Regarding Seoul-side Acting Co-chairman Min's call for the resumption of an inter-Korean dialogue, domestic newspapers editorially stressed that if they want to shun international censure for their rejection of the peaceful solution of the Korean question and if they do not want to commit a sin against national history by ignoring the pains of 10 million dispersed family members, North Korea should return to the forum of dialogue without any further delay in accordance with the spirit of the South-North Joint Communiqué of 1972.

Part II

New Phase in Family Reunion Campaign

1. Statement by Republic of Korea National Red Cross President Concerning Family Reunion Campaign

Republic of Korea National Red Cross President Yoo Chang-soon urged North Korea on July 6, 1983 to resume the suspended inter-Korean Red Cross talks without putting off any longer the search for a solution to the question of the 10 million separated family members.

In a statement issued in connection with the highly successful family reunion campaign launched by the Korea Broadcasting System, Yoo said to allow the joyous reunion of families and their relatives who were separated due to the artificial territorial division and the havoc of the fratricidal conflict, is, needless to say, a way to practice humanitarianism and brotherly love transcending the difference in ideologies, ideals and systems. He stressed that in such project, there can't be any preconditions or excuses.

"It was from such a humanitarian standpoint that the Republic of Korea National Red Cross had, through the South-North Red Cross Conference, urged North Korea to translate into action various dispersed family projects ranging from the ascertaining of their fates and whereabouts to their free meetings and reunions," the Red Cross President said. Yoo also noted that his Red Cross had proposed as an initial pilot undertaking a project to ascertain the fate and whereabouts of aged parents, the creation of a reunion center and a postal exchange office at Panmunjom, and the exchange of family pictures. He added that it was suggested that any one of these projects, if not all, be put into practice at an early date.

The Republic of Korea National Red Cross President said, however, that none of these initiatives could be realized due to rejection by the North Korean Red Cross, and that North Korea, which has unilaterally suspended the channel of even humanitarian dialogue between the South and North Korean Red Cross societies, continues its trend of turning a deaf ear to the South's repeated

calls for the resumption of dialogue. He then urged North Korea to agree to the early resumption of the Red Cross talks rather than putting off the dispersed family issue any further.

The full text of the statement by Republic of Korea National Red Cross President Yoo is as follows:

The special television campaign to reunite the members of dispersed families which is now being staged by the Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) has enabled all citizens to witness emotional family reunions and feel anew the tragedy of national division.

The ardent and pathetic cries of those searching for missing families, as they have appeared on the KBS television screen, are clear proof that reunion between separated families is a pressing humanitarian problem that cannot be put aside any further for whatever reason.

To allow the joyous reunion of families and their relatives who were separated due to artificial territorial division and the havoc of a fratricidal conflict, is, needless to say, a way to practice humanitarianism and brotherly love transcending the difference in ideologies, ideals and systems. There can't be any preconditions or excuses.

It was from such a humanitarian standpoint that the Republic of Korea National Red Cross had, through the South-North Red Cross Conference, urged North Korea to translate into action various projects to reunite separated families, which included projects to ascertain the fate and whereabouts of the 10 million persons separated from their families and the arranging of free meetings and permanent reunions, to be carried out from a humanitarian viewpoint without any preconditions.

The Republic of Korea National Red Cross also proposed as initial pilot undertakings, a project to ascertain the fate and whereabouts of aged parents, the creation of a reunion center and a postal exchange office at Panmunjom, and exchanges of

family pictures. It urged that any one of these projects, if not all, be put into practice at an early date.

However, these efforts of the Republic of Korea National Red Cross failed due to rejection by the North Korean Red Cross. And, North Korea, which has unilaterally suspended the channel of even humanitarian dialogue between the South and North Korea Red Cross societies, has turned a deaf ear to the South's repeated calls for the resumption of a dialogue.

It was under these circumstances that the Republic of Korea government called upon North Korea to help find a solution to the dispersed family question in the proposal of the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification and in the proposal of 20 pilot inter-Korean projects. In particular, in his commemorative address on the 37th anniversary of national liberation on August 15, 1982, President Chun Doo Hwan resolutely opened Korea's door to compatriots residing in Communist countries including North Korea so that they can freely and safely travel to and from the Republic of Korea.

In the private sector, too, multi-faceted programs such as the establishment of the Committee for Reunion of 10 Million Dispersed Family Members have been carried out to realize reunions between the displaced families in the South and the North.

In connection with the highly successful campaign of the Korean Broadcasting System to reunite separate families, I pledge today to exert my utmost efforts to help the campaign to achieve even greater results. I also urge the North Korean Red Cross once again to resume the South-North Red Cross Conference early without putting off any longer the search for a solution to the question of the 10 million separated families in the South and the North.

As is known, it is not that dispersed families exist in Korea alone. There are not a few people around the world who live separated from the rest of their families on their own accord or

against their will, and unaware of each other's fate. As is the case with Korea, East and West Germanies suffer the pain of family dispersion due to territorial division.

However, the dispersed family question of other countries is basically different from Korea's in terms of their nature and historical background. For instance, issues related with dispersed families have been fundamentally settled between East and West Germanies. In particular, with the conclusion of the Basic Agreement and the Agreement on Passage between East and West Germanies in December 1972, mutual visits and travels between dispersed families and relatives have been legally guaranteed.

In contrast, the tightly sealed barrier between South and North Korea has tolerated no personnel or material contacts between the two sides for nearly 40 years since territorial division. There is no way at all for dispersed families even to learn the fate of their missing loved ones.

In effect, efforts began in the early 1970s to ease the pains of those families dispersed in the South and the North. Koreans can still vividly remember the statement issued on August 12, 1971 by Dr. Choe Tu-son, then president of the Republic of Korea National Red Cross, in which he proposed to the North Korean Red Cross the initiation of a family search campaign for the purpose of settling the purely humanitarian question pending between the two sides of Korea in accordance with the Red Cross spirit. It was specifically suggested that in the campaign, the state of dispersed families could be ascertained and their meetings arranged.

As a result, preliminary meetings opened between the two Red Cross societies, which were soon replaced with the full-dress Red Cross meetings held in Seoul and Pyongyang be turns. In parallel, the meetings of the South-North Coordinating Committee were held to tackle inter-Korean issues through a political approach. While these contacts were going on, Koreans were impatiently looking forward to the removal of the barrier of division and the opening of the way to mutual contacts and passages.

Nonetheless, the effort of the South to bring the dialogue to

fruition ended in smoke due to the intransigency of North Korea, giving yet greater sorrows and pains to those whose family members live in the other side.

On every opportunity thereafter, the South put forth diverse proposals to North Korea to ease the pains of separated families, such as the exchange of correspondence and mutual visits by those dispersed family members wishing to visit their ancestral tombs. But, North Korea only turned a deaf ear to all these offers, shunning dialogue on the excuse of political prerequisites. This attitude of North Korea expressly bespoke from the beginning that they were not interested in the solution of the dispersed family question.

Through the family reunion campaign being staged across the country in South Korea, Koreans feel acutely anew how deep is the scar left by the division and war. They are unable to control their bitterness at today's reality that the numerous families separated due to the artificial division of the nation have no way to ascertain even each other's fate much less reunion.

As President Chun pointed out in his 38th Liberation Day speech that "There is no justifiable excuse in a civilized society, no matter what the ideological or institutional differences, to bar the confirmation of the life or death of relatives," North Korea should come to the table of dialogue to solve the pathetic wish of separated families instead of mounting a malicious propaganda campaign any longer.

2. Ceremony for Second Day of Dispersed Families

A ceremony marking the Second Day of Dispersed Families was held at the Sejong Cultural Center in Seoul under the sponsorship of the Assembly for the Reunion of 10 Million Separated Family Members. It was attended by some 500 local and foreign guests.

The "Day of Dispersed Families" was set last year after the day, August 12, 1971, when the Republic of Korea National Red Cross proposed to North Korea a campaign to search for the families dispersed between the two sides of Korea. The family reunion cam-

paing is being staged across the country not only as part of the efforts to ease the pains of separated families but also as a step toward the realization of the paramount national goal, namely, peaceful unification of the homeland.

In a speech at the ceremony, Yoo Chang-soon, president of the Republic of Korea National Red Cross, stressed that "to ascertain the fate of missing families and reunite with each other is not a sentimental desire but the humanitarian right of dispersed families." Yoo then again urged the North Korean Red Cross to return to the inherent spirit of the Red Cross and agree to resume the inter-Korean Red Cross talks so as to remove the pains of separated families at an early date.

Also speaking at the ceremony, Choue Young-seek, chairman of the Assembly for the Reunion of 10 Million Separated Family Members, vowed that his Assembly would work harder to help make the family reunion drive a success in every respect and thereby make it an important milestone in the realization of national reconciliation and peaceful unification. The texts of the speeches of Chairman Choue and Red Cross president Yoo are as follows:

Speech by Assembly Chairman

I am most grateful to Minister of National Unification Sohn Jae-shik, Republic of Korea National Red Cross President Yoo Chang-soon, South-North Coordinating Committee Co-chairman Min Kwan-shik and the distinguished guests attending this ceremony marking the Second Day of Dispersed Families despite your busy schedules. I also consider it to be highly significant that the chairmen of the societies of those hailing from the five North Korean provinces and officials and members of our Assembly have assembled here on this meaningful occasion.

Ten million persons have become separated from their families due to the tragic national division of this land and the Korean War. We find ourselves in a distressing situation where

no signs have been seen of easing the pains of those who had to part from their beloved families and hometown, to date, 30-odd years after separation. The family reunion campaign initiated by the KBS a while ago, has taught us anew how painful and serious are the sufferings and tragedy each of the dispersed families had to suffer as a victim of historical events.

We Koreans, having survived our five-millennia history as a proud homogeneous civilized people must realize national reconciliation and peaceful unification by all means. It is certain beyond any doubt that the family reunion campaign we are promoting now would become a stepping stone and starting point in our efforts to realize such national challenges. This is why we must redouble our endeavors in concert and harmony in the accomplishment of this historical and national dictate.

The Republic of Korea National Red Cross and the Societies of Citizens Hailing from Five North Korean Provinces have made all available efforts to promote and accomplish this drive. Especially on August 12 last year, the Central Federation of the Societies of Citizens Hailing from the Five North Korean Provinces observed programs on the Day of Dispersed Families which had been designated in a move to remember and commemorate the proposal in 1971 by the Republic of Korea National Red Cross for an inter-Korean Red Cross meeting. The Day of Dispersed Families programs have contributed much to attracting home and overseas attention to the question of dispersed families as well as to ensuring unity among such families.

On this occasion today of the Second Day of Dispersed Families, we wish to thank those who have worked hard to promote such programs, and affirm the great strides we have made thus far. We all must pledge ourselves to work even harder with greater passion and sincerity in the days ahead so as to accomplish the pathetic craving of the 10 million dispersed family members, which is also the wish of the 60 million Koreans. Each of us should refresh our determination to make this event

a significant occasion to firm up our resolve to help achieve unification and take concrete measures in this regard, rather than simply ending in celebrating this special day.

The Joint Communiqué of 1972 had thrown all our citizens into a whirlwind of excitement, an excitement stemming from their belief that a grand chorus of national reconciliation and unification would be sounded before long. It had also inflated the minds of the separated families who were full of expectations that they would be able to meet their missing families and visit their hometowns. However, the dialogue came to an end even before the excitement had calmed down due to insincerity on the part of the North, splashing cold water upon the whole nation's expectations. Our disappointment is now even greater because even the agreements reached at that time have become dead letters.

However, we cannot simply remain disappointed. It is incumbent upon us to exert greater efforts to realize reunions of those families dispersed in the South and the North or abroad, let alone the reunions of those in the country, using as a momentum the passion for family reunions and people's integrity that have been heightened since the television family reunion campaign.

It was for this reason that our Assembly held a rally to expedite reunions between dispersed families in the South and the North at the Changchung Gymnasium last July 17, where we called for the ascertaining of the fate of dispersed families, the exchange of letters and free mutual visits. We urged North Korea that if their situation does not permit the immediate implementation of these, then it should agree at least to the exchange of post cards, if not sealed letters, so that the fate of elderly parents, brothers and sisters aged 60 or older could be known.

Taking advantage of the spiritual coherence formed among dispersed families at the rally, we must carry on the campaign based on a humanitarian standpoint and pure brotherly love

going beyond the difference in ideologies and thoughts until the day when the homeland becomes one.

We all should pledge ourselves to do our best as we earnestly pray for the advancing of that day not only through efforts to resume a dialogue with North Korean authorities but also with cooperation from relevant organizations of various countries.

Our dispersed families are by no means lonely. All our people support our project and the whole world gives us encouraging applause. This is because our family reunion drive is a project to integrate our people into one and to further promote peace. Let us pool our strength, courage and wisdom and march onward toward the goal we pursue.

Speech by the Red Cross President

Chairman Choue, Unification Minister Sohn, Coordinating Committee Co-chairman Min, and dispersed families,

I consider it highly significant that we observe the Second Day of Dispersed Families today amidst the rising national wish for the reunion of dispersed families and growing worldwide concern about the dispersed family question.

Dispersed families,

I know that you have assembled here today to soothe the pains and longing as well as put an end to the agonizing days you have lived unable to see your parents, brothers and other families with whom you have been parted for 30-odd years.

To ascertain the fate of dispersed families and get reunited with each other is not a sentimental wish but a humanitarian right. Since man's basic rights bestowed by God cannot be denied for any reason, the Republic of Korea National Red Cross proposed to the North Korean Red Cross an inter-Korean Red Cross meeting on this very day in 1971. Since then, we have proposed a series of practicable projects that could be implemented easily in the state of political division, which included the establishment of an inter-Korean postal exchange center

and a dispersed family meeting hall, and exchange of those wishing to visit their ancestral tombs in each other's area.

However, these efforts have failed to lead to any affirmative results due to the insincere posture on the part of North Korea. Raising political issues, the North Koreans have one-sidedly suspended the inter-Korean dialogue and rejected all of our realistic proposals. Through the television family reunion campaign staged by the Korea Broadcasting System, we keenly realized how painful and bitter the tragedy of family dispersion is. We know what the horrible results of a war are. We have also witnessed or heard of dispersed family members taking their own lives to end the pain of family separation.

However, we cannot sit idly by merely shedding tears and repeatedly sighing out of frustration. We must surmount this tragic reality and display the wisdom and courage to explore the road to family reunion by ourselves. I understand that you have assembled here just for this reason.

On July 6 when the television family reunion program was in a full swing, I urged the North Korean Red Cross to resume the inter-Korean dialogue. But, they again produced the political prerequisite that they would agree to a meeting only when the Republic of Korea National Red Cross demands the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Korea and the stepdown of the incumbent government of the Republic of Korea. They have thus in effect rejected our offer for the resumption of the Red Cross talks, a disappointment to all of us.

The Red Cross is an organization designed to discuss and assist in humanitarian issues even between warring countries. The attitude of the North Korean Red Cross turning a deaf ear to the pathetic wish of the 10 million dispersed family members on the excuse of political matters that have nothing to do with humanitarian Red Cross projects, runs diametrically counter to the Red Cross spirit based on human love and assistance in times of trouble.

On this occasion of the 12th anniversary of the Republic of

Korea National Red Cross's proposal for inter-Korean Red Cross talks, I wish to take this occasion to once again call upon the North Korean Red Cross to return to the inherent Red Cross spirit and agree to resume the Red Cross talks as soon as possible so as to ease the pains of dispersed families.

Dispersed families,

The torch of the family reunion campaign has now been ignited. So long as the wisdom of you — who try to develop hitherto pains and frustration into hope and courage by positively carrying out programs to recover your lost hometowns and families by yourselves — is alive, the whole nation will support you and so will all mankind.

As I earnestly expect that the family reunion campaign will be carried out forcefully and successfully until the time when the last separated family shares the joy of reunion, I pledge that our National Red Cross will redouble its efforts to this end.

3. Rally to Expedite Reunions Between the 10 Million Separated Family Members

A rally to expedite reunion between 10 million dispersed family members was held at the Changchung Gymnasium on July 17, 1983 under the sponsorship of the Assembly for the Reunion of 10 Million Separated Family Members. Aimed at expediting family reunions and also promoting their unity, the rally was attended by some 13,000 executive members of the Assembly and dispersed family members.

The occasion was also to arouse renewed internal and external attention to the question of dispersed families in Korea and to promote the family reunion campaign on a nationwide scale so as to elevate the zeal displayed in the drive into a national resolve to achieve unification.

During the rally, Choue Young-seek, chairman of the Assembly for the Reunion of 10 Million Separated Family Members, made

the following speech, which was followed by the adoption of a resolution calling for the early realization of family reunions.

Opening Speech by the Chairman of the Assembly for the Reunion of Ten Million Separated Family Members

Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I wish to thank you, on behalf of the Korean Assembly for Reunion of Ten Million Separated Family Members, for the honor you have rendered us through your presence in holding this significant rally to pledge ourselves to continue our campaign to solve the plight of the dispersed family members of this nation. I feel grateful also to both the staff of this Assembly, who worked hard to convene this congregation and to family kin and relatives who have gathered here today.

Through the campaign for the reunion of separated families, promoted by the Korean Broadcasting System (KBS), we have come to realize the depth and magnitude of the grief suffered by each of the separated families.

Watching the KBS live program, one could hardly suppress tears when those who reunited with sons, or daughters, or nephews, were so overwhelmed with joy that they burst into tears, hugging each other and choking with emotion.

Wrinkles and white hairs attesting to the sufferings sustained during and after the tragic Korean War, those people whose dream became true after nearly forty years of separation repeated, in consoling embrace and with uncontrollable sobs, endless questions that would never be exhausted for the rest of their lives, and vowed that they should never be separated again. Indeed, every scene featuring family reunion on the T.V. screen is a truly moving human drama that can never be described by verbal expression. It touches the heart's core and awakens horrible memories about the Korean War. Heaven and earth seem to join with us in heartfelt cry

Since June 30 Yoido Plaza has become at once a place of

reunion and a sea of wailing.

What are we to find in this human drama and what is there for us to read in so many posters plastered all over the walls, staircases, and even on the asphalt of the vast plaza? What is there for us to read in the dreary faces of those who hung signboards with the personal data of separated kin on their breasts and backs? What is there for us to read in the agony of those unhappy people who sat days and nights patiently waiting for news?

While those from the South can have, or at least look forward to having the delight of family reunion, those who left their family in the North and watched the T. V. screens found themselves more unhappy and miserable. While they rejoiced in their neighbors' renewed hope of life, they saw that their dreams and hopes are not yet to be realized; hence the sighs of despair and floods of soundless tears.

Thus an old man killed himself thinking of his three children in the North, while another man who had left his parents behind poisoned himself to death out of guilt feelings, that must have tormented him ever since he left for the South.

Never before has the whole nation been united in one accord to the extent that has been displayed during the present campaign for the reunion of the separated families.

That the whole people were overjoyed and saddened by the moving scene of reunion must be, I believe, attributed to our homogeneity as a nation, our brotherly love and empathy as compatriots that all of us, regardless of our differences, could share the joys and sorrows of our neighborhood and community.

Now the enthusiasm and zeal for the campaign has reached its highest peak. While we should concentrate our efforts on the reunion of separated families not only within this country but also dispersed abroad, we should try even harder for the reunion of those who are separated by the division of the country. As they are nearer to each other, the more tantalizing and

nearbreaking it must be for them being unable to see each other.

I believe that the reunion of those separated by the division between the North and the South will serve humanitarian purposes. However it will be even more significant in that the reunion of the families will serve as a step toward establishing a relationship of cooperation in place of misunderstanding and mistrust accumulated over the years between the two parts of the country. By the same token, it will eventually lead to the easing of tension between the two and to the ultimate reunification of the Korean peninsula. It goes without saying that the peaceful reunification of this country is indispensable for the security of Northeast Asia. In this respect, it may be regarded as the supreme historical task of the nation.

It is my fervent wish that our compatriots in the North will not turn their face away from the sorrows and pains of our separated families so vividly demonstrated in Yoido, and accept them as they are without misunderstandings and preconceptions, thus preparing for a new turning point in the history of our nation.

But the reunion of the families cannot be achieved without a price. Reunion cannot be achieved by subjective wishes and dreams, unless we are prepared to pay the price and exert corresponding efforts.

We know that the Korean government has in the past tried various means to solve the problem either through the Red Cross or through its own channels. It is a matter of great regret that all these have failed so far in eliciting any sincere, let alone favorable, response from the North.

We, the refugees from the North, could not wait any longer. We founded the Korean Assembly for the Reunion of Ten Million Separated Family Members on the 9th of February this year.

It has been nearly forty years since the country was tragically divided against the will of the Korean people. Those of

the generation who were still in their youth when the country was liberated from Japanese colonial rule and who were resolved to devote themselves to the reconstruction of an independent fatherland are now sexa- or septua-genarians, some passing away one by one without seeing the reunification of the country of which they had been dreaming throughout their lifetime.

We, the refugees from the North, and the victims of painful separation from our beloved families, have founded on a strictly civilian base the Korean Assembly for Reunion of Ten Million Separated Family Members, determined that this national task should be initiated and carried on till we attain our ultimate goal of reunification.

In retrospect, we have left in our history a shameful record, a bitter and meaningless fratricidal war. Who were aiming their guns at whom in this war among brothers? We were actually shooting at our own parents and killing our own brothers.

In the midst of the war in which there was neither victory nor defeat, we killed each other devastating our fatherland and wasting our property. As such, the memory of the war marked in our history as an embittered grief and a matter of regret.

Being proud of five thousand years of history as a civilized nation, bound together by the same ethnic ties, how can we ignore the problem of the reunion of separated families, while all the other nations of the world have already dealt successfully with it?

It is my firm conviction that nobody and no artificial barrier can stop the basic human desire to be reunited with one's own family. Nor can we leave our fatherland permanently divided as it is now. I do not believe that any ideology or any institution has a lasting life. They are but means of human life not its objective.

Among compatriots confrontation can not be the way of resolving differences. I believe that in accordance with the spirit of democracy, we should try to find a solution through

constant contacts and dialogue, even if it takes time. If we take the route that would more likely lead us to confrontation, we will be drifting toward a national catastrophe unprecedented in the history of mankind.

We should always keep it in our mind that the paths of confrontation will sooner or later bring about self-annihilation for the whole nation as was poignantly demonstrated by the last Korean War. We should mobilize all our efforts not to repeat that kind of bitter experience.

It is perfectly clear that if we cannot prevent catastrophe happening on this peninsula again, it would not, in all probability, be limited in scale and scope to a conventional war as was the case in the last war.

The experts in the field are one in seeing that a new war in the Korean peninsula where the interests of the super-powers i.e., interests in politics, economics, and military affairs are deeply involved will probably escalate rapidly into nuclear holocaust, endangering world peace.

Detestable as it may be even to think about this kind of holocaust on the Korean peninsula, there would hardly remain a living thing, not to mention a human being, neither defeated nor winner, making Northeast Asia one of the most volatile points in the vortex of the current conflicts and cries among the super-powers. Under these circumstances what would be the most urgent task for both South and North to tackle in a concerted common effort for our survival as a nation?

If we really want reunification of the country by peaceful means and not through armed conflict, it would be most sensible to start with the issue on which we can most readily agree. By concerted efforts and united wisdom we must find ways to attain our earnest desire, the reuniting of dispersed families between the North and the South, thereby making our cherished dream of reunification of the Korean peninsula a reality. Should we achieve this national goal, it will certainly pave the way for lasting world peace.

If this indeed is the case, we will have to set about narrowing our differences, eliminating misunderstanding and mistrust, and achieving a national concord based on mutual understanding. The sooner we start, the better.

It was in this spirit that Seoul asked the North for the reopening of dialogue between the two sides on July 4th this year. It was in the same spirit that the Korean National Red Cross proposed to the North on July 6th this year that both sides arrange for the reunion of families dispersed across the divided country. We were profoundly disappointed to hear that North Korea rejected both of our humanitarian overtures.

My dear sixty million fellow countrymen!

I urge all South and North Korean people to march toward the "plaza of reunion between the North and the South." All Koreans should do their utmost for the day of national reunion, when the South and the North can be united as one, persevering, understanding, and overcoming everything on our way toward the goal.

I envisage the day in my imagination which we all dream of as follows:

"Is it Pyongyang, mother? This is Seoul here."

"Indeed! Is it you, my son Pyong Hwa (Peace)?"

"Yes, it is your son."

"We thought both you and your sister, Ae Hwa (Love of Peace), were dead. How many days and nights we have spent in tears! Am I dreaming?"

"Forgive me, mother, for failing to do my duties. It has been for us too a time of wailing since we were parted. It is over now. My sister and I will be among the first to arrive at Pyongyang. We will ask for your pardon again when we see you, mother."

The son cries out in sobs.

"Not at all my son. It was all my fault. I failed to look after

you. Forgive me my son, Pyong Hwa..."

The mother cries too.

The whole nation is in tears watching the scene of a mother and son being reunited. Both South and North, mountains and rivers will join in tears.

We will have to resolve to do our best to hasten the day envisaged above, praying in earnest for its realization.

We are today holding this meeting for the realization of the reunion of the separated families at earliest possible date, before they grow too old or may even be no more on this earth.

Keeping in mind that the reunion of the families should be realized as early as possible and that we should all try hard to prevent the tragedy of being separated from our families again on this peninsula, we propose the followings:

Proposal 1: a. Ascertainment of Whether the Members of Separated Families are Still Alive; Exchange of Correspondence;

b. Mutual and Free Exchange of Visits.

However if it is difficult to put this into practice right now, Proposal 2: Ascertainment of whether parents over sixty years of age and of brothers and sisters are still alive. It would be quite acceptable to agree to use open postcards instead of sealed letters, if the North Korean authorities so desire. We ask the North Korean authorities again in the name of ten million separated family members to comply with these proposals.

**A Resolution,
appealing to the North Korean Authorities,
adopted on July 17, 1983,
by the Korean Assembly for Reunion
of Ten Million Separated Family Members**

We, the separated families, have lived around half a century longing for our split family and constantly soothing our grief and agony from the fateful separation.

Today almost all countries in the world vividly demonstrate humanitarian spirit such as to guarantee the reunion of displaced families through transcending the difference in ideology, belief, and socio-political systems.

The Republic of Korea has already allowed the members of the Federation of Korean Residents in Japan (pro-North Korea Organization) to visit their relatives as well as their ancestors' tombs in South Korea and a large number of them actually have paid a visit to their homeland. Also, it is a well-known fact that Koreans residing in the Soviet Union and China occasionally exchange tidings of their brethren and opened up an unofficial channel of communication through third countries. To our great sadness, we are a sole exception; we, of the same blood and living in the same national territory, are prevented completely from an avenue of sending a single postcard to inquire into our separated family's fate. However, we resolutely believe in the solemn historical truth that the man-made wall between two regions of Korea (South and North) will never succeed in cutting off permanently the natural and moral ties of blood and flesh, no matter how tall and perilous the wall may be. While reaffirming that the unification of our fatherland together with other pending issues between South and North Korea must be resolved peacefully via constructive dialogues of the authorities concerned, we adopt the following resolution imbued with our only earnest, tearful prayer on this day of the separated family rally:

That we forcefully call upon you to cooperate in our humanitarian efforts to pave a way of confirming fate and whereabouts for those parents, brothers and sisters who are over 60 years old out of all the families dispersed all over South and North Korea, in case you are, on a ground of political intrigue, opposed to the reunion of displaced families despite the human canon and principle that the reunion should be given a prime priority over any conditions and excuses because of its nature of humanistic idea, brethren love and homogeneous nationality.

4. Reaction from North Korea

North Korea reacted to the highly successful television family reunion campaign in the South with stereotyped slander and distortion. Breaking a long silence over the drive begun on June 30, 1983, North Korea, in a commentary appearing in their official newspaper *Rodong Shinmun* on July 10, asserted that the campaign was a “scheme aimed at holding an international event in Seoul successfully” and was a “farce in which people talk and act on prepared scenarios.” North Korea initially kept mum at the popular campaign, but seemingly felt obliged to say something after the Republic of Korea National Red Cross took the occasion on July 6 to call for the resumption of the suspended inter-Korean Red Cross talks on the dispersed family question.

On the other hand, the North Korean Red Cross, in a statement on July 24, in effect rejected any resumption of the Red Cross talks suggested by Republic of Korea National Red Cross President Yoo Chang-soon on July 6. The substance of the North Korean statement was:

- If the Republic of Korea National Red Cross proposal was motivated by lofty humanitarianism and national spirits, we consider it fortunate and welcome it.
- The South-North Red Cross Conference of the 1970s was the result of our sincere efforts. But, it was broken up because of the

policy of division of the American imperialists and South Korean authorities attempting to exploit the humanitarian question for their political aim of enforcing a "two Korea" policy, as well as because of the Republic of Korea National Red Cross which had followed such a policy.

— If the Republic of Korea National Red Cross is interested in humanitarianism and in easing the pains of dispersed families, it should recognize their criminal act of shattering the Red Cross talks of the 1970s and make an apology before the nation.

— If the Republic of Korea National Red Cross publicly states its demands for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Korea and the stepdown of the incumbent regime, we are willing to enter talks at any time.

Apart from its contents, this was the first official reaction the North Korean Red Cross has ever made toward the Republic of Korea National Red Cross since it notified the Republic of Korea National Red Cross in a radio broadcast on March 19, 1978 of its one-sided intent to indefinitely postpone the 26th Red Cross working-level meeting slated for the following day, March 20.

So far, the Republic of Korea National Red Cross has on every opportunity suggested to the North Korea Red Cross a meeting between the Red Cross presidents of the two sides and the resumption of the suspended Red Cross talks. However, North Korea showed a negative attitude to all of the offers indirectly through their slanderous commentaries appearing in the daily *Rodong Shinmun* or their propaganda radio called "The Voice of the Unification Revolutionary Party."

It is believed that North Korea made the unusual response, negative though it was, at this time because their continued ignorance of the call for resumed Red Cross talks would unfavorably affect them at a time when the family reunion campaign staged in the South enlisted broad support both at home and abroad, and when consequently growing pressure was on them to renew talks from various international organizations including the United Nations and the International Committee of the Red Cross. Here, by

feigning themselves to be interested in the Red Cross talks, they sought to cover up their inhumanitarian stand and escape international censure and pressure.

It is an internationally recognized fact that the Red Cross is a non-political organization. Nonetheless, they attach political requisites to the question of resuming the Red Cross talks, an issue which ought to be discussed based on a humanitarian spirit, contending that they would agree to the talks only when the "South Korean Red Cross expresses such an 'anti-U.S. and anti-government' posture as a demand for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Korea and the stepdown of the incumbent South Korean regime." This points to none but their *de facto* rejection of the resumption of the South-North Red Cross Conference.

In the modern civilized society, we can witness many instances in which even warring countries resolve dispersed family issues on a priority basis in accordance with humanitarianism. The attitude of the North Korean Red Cross turning a deaf ear to the wish of the 10 million dispersed family members on the excuse of political issues not related at all with Red Cross humanitarian projects, cannot but run diametrically counter to the basic Red Cross spirit which is based on voluntary humanitarian services.

The North Korean Red Cross should return to the inherent Red Cross spirit, away from a crooked attitude, and favorably respond to the resumption of the South-North Red Cross Conference at an early date so as to ease the pains of dispersed families.



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International Cultural Society of Korea

C.P.O. Box 4161

Seoul, Korea

Dear Reader,

The questionnaire that follows was prepared as an aid towards making **South-North Dialogue** more informative and readable. Your frank answers to the questions would be greatly appreciated. Please forward the questionnaire to the following address:

P.O. Box 4161
Central Post Office
Seoul 100, Republic of Korea

Questionnaire

Nationality:

Age: Sex: Education:

Occupation:

Please check your choices.

1. How often do you use or consult **South-North Dialogue** in your duties and research activities?
 - a. Very often.
 - b. From time to time.
 - c. Seldom.

2. Do you find this booklet helpful to your understanding of the inter-Korean question?
 - a. Very helpful.
 - b. A little helpful.
 - c. Not helpful.

3. How do you like the phrasing and style of this booklet?
 - a. Easy to understand.
 - b. So, so.
 - c. Difficult to understand.

4. Please state your suggestions and comments on **South-North Dialogue**.

No. 034

May 1984

South-North Dialogue in Korea

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Part I

Reaffirmation of Consistent Commitment to Peaceful Unification

1. President Chun's 1984 Policy Statement

— National Unification without Recourse to Violence —

President Chun Doo Hwan delivered this year's policy statement before the 120th extraordinary session of the National Assembly on January 17, 1984. In the statement, President Chun, stating that a hatred of terrorism and a belief in peace are entrenched in his mind as overriding imperatives, called for the establishment of a world free of violence, the realization of unification without force and the elimination of violence from politics and the society this year.

Elaborating on the direction of the year's major policy programs as based on an attachment to peace and the elimination of violence, President Chun reiterated that there is no change in the government's unification policy which is built on the principles of peace and national self-determination. "North Korea has come under worldwide condemnation. Yet we are waiting and will continue to try to induce them to the conference table in the belief that there is no alternative to an inter-Korean dialogue to solve the question of unification," said the President.

The Chief Executive said that when the North Koreans perpetrated the terrorist bombing in Rangoon, the Republic did not react with arms against them not because it was weak or had no means to do so but because its commitment to the cause of peace is so strong. President Chun, however, was quick to warn that "If North Korea does not repent and persist in terrorist provocations which endanger our survival, we will not hesitate to punish them for further provocations."

Pointing out that their policy to communize the South by force of arms and refusal to participate in inter-Korean dialogue will no longer be countenanced or accepted by anyone, the President expressed the conviction that "If North Korea ever renounces the use of force and agrees to our rational unification approach based on the principles of peace and national self-determination, it

would be a truly epochal opportunity to achieve unification in the 1980s.”

The part of President Chun’s policy statement relating to the inter-Korean question is as follows:

I am thankful that the fortunes of the nation and the concern of my fellow citizens protected and delivered me from the disaster of the terrorist attack at the Aung San Mausoleum last year. As head of the mission, I witnessed the untimely death of some of its members, escaping myself by only a hair’s breadth. Grieving at the loss of such able officials, I am convinced that terrorism is the greatest enemy of peace and happiness.

I have always believed in peace as strongly as anyone. But now I must tell you that my hatred of terrorism and belief in peace are entrenched in my mind as overriding imperatives. All of you experienced the same bitterness and emotions. I am convinced that every one of our fellow countrymen share the same thoughts and convictions.

Peace and justice are common ideals cherished by all mankind. They are not the preserve of any period, nation or individual. However, we have suffered the horrors of aggression for many centuries, and as a result have cultivated a commitment to peace stronger than any other in the world. Even today we are troubled by the aftermath of the 36 years of colonial rule, the division of the country and the fratricidal conflict. The repudiation of war resulting from these pains is an urgent imperative for all our contemporaries.

I feel bound to emphasize again that the eradication of violence and the realization of peace and justice are primary

goals of the Fifth Republic which is determined to change the course of history from one of humiliation and hardship. Our efforts to build a nation in the forefront is an attempt to fulfill that historic mission.

The traumatic experiences of the past year have taught that it is not enough to pay lip service to peace and security because they directly affect our safety, livelihood and the fate of this generation and those to come. In the fourth year of the Fifth Republic, I trust that our determination to establish a world free of violence, achieve reunification without force and eliminate violence from politics and the society at large will be translated into action.

A belief in peace and an opposition to violence are at the heart of our attempts to achieve reunification, a goal which is unquestionably basic to the happiness and welfare of the people. The division of the country is a major source of the suffering and unhappiness of all our 60 million compatriots who have a common ethnic, cultural and historic background. It is imperative, therefore, that unification be achieved by peaceful means for violence would only result in more suffering and unhappiness.

All citizens should renew their determination to do their part to prepare for unification in the interest of the national good and well-being. This spirit has inspired my persistent efforts to achieve peaceful unification in accordance with the principle of national self-determination. Last year, here in your presence, I called for the early convocation of a meeting of the top leaders of South and North Korea. I suggested that we should discuss the proposals of both sides with an open mind to prevent war and achieve unification.

The North Korean Communists, however, have continued

to hold out against peace, sabotage dialogue, prepare for war and employ terrorist tactics. They have massacred their compatriots and perpetrated other atrocities wherever and whenever possible. They thus undermine national harmony and have enshrouded their society behind a thick wall of seclusion. They purposely threaten national homogeneity and perpetrate division by refusing to allow North Koreans to meet their compatriots in the South. The North Korean Communists have not yet uttered a single word accepting responsibility or apologizing for the Rangoon murders. They continue to lie and gloss over their crime. Such absurd behavior has made them look ridiculous to the rest of the world.

Nevertheless, we have waited with patience and self-restraint for them to repent and we will continue to do so. We did not react with arms against North Korea at the time of the Rangoon bombing not because we were weak or had no means to do so but because of our commitment to the cause of peace. This firmness of purpose and commitment on our part remains as strong as ever.

North Korea has come under worldwide condemnation. Yet we are waiting and will continue to try to induce them to the conference table in the belief that there is no alternative to an inter-Korean dialogue to solve the question of unification. The North Korean Communists must understand our true intentions. They should make no mistake that our commitment to peace does not extend to violent threats to our very survival.

We are strong enough to ensure survival. Their repeated attempts to infiltrate armed agents into the South have been quickly intercepted and aborted by the thoroughly prepared armed forces and through the alertness of the public. Any

armed provocation will be nipped in the bud.

If North Korea does not repent and reform and if they persist in terrorist provocations which endanger our survival, we will not hesitate to punish them so severely as to incapacitate them for further provocations. This is my warning to them.

Their continued policy to communize the South by military means and refusal to participate in a South-North dialogue will, no longer be countenanced or accepted by anyone. Our determination to achieve peace has matured and our power to achieve unification has become greater. If North Korea ever renounces the use of force and agrees to our rational unification approach based on the principles of peace and self-determination, I believe it will be a truly epochal opportunity to achieve unification in the 1980s.

2. President Chun's Policy Statement and the Nation's Belief in Peace

Having suffered countless alien incursions, national division and even a fratricidal conflict, Koreans have come to desire peace and abhor violence more than any other people. Especially through the shocking downing of a Korean Air Lines plane by the Soviets and the terrorist bombing by North Korea in Rangoon, the Korean people were again made to realize that the rooting of peace on this land and the elimination of violence are essential to their national survival and prosperity.

Only those peoples who have undergone the bitterness of invasion, subjugation and war can realize the true meaning of peace. Many decades ago, patriotic fighters actually practiced a philosophy of peace under the Japanese colonial rule through an unparalleled non-violent resistance movement known as the 1919

Samil Independence Movement. In a declaration of independence, the Koreans made it clear at that time that the eventual objective of their movement was to realize the co-existence and co-prosperity of all peoples in peace and to embody humanism based on international justice. They then mounted a relentless yet peaceful resistance against injustice and violence. "Oh, a new world unfolds before us. An age of force has gone and a period of ethics has come..." This resounding shout in the declaration shows that the Samil Independence Movement was intended not merely to resist the Japanese imperialists and obtain independence but also to call for a worldwide peace campaign as well as an anti-violence drive.

Peace is apt to be understood as a "state without war." But, a "state without war" is always a passing and casual peace and a "state of uneasiness" depending on the times. On the Korean peninsula, an unstable state of truce, not peace, has persisted for the more than 30 years since the Korea War came to a halt. Such an unstable state cannot be called peace, especially in this age when peoples are under the constant threat of nuclear weapons.

While pointing out the unstable condition of world peace, Pope Paul VI said in a speech before the United Nations General Assembly in 1965, "A genuine peace is not the one built merely on a materialistic and worldly basis, but should take root eventually in man's conscience." Thus seen, a positive peace may well begin, as Immanuel Kant once said, with the "state of cessation of all hostile conduct." Moreover, a durable peace can take root only when a state of mutual independence, equality, respect and cooperation exists between the parties involved. No genuine peace can ever come into being if inequality, subjugation, confrontation and distrust exist.

Such a positive meaning of peace can be found in the Charter of the United Nations. Article 1, Chapter I of the Charter, "Objective of the United Nations," says in part that the United Nations is :

1) ... to maintain international peace and security, and to that end to take effective collective measures for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace... and further to coordinate and resolve with peaceful means all international disputes and states threatening peace, based on the principles of justice and international law...

2) ... to develop good neighborly relations among nations on the basis of respecting all the nations' rights to equality and self-determination, and to take proper measures to consolidate peace of all human beings...

3) ... to respect and promote all persons' human rights and freedom without any discrimination due to race, sex, language and religion, and to promote international cooperation to resolve various problems in the economic, social, cultural and humanitarian areas...`

As these provisions of the United Nations Charter prescribe, today's world demands peace of a kind wherein war and violence can be renounced thoroughly and hostilities ended by transcending differences in ideologies, religion, race and national boundaries. The Marxist-Leninists call for "peace for classes" or "war of justice" can no longer be justified.

Nonetheless, violent rampages and peace-threatening acts never cease to occur around the world as friction and disputes fueled by the East-West ideological confrontation, clash in national interests and religious prejudices.

Of course, it is natural for countries to place their own interests above others in the international community. However, in today's age of nuclear weapons when human destiny is intertwined more tightly than at any other time in the past, all nations should share common responsibility for world peace and security, and cooperate closely with one another.

Already beset with such serious problems as the population explosion, the depletion of resources and the polluting of the

environment, man today is confronted with yet another threat —nuclear war. In other words, this is an uneasy and perilous age for reckless violence can ignite a dreadful nuclear world war at any time and any place.

It is against this backdrop that the Korean peninsula is considered one of the most volatile areas in the world in view of its history and geopolitical position, that is the tense military confrontation between world powers having stakes in Korea and between South and North Korea.

In particular, the downing of a KAL airliner by the Soviets and the terrorist bombing by North Koreans in Burma last year have further increased tension on the Korean peninsula, adding to the danger of a military clash in this part of the world.

It was at such a grave juncture that President Chun, in his policy statement of the year, reiterated his rejection of violence as well as his belief in peace, disclosing the policy resolve of the Fifth Republic “to establish a world free of violence, achieve unification without force and eliminate violence from politics and the society.”

Pointing out that “a belief in peace and an opposition to violence” constitute the Republic’s basic stance toward realizing the paramount task of unification, President Chun emphasized that national reconciliation forged through inter-Korean dialogue is the only shortcut to peaceful unification.

The President deplored the fact that the world order is being destroyed and that the danger of war is forever escalating because some countries and groups are attempting to solve problems through violence. President Chun particularly stressed that the North Korean Communists, indulging in the destruction of world order and the killing of their own brethren, are the most bellicose, violent group standing in the way to national reconciliation and world peace.

Warning that the violence they pursue would only lead to their further isolation and eventual self-destruction, President Chun

again warned North Korea not to underestimate the South's patience and resolve for peace, and to repent and return quickly to the table of inter-Korean dialogue.

The President also reaffirmed the peaceful unification policy by stating, "If North Korea ever renounces the use of force and agrees to our rational unification approach based on the principles of peace and national self-determination, it would be a truly epochal opportunity to achieve unification in the 1980s."

President Chun's statement regarding inter-Korean relations was meant to make known to everyone the South's true intention and to call upon North Korea to join early in the sacred duty of achieving national unification. It was made in the conviction that despite North Korea's intransigence and incessant provocative acts, the efforts to bring durable peace and expedite unification cannot be halted under any circumstances.

The President reiterated the nation's belief in peace when he stated, "It would be a contradiction in terms to call for world peace and justice if we were to resort to violence to solve our own problems." President Chun thus stressed that the country's efforts to promote lasting peace and unification on the Korean peninsula constitute an inevitable part in the creation of a history of world peace.

3. Domestic Reactions

The press circles in Korea positively welcomed the remarks President Chun made in his policy statement, commenting that the President's stressing of the importance of peace and justice was quite timely in view of the situations at home and abroad. All newspapers, for instance, allotted large spaces to the policy statement under such headings as "Freedom from Violence," "Time to Initiate New Order of Non-Violence in Pursuit of Peace and Justice," and "Realization of Peace and Justice through Violence-Free Politics and Order." The newspapers observed that

the idea of the “the eradication of violence and the realization of peace and justice,” constitutes a distinct milestone in the President’s political philosophy.

At the same time, leading figures in various social strata and positions expressed their unreserved support and trust in President Chun’s unswerving commitment to the realization of peaceful unification.

Part II

A Call for Direct Dialogue between South and North Korea

1. Minister of National Unification Sohn Issues Statement to North Korea

On January 11, 1984, Minister of National Unification Sohn Jaeshik issued a statement concerning the North Korean proposal for a tripartite meeting in which the Minister charged that North Korea assumes an attitude that can in no way be considered a basis for sincere dialogue.

The Minister noted that after committing such a heinous act of terrorism in Burma the North Korean authorities had the audacity to declare that the incident was fabricated instead of apologizing, and that they have been attempting to shift the responsibility for the intensification of tensions to the South.

Stressing in the statement that the question of unification should be solved basically through a direct dialogue between South and North Korea because it is an internal national problem of Koreans, Minister Sohn urged North Korea to agree to a meeting between the highest authorities of South and North Korea, which the South had already proposed. The Minister added that if it is difficult for such a meeting to take place immediately, at least a ministerial-level meeting should be held.

At the same time, Minister Sohn showed flexibility regarding the question of holding a meeting of relevant countries when he said, "It would be constructive to call an enlarged meeting including those countries directly or indirectly responsible for the division of Korea and the Korean War to help guarantee a permanent peace on the peninsula and foster an international atmosphere conducive to unification."

The full text of Minister Sohn's statement follows.

In the hope of restoring trust between South and North Korea and laying a solid foundation for peaceful unification,

our government proposed, on January 12, 1981, an exchange of visits by the top leaders of South and North Korea, and on June 5, proposed a direct meeting between the two leaders at a time and place to be decided by the North Koreans. On January 22, 1982, the government announced the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification and again on January 18, 1983, set forth four immediate tasks to be discussed and solved at a meeting of the top leaders. We have thus continuously worked to bring about peace and unification by easing tension on the peninsula and fostering reconciliation. Despite these efforts, there is still tension and no contact or dialogue has facilitated relations, due to North Korea's rejection of dialogue and use of violence.

The reckless North Korean provocations over the past year have aggravated inter-Korean relations to a perilous degree. And, as the North Koreans themselves have said, another war on the Korean peninsula would not remain a local conflict but would quickly become an international war, a nuclear war. It behooves us all to prevent such a catastrophe.

The North Korean authorities first brought up the question of tripartite talks on October 8, 1983, the day before the terrorist bombing in Burma; they renewed the suggestion on December 3, 1983, the very day they tried to infiltrate armed agents into Tadaep'o; and this morning they made the proposal again.

After the atrocity in Burma, the North Koreans groundlessly claimed they had been framed and refused to take responsibility or apologize. Instead, just as a thief cries "thief" to draw attention from himself, they attempted to shift the blame onto us for heightening tensions. Such an attitude is hardly the basis for a sincere dialogue.

As a basis for peace, unification and national reconciliation, the North Korean authorities must first, officially or unofficially, take responsibility for the Burma

incident, which has angered the whole world, apologize, and punish those responsible. Since unification is an internal problem, it is important for the South and North to talk together, restore understanding and trust. I am convinced that a dialogue and the joint solution, under the scrutiny of the rest of the world, of the problems dividing us is the only way to preserve national dignity.

To remedy the tense relations and explore the possibilities for peaceful unification, there should be a meeting of the top leaders of the two sides, as we have already proposed. If such is difficult, at least there should be a meeting of South and North Korean cabinet-level officials. Such a dialogue should discuss and solve the question of a non-aggression pact to ease tension and halt the arms race.

If such talks make smooth progress, it would be constructive to call an enlarged meeting including those countries directly or indirectly responsible for the division of Korea and the Korean War to help guarantee a permanent peace on the peninsula and foster an international atmosphere conducive to unification. If the North Korean authorities are truly interested in participating with us in the sacred task of unification, they must immediately cease their violent ways and join in such a dialogue; should they refuse, it would prove to the world that their peace-proposals have been deceptive. I am positive that if the North Koreans would join us in responding affirmatively to the need to alleviate tension and to achieve national reconciliation, we would have an epochal opportunity to achieve unification in the 1980s.

The position of the South as shown in Minister Sohn's statement boils down to a demand for official or unofficial apology for the Burma incident, and the punishment of those responsible; a call for the resumption of a direct dialogue between the authorities of South and North Korea over the Korean question; and the

disclosure of its stand toward a possible meeting of those countries responsible for the partitioning of the Korean peninsula and the Korean War.

Demand for Official or Unofficial Apology for Burma Incident and Punishment of Responsible Persons

It is a well-known fact that ever since national division North Korea has continued to use violence in their unending acts of provocation, and that the tension on the Korean peninsula has been due to North Korea's scheme to bring the South under their control by force of arms.

Moreover, their call for a dialogue while alleging the terrorist bombing they perpetrated in Burma to be a frame-up wrought by the South, cannot but be taken as a fraudulent machination designed to cover up their terrorism.

The demand of the South for Pyongyang's admittance of and apology for the Burma incident as well as the punishment of those responsible, stems from its basic stand that a constructive dialogue based on inter-Korean trust can take place only when North Korea departs from their violent habits and prove their genuine willingness, if any, to enter a dialogue with the South.

And, the demand for an official or unofficial admittance of, and apology for, the terrorist bombing, derives from the South's resolve and broadmindedness regarding the question of inter-Korean dialogue. Seoul's position is that if it is difficult for the North to admit to the bombing and apologize openly because of their position internationally, then they may take some other acceptable measure to show their sincerity toward dialogue.

Direct Inter-Korean Dialogue Best Method of Solving Korean Question

The idea of realizing unification through a direct dialogue based on the principle of national self-determination is the core of the unification policy the government of the Republic of Korea steadfastly pursues. The idea is well justified and persuasive for a number of reasons.

First, the ultimate objective of unification lies in the bringing about of the happiness and well-being of all the members of the Korean nation. Therefore, the question of national unification is basically a problem for the Koreans themselves, and the Korean question should naturally be solved by Koreans.

Of course, there is no denying that national division was caused by outside forces and that the interests of the world powers are entangled in the Korean peninsula. Still, inasmuch as unification has been hampered by political confrontation and distrust between the two sides of Korea, this internal problem ought to be solved first through dialogue and negotiations between the direct parties — South and North Korea.

Second, the world community has today entered an age of uncertainty and instability, an age utterly unpredictable because of the ever increasing selfishness among nations and clashes over national interests. Under the circumstances, the only way to firmly assure national survival and prosperity is for the Koreans themselves to explore and develop their rights and interests. In fact, the Koreans have learned this historical lesson in the past century through such tribulations as alien incursions, loss of national sovereignty, national division and a fratricidal war.

Third, the inter-Korean agreement in the historic July 4 South-North Joint Communique on the three principles for national unification — independence, peace and national unity — also means that the nation's right to self-determination and the

solution of problems between the direct parties involved — South and North Korea — should be the basis for resolving the unification question.

It is a contradiction for North Korea to reject a direct inter-Korean dialogue and adhere to a so-called tripartite meeting while talking about “expelling outside forces,” “independence” and “national integrity” with respect to the question of national unification. It is also an affront to the South-North Joint Communiqué which they solemnly pledged before the nation to abide by.

To improve the strained inter-Korean relations and explore the road to peaceful unification under these circumstances, the two sides of Korea, the direct parties involved, should sit face to face. The question of a declaration of non-aggression the North proposed could naturally be discussed and decided at such a direct meeting.

The Desirability of a Meeting of the Countries
Responsible Directly or Indirectly for the Partitioning
of Korea and the Korean War

What is most desirable is to solve the pending and future problems facing Korea through a direct dialogue between South and North Korea. Considering, however, the entangled stakes the world powers have in the Korean peninsula, a meeting of those countries having something to do directly or indirectly with the partitioning of Korea and the Korean War, too, is considered advisable if it can contribute to the securing of a durable peace on this land and the fostering of an international atmosphere conducive to unification.

If such a meeting is organized reasonably and operated effectively as hoped for, it could be a good impetus to solving the

unification question through direct dialogue between South and North Korea. Such a meeting between the direct parties to the Korean War could also provide an opportunity to establish an apparatus to ease tension on the Korean peninsula, prevent the recurrence of war and secure peace. At the same time, depending on its progress, such a meeting could be developed into an international system guaranteeing peace on the Korean peninsula.

However, even if a meeting of relevant countries takes place, South and North Korea should play the main role in solving the unification question inasmuch as the Korean issue is basically a question of South and North Korea. The role of such relevant countries should be limited to assisting and cooperating in an inter-Korean dialogue in much the way a helper would.

2. North Korean Proposal for a Tripartite Meeting

North Korea held a joint meeting of the Central People's Committee and the Standing Council of the Supreme People's Assembly on January 10, 1984, during which they adopted a letter to the government of the Republic of Korea and the U.S. Administration and Congress, proposing a so-called tripartite meeting. The contents of the letter were broadcast through Radio Pyongyang the following day, January 11.

Gist of Proposal

— In order to dissolve the state of military confrontation and ease tension between South and North Korea, we have decided to hold a tripartite meeting between the U.S. and North Korea with the inclusion of South Korea.

— At a tripartite meeting, the question of concluding a peace agreement could be discussed between the U.S. and

North Korea, while South and North Korea may discuss the issue of adopting a bilateral non-aggression declaration.

— A peace agreement could include the question of U.S. military withdrawal from Korea, while a non-aggression declaration may include the issues of mutual non-use of military force and mutual reduction of arms.

— Once a peace agreement is concluded between the U.S. and North Korea, and a non-aggression declaration is adopted between South and North Korea through a tripartite meeting, a political conference like a pan-national meeting could be held between South and North Korea separate from a tripartite meeting to discuss the question of establishing a confederal state of Korea.

— The tripartite meeting could be held either at Panmunjom or a third country deemed convenient.

Treacherosness of Proposal

No sincerity can be found in the North Korean proposal for a tripartite meeting, nor does it indicate any change in their past negativism toward dialogue.

On first glance, it may appear from the North Korean proposal that they have backed down from their past position that South Korea attend merely as an observer a U.S.-North Korean meeting designed to replace the Armistice Agreement with a peace treaty. But, their latest idea is, in effect, to exclude South Korea from the discussion of the question of concluding a peace agreement by insisting that in a tripartite meeting a peace agreement should be concluded between the U.S. and North Korea along with the discussion of the issue of withdrawing American troops from the Republic of Korea.

This indicates that there is no change whatsoever in their

scheme to conclude a peace agreement with the U.S. over the head of South Korea and thereby speed the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Korea. The tripartite meeting they suggest is, thus, tripartite in name only. It is merely a deceptive overture intended to achieve their long-standing goals of Washington-Pyongyang talks, a peace agreement and the withdrawal of American forces from Korea.

Second, North Korea says that the questions of concluding a peace agreement and adopting a non-aggression declaration can be discussed at a tripartite meeting. In effect, however, they insist that both the conclusion of a peace agreement and the pullout of U.S. forces are prerequisite to peace and unification, thus suggesting that they can discuss the issue of adopting a non-aggression declaration between the two sides of Korea only after the conclusion of a peace agreement with the United States.

This peace agreement first and non-aggression declaration later policy was explained clearly in the remarks Pyongyang's charge d'affaires to Peking Kim Chang-kyu made in a press conference, January 13, 1984. Kim said, "In the tripartite meeting we proposed, the questions of concluding a peace agreement between North Korea and the U.S. and withdrawing U.S. forces from South Korea should be discussed first."

What North Korea is after with its latest offer is to achieve the departure of American troops from Korea and the opening of a channel of direct talks with the United States. Their ulterior intent, once the goal of a peace agreement with the U.S. is achieved, is to deliberately drag on talks for a non-aggression declaration until they disrupt the talks altogether after which they would invent some excuse to shift the blame for the break-off to the South.

Moreover, North Korea used the term "agreement" in their call for a peace agreement with the U.S. whereas they chose the word "declaration" in regards to the issue of non-aggression which allegedly would feature the renouncement of the use of military

force and arms reduction. This is another area where their insincerity is evident.

An agreement, as is well known, is a kind of treaty made between states or other parties on paper, that is legally binding, whereas a declaration, designed to openly announce a matter or matters agreed on between states or other parties, is a political act which is not legally binding. The North Korean attempt to adopt a non-aggression pledge in the form of a declaration stems from their scheme to scrap it in due course at their discretion without being bound by any legal obligation, just as they denied the existence of the South-North Coordinating Committee established under the express terms of the July 4 South-North Joint Communique.

Third, North Korea asserts that as a solution to the unification question, their idea of a confederation system should be discussed at an inter-Korean political conference like a grand national conference held separate from a tripartite meeting after the adoption of a peace agreement and a non-aggression declaration through a tripartite meeting. This makes it clear that they are scheming to reject a dialogue in connection with their demand for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Korea and the conclusion of a peace agreement with the United States, and to put off the discussion of the unification question until the remote future.

This is adequate proof that there is no change in their negative attitude toward a direct inter-Korean dialogue.

Moreover, it is worth noting that North Korea first raised the issue of a tripartite meeting through Mainland China on October 8, 1983, just one day before the Burma incident; renewed the proposal on December 3, 1983, the very day when they infiltrated armed agents to the Tadaepo beach; and, on January 11, 1984, when they openly proposed a tripartite meeting, they publicized over Radio Pyongyang the contents of an interview Kim Il-sung had with a Romanian journalist, which said in part, "It is difficult to have a dialogue with South Korean authorities... Even if a

dialogue is held, it would be totally meaningless.” All of these actions stem from their time-worn policy to make themselves appear as though working hard for peace while secretly conspiring something crooked, just as they proposed the formation of a single inter-Korean legislature on June 19, 1950, barely one week before they unleashed the southward aggression.

The Ulterior Motive behind the Proposal

The ulterior motive behind their proposal for a tripartite meeting can be explained as follows.

First, they are seeking a way out of the diplomatic isolation resulting from the Burma incident and also a way to save their declining international prestige.

The attempt on the life of President Chun they conspired in Burma was harshly denounced as violent, anti-civil and barbaric even by Communist-bloc countries as well as the Western world. Faced with the danger of the ultimate collapse of their diplomatic base, they devised the idea of a tripartite meeting in a desperate attempt to find an outlet.

Second, riding the tide of the efforts of the world powers to promote stability on the Korean peninsula, they attempted to mislead world opinion by seeking to build up a peace-oriented image. Of note is the fact that they openly proposed the tripartite meeting at a time when world attention was drawn to the Korean peninsula as the issue of easing tension in Korea emerged as a major topic of a Washington-Peking summit meeting, and that they offered the idea in the form of a direct proposal to both the U.S. Administration and U.S. Congress.

Besides, North Korea apparently made the offer as a stratagem to intensify agitation and subversion against the South, expecting that favorable conditions for such activities could be easily

developed owing to the U.S. presidential election, the visit to Korea by the Pope and an overheating of the election fever in the South this year.

Third, taking into account the U.S.'s reluctance to enter any dialogue with Pyongyang unless South Korea is allowed to participate on the same footing as a full participant, North Korea is seeking the realization of contacts with the United States by dragging Seoul into the talks as a "relevant" party. They are thereby attempting to take the initiative regarding the Korean question and hasten the removal of the U.S. forces, which they consider a major obstacle to the communization of the South.

Fourth, in a bid to take the offensive in regard to a dialogue for national unification, which the Republic of Korea has repeatedly proposed since the birth of the Fifth Republic, they feign interest in a dialogue in order to escape censure for shunning talks with the South.

3. Reactions at Home and Abroad

Major press media in Korea rejected the North Korean proposal for a tripartite meeting as "another piece" in their typical deceptive peace offensive, while positively endorsing the major principles of national self-determination and direct inter-Korean dialogue as stressed by Minister of National Unification Sohn in his January 11th statement. The press challenged North Korea to prove their interest, if any, through actual deeds, such as apologizing for the Rangoon atrocity, instead of merely paying lip service to peace.

Noting that the latest Pyongyang proposal was designed only to serve their scheme to communize all of Korea under a Vietnam-style strategy, the press called upon the people to have a firmer faith in the national integrity, especially in view of the turbulent situation surrounding the Korean peninsula.

Meanwhile, major foreign press media, showing a keen interest

in Minister Sohn's statement and the North Korean proposal for a tripartite meeting, expressed misgivings about Pyongyang's sincerity toward peace talks. They pointed out that the North Korean offer was illogical, lacked consistency, and seemed void of any sincerity.

Observing that this latest overture of North Korea might have been designed to check their further diplomatic isolation, the foreign media commented that though Pyongyang was attempting to distract world attention away from their terrorist bombing in Rangoon, their "peace chorus" would not be echoed so long as they do not account for the Rangoon incident that had shaken peace on the Korean peninsula to its very base.

Part III

The Delivery of the Prime Minister's Message to North Korea and the Issuance of Statement by Prime Minister

1. Background

On January 24, 1984, South Korea received, through the international postal system, a North Korean letter addressed to Prime Minister Chin Iee-jong. The letter, signed by Lee Jong-ok, then Prime Minister of North Korea's State Administration Council, was about the proposal for a so-called tripartite meeting which a joint session of the Central People's Committee and the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly of North Korea adopted on January 10, 1984.

In response to the North Korean letter, Prime Minister Chin sent a message to the Prime Minister of North Korea's State Administration Council on February 14, 1984. The message was delivered to North Korea by two liaison officers of the South at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at Panmunjom at 10 a.m., February 14.

The South could have simply ignored the letter from Pyongyang since Minister of National Unification Sohn Jae-shik had already disclosed the government's stand in a statement on January 11, 1984. However, the South sent the message in a move to stress again the appropriateness of a direct inter-Korean dialogue which the government of the Republic of Korea has consistently been promoting to prepare the base for the alleviation of tension and eventual peaceful unification of Korea, and also to provide an impetus to improving the inter-Korean relations that had been extremely aggravated by the Burma incident.

In response to Prime Minister Chin's message to the North, North Korea sent a letter to the South through Panmunjom on March 7, 1984. In the reply, North Korea rejected the South's renewed call for a direct dialogue between the two, and instead reiterated again their demand for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Korea, a demand they have raised on every opportunity for more than 30 years.

North Korea asserted that the pullout of American troops

should be prerequisite to unification of the Korean peninsula, and, alleging unfoundedly that South Korea has no supreme control of its armed forces, claimed that no inter-Korean issues could be solved through direct talks between the two sides of Korea. They then renewed in the letter their call for a tripartite meeting.

Going a step farther, Pyongyang sought to shift the blame for the rising tension on the Korean peninsula to the U.S. forces in Korea and South Korea in an apparent scheme to smoke-screen the Rangoon incident and other provocative acts and also to engineer the rise of the question of the American forces in Korea as an election issue during the upcoming U.S. presidential election.

The gist of the letter from the Prime Minister of North Korea's State Administration Council is as follows:

— To lay conditions for peaceful unification, a tripartite meeting should be held with South Korea attending a meeting between us and the United States, where steps should be arranged to withdraw American troops from South Korea through the conclusion of a peace agreement between us and the United States and a non-aggression declaration should be adopted between the North and the South.

— Under the present conditions, in which the U.S. forces are forcibly occupying South Korea and the U.S. commander seizes control over the South Korean forces, the South Korean authorities cannot sit face to face with us to solve the questions of replacing the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement, withdrawing American troops from South Korea, adopting a non-aggression declaration, and dissolving the state of military confrontation through arms reduction.

— When we proposed North Korea-U.S. talks in 1974, the United States emphatically demanded from the beginning that they attend such a meeting together with South Korea. Your side, too, endorsed it when the United States proposed

three-party meeting.

— As to a meeting of countries related to the Korean question as your side proposed, such a meeting can hardly be justified because no other country besides the United States is directly responsible for the Korean question.

In response to this insincere attitude of North Korea and their deceptive offer for talks, Prime Minister Chin issued a statement, in which the Prime Minister, pointing out the unreasonableness of North Korea's rejection of a direct inter-Korean dialogue, again urged North Korea not to betray national expectations any further and agree with sincerity to a direct inter-Korean dialogue.

2. Delivery of the Message from Prime Minister Chin to the North Korean Premier

Prime Minister Chin sent a message to Prime Minister Kang Song-san of North Korea's State Administration Council on February 14, 1984. The message was delivered to North Korea through liaison officers at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at Panmunjom at 10 a.m.

In the message, Prime Minister Chin stressed that if the North Korean authorities are truly interested in a dialogue with the South, they should first take acceptable measures over the Burma incident. The Prime Minister said that since reconciliation and the unification of the Korean nation are the problems of the Koreans themselves, they should be solved with the Koreans' own strength and efforts. He added that no other country can resolve the issue on the Koreans' behalf.

Prime Minister Chin then urged North Korea to come forward to a direct inter-Korean dialogue in accordance with the principle of national self-determination expressly agreed on between the two sides in the July 4 South-North Joint Communiqué. The Prime Minister also stressed that North Korea should agree to explore, at an early date, ways to realize an exchange of letters and

mutual visits between the dispersed families and other people of South and North Korea.

The full text of Prime Minister Chin's message to North Korea follows.

I have received your message of last January 11 and on the same day, we made our position concerning the tripartite meeting known. We have consistently urged that contacts and dialogue begin as soon as possible in conformity with the ardent wish of the whole nation for peace and unification. We have exerted every effort to this end.

On the other hand, the North Korean authorities have rejected any inter-Korean dialogue and perpetrated, at home and abroad, acts harmful to the nation, pursuing a course diametrically opposed to our determination to achieve peace and unification. Especially the terrorist bombing in Burma last October has aggravated inter-Korean relations to an extremely dangerous state.

Under such circumstances, the North Korean authorities have raised the question of a tripartite meeting while at the same time, not only refusing to admit and apologize for the bombing incident but contending that the North had been framed. This is hardly an attitude conducive to dialogue.

If you are genuinely interested in a dialogue, you should take appropriate steps to atone for the Burma incident. Otherwise, few persons will accept your proposal for talks as genuine. Since reconciliation and unification are issues between only us, they can only be achieved through our own strength and efforts. No other country can solve these problems on our behalf. This conforms to the principle of national self-determination contained in the South-North Joint Communiqué of July 4, 1972.

Under the current domestic and international situation, I

believe that we can no longer leave unchecked the deepening distrust, enmity and tension between South and North Korea. To alleviate the situation and prepare for reconciliation and unification, we must, above all, open a dialogue between the two parties directly concerned—South and North Korea—and foster trust. At the same time, we must as soon as possible pave the way for exchanges of letters and visits both among relatives dispersed in South and North Korea and between other people.

In this context, the series of proposals we have made, including the call for a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea and a cabinet-level officials meeting, are the measures which can most realistically settle through dialogue the present and future problems of our nation.

I believe that if a South-North dialogue proceeded smoothly, we could foster an environment favorable to a permanent peace and unification by holding talks participated in by South and North Korea and those countries directly or indirectly responsible for the division of the peninsula and the Korean War.

We once again urge the North Koreans to join, with a positive attitude, a direct dialogue with us to discuss all the problems mentioned above. We look forward to a positive response.

3. Prime Minister Chin Issues Statement Calling for Direct Inter-Korean Dialogue

Prime Minister Chin issued a statement on March 10, 1984 in connection with the March 7th letter from the Prime Minister of North Korea's State Administration Council.

In the statement, the Prime Minister demanded that North Korea should take appropriate measures at an early date to atone for the barbaric terrorist act they committed abroad with the intent of assassinating the Head of State of the Republic of Korea,

and come forward to a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea.

Saying that if and when a direct inter-Korean dialogue gets under way, it would be possible to also hold a meeting with other countries which have an interest in the Korean question, Prime Minister Chin again urged North Korea to stop betraying the national desire and respond affirmatively to direct inter - Korean talks with a sincere attitude.

Also in the statement, Prime Minister Chin took note of the fact that North Korea ignored the South's calls for an early exchange of letters between dispersed families and for appropriate measures to atone for the Burma incident, adding that this insincere attitude of North Korea is indicative of the fact that there can be no sincerity whatsoever in any offer they produce for talks.

The full text of Prime Minister Chin's statement, which was read for him by Minister of National Unification Sohn at the conference room of the office of South-North Dialogue at 11 a.m., March 10, follows.

In the February 10 message I sent to the Prime Minister of North Korea's State Administration Council, I called for direct talks between South and North Korea, such as a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea or a ministerial-level meeting. In their reply of March 7, however, North Korea turned their backs on a direct inter-Korean dialogue which all our people desire and simply renewed the time-worn demands they have repeated for some 30 years, which include a call for the withdrawal of American forces from Korea.

At the same time, the North Korean reply ignored my proposal for an early exchange of letters and visits between relatives separated in the two halves of the peninsula and between other compatriots. Moreover, North Korea ignored

our demand that they take appropriate measures to atone for the atrocious terrorist bombing in Burma which enraged the nation and which evoked world-wide condemnation of North Korea. In spite of the fact that the terrorist incident in Burma was an unforgivable heinous anti-national provocation, we exercised patience and prudence because of a deep craving for national reconciliation and peaceful unification and asked North Korea to take appropriate measures to atone. This is the minimum requirement to prove the truthfulness of their proposal for a meeting.

The insincere attitude of North Korea in not only rejecting a direct dialogue with us but also in ignoring our minimum demand proves that they do not really want to improve inter-Korean relations or find a peaceful solution through dialogue to the unification question. Seen in this context, it is clear that their proposal for tripartite talks which was timed to coincide with the terrorist atrocity in Burma was not designed to solve pending inter-Korean problems through dialogue but was a deception aimed at covering up their terrorism.

In the recent letter, North Korea raised the issue of the authority of the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, demanded the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Korea and irrationally asserted that no question can be solved at a direct inter-Korean meeting. It is an insult to our sovereignty and a crooked distortion of truth for them to question the authority of the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces which is solemnly exercised by the Head of State.

North Korea claims that the U.S. forces in Korea and we are to blame for the tension on the peninsula. However, the fundamental source of tension is the incessant North Korean

perpetration of violent acts such as the terrorist atrocity in Burma in the hope of communizing all of Korea.

As for the U.S. forces in Korea, they were withdrawn in 1949 and never would have returned if North Korea had not invaded the South, starting the Korean War. The whole world knows that even after the armistice, the North Koreans did not abandon their schemes to reinvade and have continued to build up their military strength, incessantly committing acts of violent armed provocation. In January 1968, they infiltrated special commandos in an abortive raid on Chong Wa Dae. Beginning in the early 1970s, at the very time that an inter-Korean dialogue was being held, they began to dig invasion tunnels under the Demilitarized Zone. And in October last year, they perpetrated the terrorist bombing in Burma.

The U.S. forces are stationed in Korea under the Korea-U.S. Mutual Defense Treaty for the purpose of dealing with the threats of invasion from North Korea and maintaining peace on the peninsula. The question of U.S. troops in Korea is a bilateral treaty matter between the Republic and the United States and is not in the nature of something in which North Korea can meddle. Before demanding their withdrawal, North Korea should abandon their schemes to communize the whole peninsula by force and respond affirmatively to an inter-Korean dialogue. But North Korea insists that an inter-Korean dialogue is not necessary, arguing that we have no competence to solve problems.

If this is true, we cannot help but wonder why North Korea agreed to the South-North Coordinating Committee meetings we proposed in 1972 on the principle of the independent solution of the unification question, a principle that was agreed upon in the July 4 South-North Joint

Communique, and the South-North Red Cross Conference held from 1971 through 1977? And for what purpose did they come to the ten working-level meetings held from February to October 1980 to prepare for a meeting between the prime ministers of South and North Korea?

Their rejection now of direct inter-Korean talks cannot be justified under any pretext. It is a self-contradictory attitude for them to oppose the principle of national self-determination and to refuse to solve the issue of national unification by direct contact with us.

There are so many issues that must be solved in the interest of peace and unification. The suffering of the divided families who live with the pain of separation from their relatives, discontinuity in all areas of national life, ever-deepening distrust and enmity, heightening military confrontation — all these are acute problems that cannot be left unsolved any longer. Since these are problems that only we ourselves can solve, we must get together to solve them one by one.

The unification question cannot be solved in the current state of confrontation and distrust. The clue to a solution will only be found when the parties directly involved—South and North Korea—open a dialogue on the basis of national self-determination and reconciliation and restore understanding and trust. Though we are divided into South and North, there is no reason why Koreans cannot be reconciled with each other and achieve unification if we strive to do so with faith, in the spirit of national self-determination and peace.

If North Korea rejects inter-Korean contacts while still calling for peaceful unification, it will be difficult to trust

them even if they do propose a dialogue of some kind. To achieve peace and unification, South and North Korea should first get together. North Korea should take appropriate measures at an early date to atone for the barbaric terrorist act they committed abroad with the intent of assassinating our Head of State, and come forward to a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea. If it is impossible to hold such a meeting immediately, they should agree to a ministerial-level meeting. If and when a direct inter-Korean conference gets under way, it would be possible to also hold a meeting with other countries who have an interest in the Korean question.

I once again urge North Korea to stop betraying the national desire and respond affirmatively to a dialogue with us with a sincere attitude.

The statement by Prime Minister Chin was significant in many aspects:

The Justness of the Direct Inter-Korean Talks
and the Renewed Call for a Meeting
between the Top Leaders of South and North Korea

In the statement, Prime Minister Chin pointed out that if North Korea rejects inter-Korean contacts while still calling for peaceful unification, it will be difficult to trust them even if they do propose a dialogue of some kind. Stressing that the two sides of Korea, therefore, should first get together to achieve peace and unification, the Prime Minister urged North Korea to come

forward to a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea at an early date.

Since the unification of Korea is an all-important task facing the Koreans and since unification should be of a kind that can promise a strong country and the future prosperity of Koreans, the question of unification must be solved by the Koreans themselves and cannot be tackled by anyone else by proxy.

And, because the fostering of mutual trust and national reconciliation are essential to the peaceful solution of the Korean question, especially under the present conditions of conflicting ideologies and systems and of mounting tensions and enmity between the two sides of Korea, it is imperative to hold a direct inter-Korean dialogue under the principle of solving the issues between the direct parties.

Nonetheless, North Korea rejects an inter-Korean dialogue by ignoring the principle of national self-determination and the need of mutual trust and national reconciliation between the South and the North. Here, it is obvious that their ulterior motive is to unify the whole of Korea under communism by force of arms or other violence.

If North Korea is truly interested in the easing of tension on the Korean peninsula and its peaceful unification, they should come to the table for a meeting between the top leaders of the two sides and discuss openly and with sincerity all the issues the two sides raise, providing an epochal breakthrough in the efforts to improve inter-Korean relations and realize peaceful unification.

If their situation does not permit their outright agreement to such a constructive meeting between the highest authorities of the two sides, they should agree at least to a ministerial-level meeting between South and North Korea.

North Korea's Refusal to Take Proper Actions to Atone for the Burma Incident

North Korea, as is the case with a robber accusing his victim, insists that the terrorist bombing they perpetrated in Burma was the South's frame-up, and have not admitted to it or apologized. Such brazenness makes it all the clearer that their offer for a tripartite meeting was not intended to solve problems pending between the two sides of Korea through dialogue but was a mere deceptive peace offensive to get out of the international isolation they incurred as a result of the Burma incident.

The Burma incident was an unforgivable, anti-national provocation. In the hope of achieving unification through national reconciliation, however, the government of the Republic of Korea asked North Korea to show their sincerity toward a dialogue by taking acceptable measures to atone for the Burma incident.

Nonetheless, North Korea did not mention anything about this in their March 7th letter from the Prime Minister of the State Administration Council, indicating that there is no change in their intransigency. This can only be taken as a display of their intent to pursue violence in the future, too.

North Korea's Ignoring of the Call for an Exchange of Letters and Mutual Visits

In their answer, North Korea ignored the proposal made in the February 10th message by Prime Minister Chin for an exchange of letters and mutual visits between dispersed families and between other peoples of the South and the North of Korea. Their ignorance was yet another indication that they are not the least interested in the improvement of inter-Korean relations and the

laying of a base for peaceful unification.

There can be no reason why North Korea cannot agree to such exchanges, the most fundamental step toward improving inter-Korean relations.

<p>North Korea's Excuses for Rejecting Direct Inter-Korean Dialogue</p>

As excuses for their rejection of a direct inter-Korean dialogue, the North Koreans first disputed in their letter the question of the supreme control of the Republic of Korea Armed Forces. Second, they demanded the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Korea as a prerequisite to an inter-Korean dialogue. Third, they rejected a direct inter-Korean dialogue saying that "the South Korean government has no power to solve problems." And fourth, they contended that the South should accept their offer for a tripartite meeting because the South itself proposed a similar meeting among the authorities of the three countries earlier.

North Korea's questioning of the issue of the supreme control over the Armed Forces as an excuse for their rejection of a direct dialogue is something intolerable and an insult to the sovereignty of the Republic. As is expressly stipulated in the provisions of Paragraph 1, Article 49 of the Republic of Korea Constitution, the supreme authority over the Armed Forces rests with the Head of State of the Republic of Korea. Also it is a well-known fact that though the operational control of the armed forces of the member nations of both the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Treaty Organization lie in their American and Russian commanders, respectively, the supreme authority over the military forces of these countries definitely rests with their respective Heads of State.

As for the issue of the U.S. forces in Korea, the American troops

are stationed in Korea under the Korea-U.S. Mutual Defense Treaty for the purpose of forestalling any reinvasion from the North and maintaining peace on the Korean peninsula. The question of U.S. troops in Korea is a bilateral treaty matter between the Republic of Korea and the United States, and is not in the nature of something in which North Korea can meddle. Before demanding their withdrawal, therefore, North Korea should abandon their scheme to invade the South and agree to an inter-Korean dialogue to establish peaceful inter-Korean relations free of the danger of war.

Besides, North Korea rejects a direct inter-Korean dialogue on the grounds that the South Korean government has no competence to solve problems. If this is true, why on earth did they enter talks with the South in the past? The whole world knows that they, together with the South, attended the meetings of the South-North Coordinating Committee held on the principle of independent solution of the unification question as embodied in the July 4 South-North Joint Communiqué, the South-North Red Cross Conference from 1971 through 1977, and the 10 working-level meetings held from February to August 1980 to prepare for a meeting between the prime ministers of the two sides of Korea. Their rejection now of direct inter-Korean talks is a self-contradictory attitude designed only for them to reject direct talks between South and North Korea.

Lastly, their allegation that the South should accept their offer for a tripartite meeting because Seoul itself once proposed a meeting of the authorities of the three nations, stems from their deliberate distortion of the essential difference between the two ideas.

In proposing a meeting of the authorities of the three nations, the South made it clear that the South and the North of Korea should play a principal role in the solution of the present and future problems facing the Koreans as was expressly stated in Article 12 of the Korea-U.S. Joint Communiqué of July 1, 1979:

“The two Presidents agreed that any arrangement that would reduce tension and establish lasting peace leading ultimately to the peaceful unification of the Korean people should result from dialogue between the two responsible authorities of both the South and the North of Korea.”

However, in the Pyongyang version of a tripartite meeting, North Korea tries to exclude South Korea from the issue of concluding a peace agreement by arguing that the United States and North Korea alone should sign a peace agreement featuring the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Korea.

This indicates that North Korea is trying to convene a meeting with the U.S. and North Korea as the principal participants in a bid largely to engineer the pullout of the U.S. forces from Korea. The North Korean proposal, therefore, basically differs in purport and objective from a meeting of the authorities of three nations the South proposed before.

4. Domestic Reactions

The Press in Korea had invariably voiced support for Prime Minister Chin’s call for a direct inter-Korean dialogue on the basis of the principle of national self-determination. Commenting on the Prime Minister’s February 10th message to North Korea, the media stressed that since the Korean question is basically an internal issue of the Koreans, the problem should naturally be solved through a direct dialogue between South and North Korea. The press then accused North Korea of offering a deceptive and fictitious tripartite meeting in their schemes to communize the whole of Korea and of launching a slanderous propaganda campaign against the South in connection with their offer.

Also discussing the March 7th letter from the Prime Minister of North Korea’s State Administration Council and the March 10th statement of Prime Minister Chin, the press said that the

nonsensical and childish allegations North Korea made in their letter made their idea of a tripartite meeting all the more fictitious. Refuting North Korean contentions one by one, the press said North Korea should desist from paying empty lip service and instead promptly agree to a direct inter-Korean dialogue.



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international Cultural Society of Korea

C.P.O. Box 4161

Seoul, Korea

Dear Reader,

The questionnaire that follows was prepared as an aid towards making **South-North Dialogue** more informative and readable. Your frank answers to the questions would be greatly appreciated. Please forward the questionnaire to the following address:

P.O. Box 4161
Central Post Office
Seoul 100, Republic of Korea

Questionnaire

Nationality :

Age : Sex : Education :

Occupation :

Please check your choices.

1. How often do you use or consult **South-North Dialogue** in your duties and research activities?

- a. Very often.
- b. From time to time.
- c. Seldom.

2. Do you find this booklet helpful to your understanding of the inter-Korean question?

- a. Very helpful.
- b. A little helpful,
- c. Not helpful

3. How do you the phrasing and style of this booklet?

- a. Easy to understand.
- b. So, so.
- c. Difficult to understand.

4. Please state your suggestions and comments on **South-North Dialogue**.

No. 035
Aug. 1984

South-North Dialogue in Korea

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Part I

First Regional Meetings of Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy

1. Message of President Chun

— Renewed Commitment to Paving the Way to Peaceful Unification —

On the third anniversary of its founding, the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy held its first regional meetings in 13 special and provincial cities in the country and in Washington D.C. and 10 other overseas locations on June 5, 1984.

In a message sent to the regional meetings, President Chun Doo Hwan, concurrent chairman of the Advisory Council, stressed that “Unification should begin with peace and end in peace... A genuine harvest can be reaped only through the subjective ability of our nation.” President Chun said that North Korea would be able to atone for their national crime by first abandoning their policy of violence and division and gaining at an early date a national conscience and a sense of integrity, and then sincerely agreeing to an inter-Korean dialogue.

The President charged that at the inter-Korean sports meeting North Korea was not interested in sports exchanges and the realization of a single team for the Olympics, only in shattering the conference. Deploring the fact that North Korea acted flunkyishly by reading the face of their suzerain country regarding the issue of participation in the Los Angeles Olympics, President Chun urged that “North Korea should gain subjectivity at an early date and show sincerity so that the inter-Korean sports meeting could come to successful fruition.”

The Chief Executive also expressed regret over the fact that dispersed families could not ascertain the fate of their missing relatives much less reunite with them due to the inhumane closedness of the North Korean authorities. The President then said, “As I expect the North Korean authorities to be awakened to the humanitarian spirit, I hope relevant countries will render their cooperation so that our brethren residing in such countries as Mainland China

and the Soviet Union, which have no diplomatic relations with us could freely meet their missing loved ones.”

Lastly, President Chun emphasized that “It would be an act of betrayal to our history and nation if we neglect our responsibility for unification, weary of the forty years’ division” at this time when “resignation and skepticism about unification have now been replaced with confidence and hope, and the national capabilities to achieve unification have been redoubled along with the expansion of national strength as a result of stability and harmony.”

The President exhorted the nation to accelerate their onward march toward unification, in the conviction that harmony wins over division, dialogue over violence and peace over war.

The full text of President Chun’s message, which was read by Prime Minister Chin Iee-chong at the Seoul regional meeting and by respective regional vice chairmen at other regional meetings of the Advisory Council, follows:

Members of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy,

Together with the whole people, I offer my hearty felicitations on the holding of regional sessions of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy to manifest the nation’s resolve to achieve unification at home and abroad on this day, the third anniversary of the founding of the Advisory Council, the core of our efforts to achieve national unification.

At the same time, I wish to extend my heartfelt congratulations to the members of the Advisory Council who, as the vanguard in the accomplishment of the sacred mission, have exerted their all to strengthen the national will and ability to achieve unification at home and abroad.

Thanks to your noble efforts, we have steadily cemented a viable base from which we will terminate the age of discontinuation and division and unfold an era of reconciliation and unification.

Resignation and skepticism about unification have now been replaced with confidence and hope, and the national capabilities to achieve unification have been redoubled along with the expansion of national strength as a result of stability and harmony.

Members of the Advisory Council,

What we should keep in mind in accomplishing the paramount task of national unification is that unification should begin with peace and end in peace. Every citizen of our nation is well aware that violence can not bring national reconciliation nor war national happiness.

And unification is our own question, this nation's. A genuine harvest can be reaped only through the subjective ability of our nation.

To turn to others on national questions constitutes an insult to national self-esteem, and represents nothing but an act of flunkyism violating nation integrity.

It is to realize unification with our own self-reliant efforts that we have set forth the idea of achieving unification through national reconciliation and proposed a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea.

Instead of sincerely responding to such reasonable proposals for dialogue, however, the North Korean Communists perpetrated the violent atrocity of murdering their same brethren and have persisted with their anti-national acts denying peace and unification and seeking war and division. Moreover, they openly indulge in disguised tactics without any single word of admittance or apology over the Rangoon brutality.

North Korea would be able to atone for their national crime a little by abandoning their policy of violence and division and gaining at an early date a national conscience and a sense of integrity, and then agreeing to an inter-Korean dialogue with sincerity.

Members of the Advisory Council,

As you all well know, the question of sports exchanges and forming single teams for various international games between South and North Korea was an idea we advanced to North Korea several times in the past.

We have attended the recent inter-Korean sports meetings with sincerity in the hope that South and North Korea could take part in the forthcoming Los Angeles Olympics as a single team. However, North Korea was not interested in sports exchanges and the realization of a single team for the Olympics, only in shattering the conference.

This attitude of North Korea showed that they were not interested in the formation of a single delegation from the beginning. They can hardly escape the censure that they acted flunkishly by blindly following alien forces and reading the face of their suzerain country regarding the issue of participation in the Los Angeles Olympics. If North Korea is genuine and subjectively sincere in exercising their own ideas, there can be no reason why they should shun and reject the sports meeting designed to form single team.

I had hoped that sports exchanges between South and North Korea could be materialized so that we could form single national teams for not only the Los Angeles Olympics but also for the Asian Games two years later and the 1988 Seoul Olympics, and thereby manifest our nation's brotherly love and harmony before the world.

North Korea should gain subjectivity at an early date and show sincerity so that the inter-Korean sports meeting aimed at realizing our just hope could come to successful fruition.

At the same time, I would like to emphasize that the ascertaining of the fate of dispersed families and their reunion are fundamental human rights that cannot be denied by anything.

All peoples of the world regret that the pathetic wish of the dispersed families; who painfully miss their blood relatives, has not been met due to the inhumane closedness of the North

Korean authorities.

As I expect the North Korean authorities to be awakened to the humanitarian spirit, I hope that relevant countries will render their cooperation so that our brethren residing in such countries as Mainland China and the Soviet Union, which have no diplomatic relations with us, could freely meet their missing loved ones.

Members of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy,

To emphasize once again, unification is a mandate of the nation and the duty of all who are members of the nation. It would be an act of betrayal to our history and nation if we, who have lived thousands of years as a homogeneous people, neglect our responsibility for unification, weary of the forty years' division.

I am convinced that if only we all dedicate our passion to this sacred mission, unification will be achieved without fail in the not too distant future.

I would like to exhort you, the members of the Advisory Council, to play a driving role in creating an advanced nation and in strengthening our unification ability through the concerted efforts of all the people.

Let us all accelerate our onward march toward unification, in the conviction that harmony wins over division, dialogue over violence and peace over war. I pray that you and your families will always enjoy complete happiness.

Thank you.

The contents of President Chun's message on the third anniversary of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy boils down to the reaffirmation of the principle of peaceful unification and a call for a direct dialogue between South and North Korea; a demand that North Korea show sincerity toward the inter-Korean

sports meeting; and a call for humanitarian measures by the North Korean authorities and the cooperation of Mainland China, the Soviet Union and other relevant countries in ascertaining the fate of dispersed families and their reunion.

Reaffirmation of the Principle of Peaceful Unification and
a Call for Direct Dialogue

The remarks that “unification should begin with peace and end in peace” is yet another revelation of the President’s conviction in peaceful unification and, at the same time, the base of the South’s unification policy. In his policy statement made at the 120th Extraordinary National Assembly session on January 17, 1984, President Chun stated that “the abhorrence of violence and confidence in peace is the highest faith” and that “the paramount clause of unification is peace.”

It is in line with this consistent unification policy that President Chun has made a series of positive and comprehensive suggestions on the inter-Korean question, which include a proposal for an exchange of visits between the top leaders of South and North Korea made on January 12, 1981; a proposal for a meeting of the top leaders of South and North Korea, made on June 5, 1981; and the announcement of the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification, on January 22, 1982.

However, North Korea, true to their unchanging policy of anti-national violence, showed no sincerity toward these reasonable offers for dialogue, and perpetrated anti-national atrocities like the Burma incident. Though they came under worldwide condemnation and accusation for such atrocities, North Korea attempted to defame the South in their deceptive machination, rather than admit to and apologize for their criminal conduct.

It was due to the South’s untiring efforts to rectify the North’s crooked attitude and achieve peaceful unification through dialogue

that President Chun took the occasion to reaffirm that the subject of unification involves no others but South and North Korea, and urged North Korea to sincerely agree to inter-Korean dialogue by gaining a national conscience and integrity at an early date instead of pursuing a policy of violence and division.

Demand for the North's Sincerity toward Sports Talks

North Korea attended the inter-Korean sports meeting with ulterior motives and without any interest in single Korean sports teams. They hoped to get out of their diplomatic isolation as a terrorist group by displaying a gesture of "appeasement" to the world under the cloak of "discussing the formation of single teams." They also tried to justify their boycott of the Los Angeles Olympics by shifting the blame for the failure to form a single inter-Korean team to the side of the Republic of Korea. It is worth noting that North Korea attended a round of the sports meeting even after it joined the Soviet-bloc boycotting the Los Angeles Olympic Games.

With the 1988 Summer Olympics and other international festivals set for the years ahead in Seoul, North Korea should have a national conscience and sincerely sit together with the South for talks to form single national teams. They should thereby join the South in its efforts in manifesting the nation's brotherly love and harmony before the world.

Call for Humanitarian Measures by the North Korean Authorities and the Cooperation of Mainland China, the Soviet Union and Other Relevant Countries in the Ascertaining of the Fate of Dispersed Families and Their Reunion

Needless to say, the ascertaining of the fate of dispersed families

and their reunion are not only the cravings of the dispersed families but also constitute a shortcut to easing tension, fostering an atmosphere for mutual understanding and restoring and cementing the national bond between South and North Korea.

However, North Korea continues to turn a deaf ear to the acute question of dispersed families at a time when even a third country, Mainland China, showed due interest in the dispersed family issue, professing its cooperation in realizing their reunions.

It represents a more concrete and forward-looking posture in the solution of the dispersed family question for President Chun to ask North Korea to turn its attention to humanitarianism, and to express the hope that Mainland China and the Soviet Union will cooperate in facilitating free reunions between Korean residents in those countries and their families and relatives in Korea.

At the regional meetings of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy, the presidential message was followed by a government report, "Promotion of Unification Policy and Development in North Korea." The regional meetings also adopted resolutions, the gist of which follows;

- Support of the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification, and a reaffirmation for national unification achieved without recourse to violence.
- Demand for North Korea's renouncement of its policy for violent revolution and intensification of tensions.
- Rejection of the idea of a tripartite meeting.
- Demand for North Korea's admittance to and apology for the Rangoon incident, the holding of a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea, and the resuming of the South-North Red Cross Conference.
- A`dedication to enlightening the people on unification policy and regional development.

2. Domestic Reactions

Major domestic newspapers saluted the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy for concentrating on further strengthening the national resolve to achieve peaceful unification and for effectively pooling their wisdom on unification policy and its implementation. The various media observed that the recent regional meetings were significant in that they manifested the suprapartisan and nationwide will to peaceful unification amidst the turbulent situation of the Korean peninsula.

The medias voiced unreserved support for the principle of peaceful unification and resumption of inter-Korean dialogue through a top leaders' meeting, etc., as reiterated by President Chun in his message.

The newspapers also said there can be no way for North Korea to justify their refusal to pave the way to ascertaining the fate of dispersed families and their reunion. The papers said the South should build up more concretely its capabilities for peaceful unification, adding that it is incumbent upon all the people of the South to contribute more solidly to national security in harmony and with firm ideological armament.

Part II

Inter-Korean Sports Meeting

1. Initiation of Sports Talks

At a time when tension was building up on the Korean peninsula more menacingly than at any other time in the past due to the Burma incident and other provocations perpetrated by the North Koreans, P'yongyang proposed on March 30, 1984 the formation of single inter-Korean teams to take part in the 23rd Olympic Games and other future Asian and world championship matches. In a letter addressed to Chung Ju-yong, president of the Korean Olympic Committee (KOC), Kim Yu-sun, chairman of the North Korean Olympic Committee, suggested that the two sides' sports delegations, headed by vice-president-level officials of both Olympic committees, have a meeting at P'anmunjom at an early date to discuss the issue.

Basically it was questionable for North Korea to offer the sports talks when they had not admitted to or apologized for the terrorist bombing they perpetrated in Burma. Nevertheless, the Korean Olympic Committee, recalling that the South had on several occasions in the past proposed single inter-Korean teams for the Los Angeles Olympics and various other international sports games, agreed, in a message delivered to the North on April 2, to the convening of an inter-Korean sports meeting.

The text of the message follows:

To Kim Yu-sun, chairman of the North Korean Sports Guidance Committee and the North Korean Olympic Committee:

I received your letter of March 30, and first of all am compelled to point out the lack of any mention about the terrorist atrocity in Burma last October 9. In that attempt on the life of our Head of State, most of the members of our diplomatic delegation were murdered en masse.

It was not only a crime against compatriots who share the same blood and all other peace-loving peoples of the world, but

also constituted a flagrant violation of the Olympic spirit which pursues peace and the unity of all mankind.

Even between athletes and athletic officials an apology for such heinous criminal conduct, in which compatriots were slain en masse, would be appropriate. We have demanded on several occasions in the past and still demand that the North Korean authorities take appropriate measures to atone for the Burma atrocity.

Nevertheless, we have decided to affirmatively review your proposal for talks between South and North Korean sports officials in the pure spirit of sportsmanship, separate from any other pending issue.

On many occasions, we have already urged that single delegations be formed to take part in the 23rd Olympics in Los Angeles this coming July and in various future world championships.

On June 19, 1981, Cho Sang-ho, then president of the Korean Olympic Committee, proposed that single inter-Korean teams be formed for the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics and the 1982 New Delhi Asian Games, and suggested to your side that an inter-Korean sports delegates meeting be held as soon as possible.

When we made the offer for joint participation as a single inter-Korean team three years before the Los Angeles Olympics, we expected North Korea to respond affirmatively without hesitation. Again in the proposal for 20 inter-Korean pilot projects which the government of the Republic of Korea put forth to North Korea on February 1, 1982, we called for an exchange of goodwill games in the South and the North, the formation of single teams for various international matches, and goodwill exchanges between people in the athletic world.

All these proposals were advanced from the perspective of national reconciliation, and, therefore, there was no reason whatsoever why you shouldn't have accepted them. But you did not.

It is fortunate, however, that you have, belatedly though, responded affirmatively to our offer to form single teams for the 1984 Olympics and various other international games.

We expect that South and North Korea will be able to form single delegations to jointly take part not only in the Los Angeles Olympics but also in the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Olympics set to be held in Seoul.

The South and the North came in third and fourth, respectively, in the New Delhi Asian Games in 1982. Though we failed to win the glory of winning first place, we proved our people's ability to all the world. Had we formed a single delegation for the New Delhi Games, we might have even won first place.

Considering that West and East Germany held some 200 meetings over a period of more than five years from June 1951 to November 1956 before they could form a single team for the Olympics in the 1950s, it can't be said there is enough time to prepare for the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Olympics in Seoul not to mention the Los Angeles Olympics in 1984.

Therefore, we had better hold various goodwill games in Seoul and P'yongyang by turn even beginning right from this April so that we can strongly demonstrate both at home and abroad our mutual determination to form single teams and hasten without any slightest delay the selection of players to participate on a single inter-Korean team in the Los Angeles Olympics and other international games.

In order to facilitate the smooth progress of the talks to arrange for such single teams and sports exchange programs, a direct telephone line should be opened between South and North Korea.

To discuss these questions, we propose the following:

Time of first meeting: 10 a.m., April 9, 1984

Site: Conference Room, Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, P'anmunjom

Delegations: Four delegates each, with the senior delegates being the deputy heads of the sports associations and Olympic

committees.

Agenda: 1. The question of forming single inter-Korean teams for the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, 1986 Asian Games, 1988 Olympics and other international games to be held in the days ahead.

2. The question of holding inter-Korean athletic exchanges.

I look forward to your affirmative response.

In the meantime, North Korea notified the South in a letter on April 6 that it had formed a five-member delegation headed by Kim Duk-jun, vice chairman of the North Korean Olympic Committee, with Pak Mu-song, chief secretary of the Olympic Committee as deputy chief delegate. The North said, however, that they would send four delegates led by the deputy chief delegate to the first meeting.

In response, the Korean Olympic Committee informed the North in a message on April 7 of the formation of a five-member delegation headed by Kim Chong-kyu, vice president of the Korean Amateur Sports Association and the Korean Olympic Committee. Thus, the stage was set for the first inter-Korean sports meeting at 10 a.m. April 9, 1984 at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at P'anmunjom.

The two delegations were as follows:

The Delegation of South Korea

Chief Delegate — Kim Chong-kyu

vice president of the Korean Amateur Sports Association and the Korean Olympic Committee

Delegate — Kim Chong-ha

chairman of the Korean Handball Association and concurrently vice chairman of the Korean

Olympic Committee

Delegate — Lee Chong-ha
a member of the Korea University Sports Committee

Delegate — Im Tae-sun
*a director of the Korean Soccer Association and
concurrently a member of the Korean
Olympic Committee*

Delegate — Nam Chong-mun
*a director of the Korean Table Tennis Association
and concurrently director of the Korea Amateur
Sports Association.*

The Delegation of North Korea

Chief Delegate — Kim Duk-jun
*vice chairman of the North Korean Olympic
Committee*

Deputy Chief Delegate — Pak Mu-song
*chief secretary of the North Korean
Olympic Committee*

Delegate — Kim Se-jin
*a member of the North Korean Olympic Committee
and concurrently vice chairman of the North
Korean Sports Technique Guidance Committee*

Delegate — Suh Myong-ho
a member of the North Korean Olympic Committee

Delegate — Sok Tae-ho
a member of the North Korean Olympic Committee

2. Sports Talks and the South's Position

The South and the North had three rounds of talks on the question of forming a single team to take part in the Los Angeles Olym-

pics.

Superficially the conference was held at the suggestion of the North. Kim Yu-sun, chairman of the North Korean Olympic Committee, proposed the sports talks in a letter delivered to the president of the Korean Olympic Committee on March 30.

The South had for a long time, however, called for inter-Korean talks and exchanges in sports and other areas. Seoul has been maintaining the positive and basic stand that all issues pending between the two sides of Korea should be discussed and solved through dialogue.

It was in line with this consistent position that Cho Sang-ho, former president of the Korean Olympic Committee and the Korean Amateur Sports Association, proposed in a statement on June 19, 1981, the formation of a single inter-Korean delegation to participate in the 23rd Olympics of 1984. He suggested that even before the Olympics, the two sides, if possible, take part in the 9th Asian Games of 1982 and other international games as single teams. He then proposed that the sports delegates of the two sides discuss these issues at an early date.

From that time the South took every occasion to urge the North to agree to sports talks. On July 27, 1981 and again on August 27 the same year, Cho Sang-ho, then president of the Olympic Committee, urged the North to respond affirmatively to his earlier proposal for the formation of the single inter-Korean teams for the 1982 Asian Games, the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics and various other international games. Even the 20 inter-Korean pilot projects proposed by the Minister of National Unification on February 1, 1982, included the formation of single inter-Korean teams for various international sports events.

The South was sceptic about the genuineness of the North Korean offer, for it came only four months prior to the Los Angeles Olympics, a period considered too short to tackle the complicated issue of forming a single team, and because North Korea showed no repentance at all for the Burma incident and other provocations against the South. However, the South attended the sports talks in a

plan to demand, once the meeting got under way, that the North take appropriate steps to atone for the Burma incident and thereby prove their sincerity, if any, by deeds.

The basic position of the South with respect to the inter-Korean sports meeting was as follows:

Single Teams for International Games

If the two sides of Korea successfully hold sports talks, forming single teams for the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, the 1986 Asian Games, the 1988 Seoul Olympics and other international sports games, the nation could display an integrated image to the world and could reap much better scores than in separate participation, demonstrating the outstanding ability of the Korean people.

At the 9th Asian Games held in New Delhi in 1982, South and North Korea took third and fourth place, respectively. The South won 28 gold medals and the North 17. The gold medals the two sides garnered totaled 45, which may foretell that a single inter-Korean team could win Asia's regional games.

Single Teams for the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Summer Olympics

The 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Summer Olympics taking place in Seoul at a two years' interval would be a rare opportunity for the athletes and sports officials of the two sides of Korea to promote goodwill and unity. They would also provide a good impetus to paving the way to broad exchanges and cooperation between South and North Korea.

In particular, since the two international festivals are to be held

in Seoul, it would serve to heighten the nation's pride if the two sides were to take part in them as single teams. To better prepare for the felicitous events and make them yield more solid fruits, it is highly desirable for the South and North to form single delegations for the two games.

Considering the example of East and West Germany having once formed a single team, not enough time is left for the two sides of Korea to tackle the question of forming single teams to participate in the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Seoul Olympics. The two sides, therefore, cannot delay any longer in preparing for the two great events.

Inter-Korean Sports Exchanges

Sports exchanges between the South and the North are essential not only to selecting athletes for single teams to take part in international games but also to promoting goodwill between athletes and sports officials of the two sides. At the same time, such exchanges, if realized, would contribute much to improving inter-Korean relations and fostering national harmony.

In an age when all the world's sportsmen promote contacts and exchanges transcending the barrier of ideologies and systems, there are no contacts between the athletes and sports officials of the same nation, South and North Korea.

Under these conditions, it is important for the two sides to open their doors to each other so that their athletes and sports officials can engage in contacts and exchanges free of any worry.

3. Course of the Sports Talks

a. First Meeting

The first inter-Korean sports meeting was held for two hours and

25 minutes at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at P'anmunjom on April 9, 1984.

Due to North Korea's situation, four delegates attended the meeting from each side; chief delegate Kim Chong-kyu and delegates Kim Chong-ha, Lee Chong-ha and Im Tae-sun from the South; and deputy chief delegate Pak Mu-song and delegates Kim Se-jin, Suh Myong-ho and Sok Tae-ho from the North.

At the meeting, the South's delegation stressed that the Burma terrorist bombing and the kidnapping of Choe Un-hui and Shin Sang-ok perpetrated by the North Korean authorities were acts of grave provocation that only heightened tension and confrontation between the two sides of Korea. The Seoul delegation, pointing out that the sports persons of the two sides cannot engage in any exchanges and cooperation freely under such conditions, demanded that the North duly admit to and apologize for the incidents and take appropriate measures to atone for them.

The southern delegates went on to say that how the North would react to the demand would serve as a yardstick to measure their sincerity toward the sports talks, and also would directly affect the question of the personal safety of the South's athletes and sports officials in the event they jointly participate in international matches with North Koreans or they engage in some matches in the North in an exchange of games to form single teams for international competitions.

Reminding the northern delegation of the fact that Seoul had repeatedly called for inter-Korean sports exchanges and the formation of single teams to take part in international matches, the South's delegation suggested that various inter-Korean sports matches be held in both sides right from April to manifest at home and abroad the Koreans resolve to form single delegations. It noted that the remaining time was not sufficient for the two sides to discuss and form single teams for the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Olympics

much less the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics.

From this basic standpoint, the South suggested the following two-point agenda for the sports meeting.

1. The question of forming single inter-Korean teams for the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, the 1986 Asian Games, the 1988 Olympics and other international games to be held in the days ahead.

2. The question of holding inter-Korean sports exchanges.

The Seoul delegation then advanced the following seven-point proposal in connection with the first point of the agenda, the question of forming single teams for international games.

(1) Selection of Athletes

- a) The best-qualified athletes shall be selected through selection matches held by field.
- b) Selection matches shall be held in such areas of the South and the North as Seoul and P'yongyang by turn.
- c) Details shall be determined by committees to be set up by field.

(2) Formation of Delegations

Delegation shall be formed through mutual discussion based on the IOC Charter, etc.

(3) Training of Athletes

- a) The existing facilities in the South and the North shall be used to the most possible extent in training the selected athletes. If necessary, joint stadiums shall be prepared in the Demilitarized Zone.
- b) Other matters necessary for training shall be resolved as agreed on between the sports organizations of the two sides.

(4) Expenses for Delegations

The expenses for the delegations shall be borne jointly in principle.

(5) Flag of Delegations

The word "KOREA" in Roman below the Olympic symbol of five rings.

(6) Anthem for Delegations

"Arirang" shall be used as the anthem of the delegations.

(7) Title of Delegations

The title of the delegations shall be "Korea" in English and "Taehan" in Korean.

The gist of the remarks made by the senior delegate of the South at the first inter-Korean sports meeting is as follows:

... In compliance with the wish of all the athletes, sports officials and the entire nation, we have repeatedly proposed the question of forming single teams to take part in the Los Angeles Olympics and other international games as well as the question of promoting inter-Korean sports exchanges.

On June 19, 1981, the president of our Korean Olympic Committee proposed the formation of single inter-Korean teams to take part in the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics and 1982 New Delhi Asian Games. He suggested that inter-Korean sports talks be held as soon as possible to discuss the issue.

Also in the 20 inter-Korean pilot projects suggested on February 1, 1982, our government proposed the exchanges of goodwill matches, the formation of single teams to participate in various international games, and mutual goodwill visits between the athletes and sports officials of South and North Korea.

It is fortunate that your side has agreed, though belatedly, to our proposal.

What the sports officials of the South and the North should

now discuss is the question of forming a single inter-Korean team to take part not only in the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics but also in the 1986 Asian Games, the 1988 Seoul Olympics and other international games to be held in the future.

Since both the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Seoul Olympics are to take place in Seoul, they would be good opportunities to enhance our national pride.

At this meeting of sports officials of the South and the North, we must reach a comprehensive agreement on the question of forming single teams for the Los Angeles Olympics and also for the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Seoul Olympics.

In particular, we must place an exceptional importance on, and make steady preparation for, the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Seoul Olympics, both set to be held in Seoul.

There can be no reason why we cannot discuss the question of forming single teams for the Olympics and other international games taking place in our country at this meeting where we are to discuss the formation of a single team for an Olympics in another country.

....All the athletes and sports officials of the world come in contact with one another and engage in exchanges transcending differences in ideologies and barriers. But, the athletes and sports officials of the South and the North of Korea find themselves unable to make contacts with each other despite their being the same people.

Therefore, this meeting should be made a basis for realizing inter-Korean sports exchanges, if not others, to build a bridge in the suspended relations of South and North Korea.

Inter-Korean sports exchanges are thus necessary for the formation of single teams, and are also highly conducive to improving inter-Korean relations and promoting national reconciliation.

We believe that from now we must hasten the preparations for the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Seoul Olympics. There is not sufficient time to prepare for the 1986 Asian Games and

the 1988 Seoul Olympics, not to speak of the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics.

We must hold various goodwill matches in Seoul, P'yongyang, etc. right from April to strongly manifest our mutual resolve to form single teams. We should speed up inter-Korean sports exchanges without any delay to select athletes to participate in single delegations in the Los Angeles Olympics and other international matches.

...If, even before the formation of single teams, the two sides take part in various international games held in each other's area it would lead to spurring inter-Korean sports exchanges and contribute much to the fostering of an atmosphere conducive to the formation of single delegations.

However, before we develop inter-Korean sports exchanges and send single teams to international matches to demonstrate our people's outstanding ability before the world, there should first be an absolute guarantee of the personal safety of the members of the delegations.

The terrorist bombing in Burma and the kidnapping of Choe Un-hui and Shin Sang-ok greatly shocked our people and the world. Our people are worried lest such acts of terrorism and kidnapping be repeated against our athletes and sports officials in the future.

Therefore, if your side is truly interested in the formation of single teams and inter-Korean sports exchanges, the authorities of North Korea should naturally apologize for the incidents and make it clear at home and abroad that they won't repeat such acts of killing and kidnapping against their brethren.

This is something you can do in only a few days if only you are sincere about the sports talks. Only when you do so will the athletes, sports officials and all other people of the South and the North trust and support our talks.

...If and when the South and the North form single teams and carry out sports exchanges, the athletes and sports officials of the two sides would be able to foster an atmosphere for recon-

ciliation as a single nation, which would have a fast spill-over effect on the other sectors of South and North Korea.

The bitter pains of war and confrontation our people suffered in the past 39 years have been too severe. The South and the North no longer need to maintain a state of such strained confrontation. Belatedly, we must begin forging a great history of national reconciliation, in which our athletes and sports officials should take the lead.

Reacting to these remarks from the senior delegate from the South, North Korean delegates made absurd allegations, unfoundedly slandering the South. They argued that the Burma incident had nothing to do with them, asserting that “it is unreasonable to link the incident to us,” “it does not square with sports issues to bring such a political question like the Burma incident to this meeting designed to form single teams,” and “the incident was your side’s fabrication.”

Despite such an insincere attitude of the North Koreans, the Seoul delegaiton suggested the discussion of procedural matters for the sports talks. After agreeing on the use of the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at P’anmunjom as the site of the sports talks, the North Korean delegates seemed to be approaching an accord on the operation of a direct inter-Korean telephone line for the sports meeting when they abruptly made an aboutface and demanded the cancellation of the Seoul delegates’ remarks about the Burma incident and the kidnapping of Choe Un-hui and Shin Sang-ok and walked out of the conference room, en masse. The Seoul delegation suggested that at least the time of the next sports meeting be determined. But, the North Koreans made no reply.

The agenda suggested by North Korea at the first meeting is as follows.

1. The participation by the North and the South in the 23rd

Olympic Games and subsequent international games as single teams.

2. The implementation of collaboration and exchanges between the North and the South in the area of sports.

After the April 9th meeting, the South regretted the insincere attitude the North showed at the sports meeting that culminated in their one-sided walkout from the meeting. The regret was expressed in statements issued by Kim Chong-kyu, the South's senior delegate, immediately after the meeting, and by Chung Ju-young, president of the Korean Amateur Sports Association, later. Chung's statement read in part:

We believe that the inter-Korean sports meeting, the first arranged in five years, cannot be left suspended because of the impertinence exhibited by the North Korean delegation today.

The meeting must be resumed at an early date to discuss in a positive manner the question of forming single inter-Korean teams for the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, the 1986 Asian Games, the 1988 Seoul Olympics and other future international games as well as the question of sports exchanges between South and North Korea.

I propose to North Korea that a second inter-Korean meeting be held at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at Panmunjom within this week. Details of this proposal will be suggested in a message later.

We will attend the meeting with sincerity and patience for the successful conclusion of inter-Korean sports talks.

b. Second Meeting

In a message delivered to the North on April 12, the Korean Olympic Committee, asking the North to rectify the insincere attitude they showed at the first meeting, proposed that the second inter-Korean sports meeting be held on April 18.

In their letter of April 14, however, the North went so far as to dispute the qualifications of one of the South's delegates and rejected the call for a second meeting. The North demanded that the South "guarantee that it would not make political remarks any further."

The Korean Olympic Committee sent another message to the North on April 17, pointing to the unreasonableness of the North's attitude toward the meeting and reiterating its call for the resumption of the talks. As a result, the second meeting was opened at 10 a.m., April 30 at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at P'anmunjom.

The second meeting, attended by all the five delegates from each side, lasted for four hours and 37 minutes but was unable even to enter into a debate of the agenda issue due to the insincerity of the North Koreans.

From the very beginning, the P'yongyang delegation was busy trying to shift the blame for the suspension of the first meeting to the South. They simply repeated their stereotyped assertion that the Burma incident was the South's "fabrication" and a "non-sports matter that had nothing to do with the North."

At the meeting, the North's delegation produced, as given below, an eight-point suggestion for the formation of single teams and another five-point idea on the forming of a single team to take part in the Los Angeles Olympics. They then called for the prior debate of their ideas, trying to give the impression that they were positive toward the talks.

1. Idea for Formation of Single Teams

a. Principle and Method of Selection of Athletes

- The selection of best qualified athletes.
- The sites of selection matches shall be in the areas of the North and the South, and if necessary in the Demilitarized Zone.

- Athletes and guidance members shall be selected from among those of the North and the South by field.
- b. Training of Athletes
 - The facilities of the South and the North shall be used by turn. If necessary, training may be held at third places.
- c. Finance and Guarantee of Conditions
 - Expenses shall be borne by the side which offers the sites. In the event training is held at a third place, expenses shall be born jointly.
- d. Members of Delegations
 - The number of delegation members shall be determined through mutual agreement and based on the IOC Charter and the regulations of field sports federations.
- e. Title of Single Delegations
 - “Koryo” in Korean and also “Koryo” in English.
- f. Flag of Single Delegations
 - The Korean map in earth color on a white ground with the inscription “KORYO” below the map.
- g. Anthem: “Arirang”
- h. Establishment of Joint Secretariat for Single Teams (P’an-munjom)
 - Disposition of working matters such as the formation and preparation of single teams.

2. Idea for Formation of Single Team for Los Angeles Olympics

- a. The fields to be participated in shall be determined through discussions between the North and the South.
- b. The selection of athletes shall be completed by May 20.
- c. Selection of Athletes
 - The selection shall be made in principle through selection matches.
 - In the fields where teams are qualified to take part in the Olympics through preliminary games, the qualified teams shall absorb outstanding athletes from the other

side.

- In other fields, the two sides shall recommend and select participating athletes based on their latest records made abroad or at home.
- d. Joint training shall be conducted from June 1 until prior to departure.
- e. Other matters shall be resolved based on the ideas for the formation of single teams and through discussions between delegates of the respective sports fields.

At the second meeting, the delegation from the South expressed regret at the one-sided walkout by the P'yongyang delegation at the first meeting. The delegation urged the North Koreans to stop trying to shift the blame for the breakup of the first meeting to the other side and reflect on their irrational conduct if they were genuinely interested in the sound progress of the meeting.

As for the question of the agenda, the Seoul delegation called for the adoption of the two-point agenda it advanced at the first meeting, saying that its version, in fact, incorporated even the North Korean idea on the agenda issue and its wording was clearer than the North's. The Seoul delegation then suggested that inasmuch as the Los Angeles Olympics were already at hand, matches to select athletes for a single team be held promptly in Seoul and P'yongyang by turn and that committees by field be formed to discuss details related to the selection of athletes.

Nonetheless, the North's delegation blocked any progress of the meeting by unduly challenging the South to explain if its demand over the Burma incident was a prerequisite to the sports meeting. Then there ensued a heated dispute on each other's internal affairs and systems, making the conference atmosphere unprecedentedly tension-packed, before the meeting was adjourned.

The two sides agreed to determine whether to hold the third meeting through messages.

c. Third Meeting

The Korean Olympic Committee, in a message to the North on May 9, suggested that the third meeting be held some day between May 11 and 14, and that the meeting be held behind closed doors in consideration of the position of North Korea.

In their May 12th reply, however, North Korea appeared negative toward the offer. They simply argued that the South should withdraw their “political remarks” and “expressly guarantee that it would not use the meeting as an arena for anti-Communist and anti-Republic agitation and propaganda.”

Here, the Korean Olympic Committee sent another message to the North on May 18, urging them to rectify their intransigent posture and agree to hold the third meeting at an early date to discuss the agenda issue. The third meeting was thus held at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at 10 a.m., May 25.

The third meeting, attended by the five delegates from each side, lasted two hours and 32 minutes. But, as the North refused to discuss the question of the agenda and continued to persist with their undue prerequisite, the third meeting came to an end without even entering a debate of sports-related issues.

It is especially noteworthy that the third meeting came one day after North Korea joined the Prague, Czechoslovakia declaration by the sports officials of 11 Communist-bloc countries boycotting the Los Angeles Olympics.

At the third meeting, the delegation from the South urged the North Koreans to be sincere toward tackling the matters for which the sports meeting was intended, pointing out that no progress had been registered at the talks despite the fact that the Los Angeles Olympics was merely two months away and that one and a half

months had elapsed since the meeting began.

The Seoul delegation, proposing details about the two-point agenda it produced at the first and second meetings, called for the prompt discussion of the matters suggested.

The seven-point idea offered by the South was as follows:

1. Sports matches shall be held between South and North Korea. The sports associations of the two sides shall, through discussion, select the fields, and the games shall be held at the existing sports facilities of the South and the North by turn. Of course, if necessary, stadiums may be constructed jointly in the Demilitarized Zone.

2. Mutual participation in each other's domestic sports events shall be guaranteed.

3. Athletes and sports officials shall be allowed to travel back and forth between the South and the North.

4. Skills and materials related to sports shall be exchanged between the South and the North.

5. Journalists shall be allowed to visit each other's areas to cover sports events, other sports activities and sports facilities.

6. Conveniences shall be mutually provided for the training of athletes in each other's areas.

7. Sports lectures shall be held jointly between the South and the North, and joint sports facilities shall be created inside the Demilitarized Zone, the cost of which will be covered jointly by the two sides.

However, the North, trying to shift the blame for the breakoff of

the first two meetings to the South, refused to discuss the agenda issue. They held fast to two prerequisites: first, the South “admit to and apologize for obstructing the formation of a single team for the Los Angeles Olympics by making political remarks at the sports meeting”; and second, the South “guarantee that it will not produce any political issue or make political provocations at the meeting.”

This attitude of the North Koreans seems to have stemmed from their strategy to impute the failure to form a single inter-Korean team to the Los Angeles Olympics to the South despite the fact that they had already decided to boycott the Olympics on the heels of their Communist-bloc allies. It was also believed that the North sought to block the South from raising the issue of the Burma incident at future sports talks on the excuse that Seoul’s demand for the North’s admittance to and apology for the Burma incident “only stands in the way to” sports talks.

d. Prospects for Inter-Koreans Sports Talks

In a message delivered to the North on May 29, 1984, Chung Ju-yong, president of the Korean Olympic Committee, suggested that the fourth inter-Korean sports meeting be held at 10:30 a.m., June 1. In the message, Chung again asked the North to reflect on their attitude, pointing out that the posture they showed at the third meeting made onlookers doubt if the North was truly interested in the formation of a single inter-Korean delegation to participate in the Los Angeles Olympics.

North Korea did not respond until they sent a letter to the South at 4 p.m., June 1, informing the South that they would not attend the fourth meeting unless their two prerequisites were met. Thus it was made impossible for the two sides of Korea to take part in the Los Angeles Olympics as a single team despite nationwide support and the sincere efforts on the part of the South.

Chung Ju-yong held a press conference on June 2, the deadline

for the entry of the list of athletes in the Los Angeles Olympics, to explain that it had become unavoidable for the South and the North to participate in the Olympics separately. Chung said that despite the failure to form a single team for the Los Angeles games, there would be no change in the policy of his Olympic Committee to continue to promote sports talks to discuss and form single teams for various international games as well as to resolve the question of inter-Korean sports exchanges. He then called on the North once again to agree to resume the sports talks at an early date.

On the other hand, the North Korean Olympic Committee issued a statement on June 2, announcing their boycott of the Los Angeles Olympics. They argued in the statement that “no safety of athletes can be guaranteed in a place where anti-Communist and anti-socialist schemes are openly conspired,” and that “separate participation in the Olympics by the South and the North runs counter to public wish.”

North Korea also asserted that “the Olympics should be held in a place where the athletes of all countries can take part in games safely and freely without any political pressure or any mental or physical constraint. As we believe this is the most exigent issue facing the future Olympic movement, we shall spare no efforts in the resolution of the question in cooperation with all national Olympic committees.”

This statement indicates that they were not after the formation of a single team from the beginning of the sports meeting. It also implies that they would use all available resources in obstructing the 1988 Seoul Olympics.

The remarks made by Chung Ju-yong, president of the Korean Olympic Committee, at the press conference of June 2 were as follows:

Today I would like to explain our position on the occasion of the forwarding of the list of our athletes for participation in the

Los Angeles Olympics to the Olympic Organizing Committee.

According to Article 30 of the IOC (International Olympic Committee) Charter, the lists of delegations taking part in the Olympics must be forwarded to the Olympic Organizing Committee no later than eight weeks before the opening of the games.

Therefore, to participate in the Los Angeles Olympics opening July 28, 1984, we must tender the list of our athletes today at the latest.

Taking the time limit into account, we proposed long ago the forming of a single inter-Korean team to take part in the Los Angeles Olympics, and have sincerely endeavored for its realization.

On June 19, 1981, about three years before the Los Angeles Olympics, we proposed to North Korea an inter-Korean sports meeting to discuss the question of South and North Korea jointly participating in the Olympic Games.

However, North Korea kept mum for three years until the end of March when they agreed to our proposal, just barely four months ahead of the Los Angeles Games and two months before the deadline for tendering of the lists of participating athletes.

We had doubts about North Korea's sincerity, yet we attended the inter-Korean sports meeting in the hope of demonstrating our people's ability to the world and providing an impetus to promoting inter-Korean contacts and dialogue through the participation of South and North Korea in international games as single teams.

However, North Korea completely shattered our expectations. The North Korean delegation one-sidedly walked out of the conference room and in other ways deliberately obstructed the progress of the meeting. At the third meeting, in particular, they refused to discuss the sports question by putting forth absurd preconditions.

Moreover, North Korea showed an utterly contradictory attitude. North Korea joined the Los Angeles Olympic boycott

adopted at a meeting of sports officials of 11 Communist-bloc countries in Prague, Czechoslovakia, on last May 24, yet called for the formation of a single inter-Korean team for the Los Angeles Olympic Games at the third meeting held just the following day.

And, they did not respond to our call to hold the fourth meeting on June 1 until 4 p.m. June 1 when, in a letter to us, they attempted to shift the responsibility for the failure to form a single team for the Los Angeles Olympics to our side, and held fast to the two preconditions they produced at the third meeting. As they are thus shunning the resumption of the meeting, it is impossible to foretell when the fourth meeting will be held.

Nonetheless, there is not the slightest change in our stand that the inter-Korean sports talks should continue to be held to discuss and resolve the questions of single inter-Korean teams for future international games and sports exchanges.

If South and North Korea take part as a single team in the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Olympics, both set to be held in Seoul at a two years' interval, and in other international games, and engage in sports exchanges, it would lead to the expediting of goodwill and unity between the athletes of South and North Korea and contribute to the improvement of inter-Korean relations and national reconciliation.

In this respect, I think that the inter-Korean sports meeting should be resumed at an early date. North Korea should quit attempting to use the sports meeting for sinister purposes and come to the meeting with sincerity, a national conscience and an attitude worthy of sportsmen.

As can be assessed in these remarks of Chung Ju-yong, the Korean Olympic Committee keeps its doors open always to inter-Korean sports talks, looking forward to an affirmative response from the North. Therefore, it is entirely up to North Korea whether or not the fourth inter-Korean sports meeting will be held.

4. North Korea's Attitude as Shown in the Sports Talks

Despite the sincere efforts of the Korean Olympic Committee, the inter-Korean sports meeting, which began on April 9, 1984 amid keen interest at home and abroad, hit a deadlock upon the third meeting of May 25 without registering any achievements.

The breakup was due entirely to the intransigency of the North Koreans. Three factors can be cited as the immediate cause of the failure; first, North Korea offered the sports talks too short a time before the Olympics to form a single team; second, the North was utterly insincere throughout the talks; and third, the North deliberately produced an obstacle to the talks in their de facto shunning of any further continuation of the meeting.

Impracticability in Terms of Time

North Korea suggested in a letter talks to discuss the forming of a single team to take part in the Los Angeles Olympics on last March 30, barely two months before the deadline for the tendering of the lists of participating athletes.

But, three years before on June 19, 1981, Cho Sang-ho, then president of the Korean Olympic Committee, proposed in a statement the holding of an inter-Korean sports meeting to discuss the question of South and North Korea participating in the 1982 Asian Games and the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics as single teams. Therefore, the North Korean offer is in effect, a belated concurrence to the South's earlier proposal.

Of course, it is desirable for South and North Korea to form single inter-Korean delegations to take part in international games. But, such requires a long period of time and much effort to surmount countless political and technical problems before single teams can be realized. It took East and West Germany, which once succeeded in organizing single teams, five and a half a years to reach

such an agreement. The meetings they held totaled about 200.

Taking such a lengthy period of time required into account, the South proposed talks to form inter-Korean teams three years ago. Nonetheless, the North had completely ignored the offer and then counter-proposed it at the last moment when it was practically impossible to form any single team.

The Korean Olympic Committee favorably responded to the offer despite suspicions about the North's sincerity, in the hope of manifesting the Koreans' ability before the world and providing a stepping stone to promoting contacts and dialogue in the suspended inter-Korean relations by attending not only the Los Angeles Olympics and other future international games as single teams but by also realizing inter-Korean sports exchanges.

However, this expectation was totally shattered by the insincere attitude the North Koreans showed throughout the meeting.

Persistent Intransigency

At the meetings, the North Korean delegates were utterly insincere from the beginning. At the first meeting of April 9, the North Korean delegation, just like a robber accusing his victim, asserted that the Burma incident and the kidnapping of Choe Un-hui and Shin Sang-ok which had been clearly proven to be the work of P'yongyang, were "extra-sports matters" or "fabrications." They went so far as to unfoundedly slander the South over some internal affairs before they insolently walked out of the conference room altogether.

In fact, it is their hackneyed practice to perpetrate provocations against the South and, without any remorse, attempt to shift the blame to the South.

For instance, a 31-member commando team of the North's 124th Unit boldly infiltrated into Seoul on January 21, 1968 to raid the presidential residence of Chong Wa Dae. All but one of the com-

mandos were killed. Instead of apologizing for the infiltration, the North Korean authorities insisted that it was a “case of the South Korean people’s uprising.”

Another example was that in September 1971, soon after the dialogue of the early 1970s began, North Koreans began digging invasion tunnels beneath the Demilitarized Zone on the so-called “September 25 instructions” handed down personally by the North’s top leader. In other words, they were digging tunnels for use in a southward aggression at a time when they were having a dialogue with the South to discuss “peace.”

At the second sports meeting which they reluctantly attended at the South’s urging in the April 17th message, the North Koreans groundlessly slandered the South and in effect blocked any progress of the talks by throwing match boxes at the Seoul delegate making a speech, pounding on the desks, and even using insulting words to deliberately upset the conference atmosphere.

At the third meeting held on May 25, one day after North Korea joined other Communist-bloc countries in boycotting the Los Angeles Olympics, the P’yongyang delegation, dismissing the South’s repeated calls for the discussion of the forming of single teams and inter-Korean sports exchanges, set forth the preconditions that the South admit to and apologize for “its obstruction of the formation of single teams” and promise not to “politicize” the sports meeting. Their strategy was to adhere to the prerequisites and thereby deliberately break up the meeting so that they could “justify” their refusal to take part in the Los Angeles Olympics.

Deliberate Roadblocks

Throughout the three rounds of the sports meeting, the North Koreans were utterly intransigent before they produced grave roadblocks to suspend the rare sports talks altogether.

When the Seoul delegation demanded at the first meeting that

the North prove their sincerity by taking appropriate steps to atone for the Burma incident and the kidnapping of Choe Un-hui and Shin Sang-ok, the North Koreans, branding it as a “political provocation,” insisted that they would not carry on the talks unless the South retracted the demand.

Again in their reply to the Korean Olympic Committee's message calling for the second sports meeting, North Korea asserted that they would come to the second meeting only when “the South rectifies its stand and guarantee that it won't repeat political provocations.” In the same letter, they even senselessly disputed the qualifications of the delegates of the other side. This was not the first time the North made an issue out of the competency of Seoul's representatives. In the proposal for a joint meeting of South and North Korean politicians they offered on February 10, 1982, P'yongyang had the nerve to handpick even the delegates of the South.

The North held fast to their two absurd preconditions at the third sports meeting, refusing to discuss the agenda issue despite the South's repeated urging. Subsequently they rejected the South's call for the fourth meeting by persisting in their preconditions and thus suspended the sports meeting altogether.

5. Reactions at Home and Abroad

Most of the medias in the country recieved with dubiousness the sudden North Korean proposal for talks to discuss the forming of single inter-Korean teams for the Los Angeles Olympics and other international games because it came only a few months before the opening of the Los Angeles Olympics and because it was advanced against the backdrop of strained inter-Korean relations prompted by a series of grave North Korean provocations. Nevertheless, the various medias welcomed the offer, expressing the hope that the suggested talks would provide a step to promoting national reconciliation based on pure sportsmanship and contribute to easing tension on the Korean peninsula and further to peaceful unification.

Major newspapers of the United States, Japan and other allies spoke highly of the Republic of Korea government's unhesitated acceptance of the North Korean proposal despite the Burma incident of last year, expressing the hope that the proposed meeting, though it came belatedly, could prove helpful to easing tensions on the Korean peninsula.

However, as the North Koreans were insincere throughout the meeting, causing the disruption of the meeting, domestic newspapers, recalling the trickery North Korea displayed in the abortive formation of a single team for the P'yongyang table tennis championships some years ago, denounced the North's intransigency and, at the same time, asked North Korea to return to the table of the inter-Korean sports talks based on the spirit of national reconciliation.

Part III

References

Chronology of Inter-Korean Sports Meeting

«1981»

June 19 — Cho Sang-ho, president of the Korean Amateur Sports Association (KASA), issues a statement.

- Proposal for a meeting between South and North Korean sports officials to discuss the question of forming a single team for the Los Angeles Olympics.

July 27 — The president of the Korean Olympic Committee (KOC) renews the proposal for a sports officials' meeting to discuss the forming of a single team to take part in the Los Angeles Olympics.

August 27 — The KOC president again urges the North to accept the proposal for the formation of a single team for the Los Angeles Olympics.

«1984»

March 28 — The North Korean Olympic Committee (NKOC) gives advance notice that it would forward a letter to the KOC regarding an inter-Korean sports meeting to discuss the forming of a single team for the Los Angeles Olympics.

March 30 — The NKOC delivers a letter, proposing that:

- Single inter-Korean teams be formed for the Los Angeles Olympics and Asian and world championship games; and
- A meeting be held between the two sides' sports delegations headed by deputy-chief-level officials of the two sides' Olympic committees.

April 2 — The KASA-KOC president sends a letter of reply to the North, proposing an inter-Korean sports meeting as follows:

- Time: 10 a.m., April 9
- Place: Conference Room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at P'anmunjom.
- Delegations: A five-member delegation from each side headed by the vice president of the sports association and the Olympic com-

mittee.

- Topics:
 - Question of forming single inter-Korean teams to take part in the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, the 1986 Asian Games, the 1988 Seoul Olympics and other international sports games.
 - Question of inter-Korean sports exchanges.

April 6 — North Korea informs the South of the formation of its five-member delegation headed by Kim Duk-jun, NKOC vice chairman, but says it would send a four-member delegation headed by deputy chief delegate Pak Mu-song to the first meeting.

April 7 — The KASA-KOC president notifies the North of the list of southern delegates to the inter-Korean sports meeting as follows:

- Chief delegate — Kim Chong-kyu
- Delegate — Kim Chong-ha
- Delegate — Lee Chong-ha
- Delegate — Im Tae-sun
- Delegate — Nam Chong-mun

April 8 — The North notifies the South of the list of its delegates as follows:

- Chief delegate — Kim Duk-jun
- Deputy chief delegate — Pak Mu-song
- Delegate — Suh Myong-ho
- Delegate — Sok Tae-ho
- Delegate — Kim Se-jin

April 9 — First inter-Korean sports meeting held.

- At 10 a.m. at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, P'anmunjom.
- The meeting breaks up due to the North's one-sided walkout.
- The chief delegate of the South issues statement upon the breakup of the meeting, calling upon the P'yongyang delegation to return to the conference table with good sense and reason.
- The KASA-KOC president issues a statement, proposing a second meeting at P'anmunjom the following week.

April 12 — The KASA-KOC president forwards a message to the North, proposing that the second inter-Korean sports meeting be:

- Held at 10 a.m., April 18 at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission; and
- Participated in by all the five members including the North's chief delegate Kim Duk-jun.

April 14 — The North, in a letter, rejects the second sports meeting.

April 17 — The KASA-KOC president sends a message to the North, reiterating his call for the second meeting.

April 20 — The North forwards a letter to the South, agreeing to the holding of a second meeting.

- Time: 10 a.m., April 26
- Place: Conference Room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, P'anmunjom.

April 24 — The KASA-KOC president sends a message to the North, counter-proposing that the second meeting be:

- Held at 10 a.m., April 30 at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission; and
- Participated in by all the five delegates from each side.

April 28 — The North accepts the counter-proposal for the time of the second meeting.

April 30 — The second inter-Korean sports meeting held from 10 a.m. to 2:37 p.m. at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, P'anmunjom.

April 30 — Kim Chong-kyu, chief delegate of the South, issues a statement after the meeting, saying that:

- The North blocked progress of the meeting by setting forth the prerequisite that the South retract its remarks about the Burma incident and the kidnapping of Choe Un-hui and Shin Sang-ok; and
- Any resumption of the meeting depends entirely on the attitude of the North.

May 9 — The KASA-KOC president, in a message to the North, proposes the holding of a third inter-Korean sports meeting, saying that:

- He would leave to the North the determining of the time of the proposed meeting; and
- He hoped that if possible the third meeting would be held at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at 10 a.m., May 11 or May 14.

May 12 — The North, in a letter, rejects the holding of a third meeting.

May 18 — The KASA-KOC president sends a message to the North, calling again for the holding of a third sports meeting, expressing the hope that:

- The meeting would be held at 10 a.m., May 23 at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission; and
- The meeting would be held behind closed doors.

May 23 — The North sends a letter to the South, agreeing to the holding of a third meeting at 10 a.m., May 25 at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission.

May 25 — The third inter-Korean sports meeting is held from 10 a.m. to 12:31 p.m. with the participation of all the delegates of the two sides.

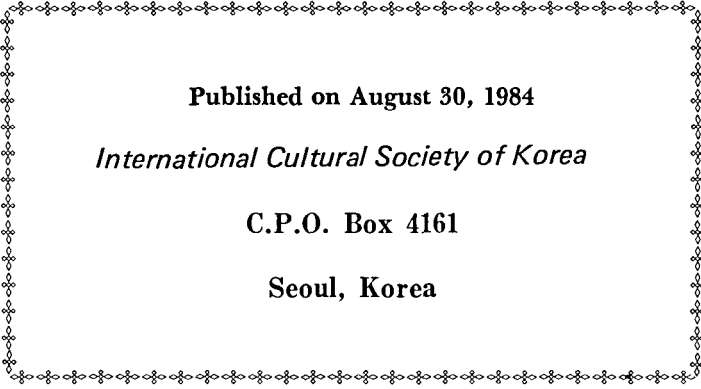
- Course:
 - The meeting broke up without even entering a discussion of the agenda issue due to the North's insistence on their prerequisites that the South "admit to and apologize for obstructing the formation of a single team for the Los Angeles Olympics" and "guarantee that it would not politicize the sports meeting."
- Kim Chong-kyu, chief delegate of the South, meets the press after the meeting:
 - Expressing his disappointment at the attitude of the North attempting to use the sports talks for political purposes; and
 - Urging the North to return to the conference table with a national conscience and sportsman-like posture at an early date.

May 29 — The KASA-KOC president sends a message to the North, proposing that a fourth meeting be held at 10:30 a.m., June 1 at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission.

June 1 — The North sends a letter to the South, rejecting the holding of a fourth meeting.

June 2 — The KASA-KOC president holds a press conference on the occasion of the forwarding of the list of athletes participating in the Los Angeles Olympics. He said in substance:

- To take part in the Los Angeles Olympics opening on July 28, the list of participating athletes should be forwarded to the organizing committee by June 2 under the provisions of Article 30 of the IOC Charter;
- The North, which agreed to the South's call for a single inter-Korean team for the Los Angeles Olympics only four months before the Olympics, deliberately obstructed the progress of the meeting and set forth unreasonable preconditions, refusing to enter any discussion of sports issues; and
- There is no change in the South's position to discuss and solve the questions of forming single teams to participate in future international games and of promoting inter-Korean sports exchanges.



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Part I

Road to National Reconciliation and Common Prosperity

1. President Chun's August 20th Press Conference

— Call for Inter-Korean Trade and Economic Cooperation —

On August 20, 1984, President Chun Doo Hwan proposed that South and North Korea engage in trade and economic cooperation to realize reconciliation and common prosperity as a single nation. The President declared that the South is willing, if North Korea is ready, to provide it with various technologies and commodities free of charge which would substantially contribute to improving the lives of the North Korean people.

In a press conference held at the Nokjiwon garden of Chong Wa Dae, President Chun pointed out that the South is producing high-quality daily necessities, medicines, automobiles and various machines while the North is exporting such mineral resources as coal and iron ore, in which the South is lacking.

The President, calling on North Korea to join efforts to promote such inter-Korean economic exchanges for national reconciliation and unification, stressed that there "cannot be any reason why South and North Korea cannot trade and cooperate with their brethren when they are doing so with third countries."

President Chun said that North Korea should agree to a productive inter-Korean dialogue at an early date and display sincerity to seek national reconciliation and unification through such practical inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation as the reunion of dispersed families and economic exchanges. The President further expressed the hope that the inter-Korean sports meeting would be resumed so that the Korean people could be united under a single flag and participate in the 1986 Asian Games and 1988 Seoul Olympics with a single team.

The remarks President Chun made in the press conference regarding the security situation of the Korean peninsula and inter-Korean relations were as follows:

— On the Security Situation of the Korean Peninsula

You must be well aware that I have pointed out on every opportunity the instability and uncertainty of the international situation. Turmoil and confusion have increased in today's world. In fact, the world might well have entered an age of crisis, with conflicts and friction persisting everywhere.

As you know, the new cold war tension is continuing with the ever deepening confrontation between the super powers and the arms race between the East and the West. As can be seen in the Iran-Iraq War, there is the looming danger of local conflicts escalating into regional wars. Terrorism is rampant everywhere around the globe.

And that is not all. Nationalism has grown more stronger and the trend toward increasing protectionism persists. I can also point out that discord between the South and North, that is, rich and poor countries, has also deepened.

The proliferation of crises has become a very serious question, for anything that occurs in one place becomes instantly related with other areas, regardless of distance. This is because the effective range and destructive power of modern weapons have been increased to cover not only certain continents but the whole earth, and because transportation and communications have been developed while economic interdependency has deepened.

In this regard, the Northeast Asian region, where the interests of the world powers converge, is characterized by instability and tension. I thus believe this area holds one of the keys to world peace.

Once a war broke out on the Korean peninsula, intervention by the surrounding powers would be unavoidable. Therefore, it is not too difficult to presume that such a conflict would throw all the world, not just this region, into the whirlwind of a great war.

The fact that the North Korean Communists, who have

not abandoned their dream of communizing the whole peninsula, are prone to commit heinous acts at any time and place, has been eloquently demonstrated before the peoples of the world by their own deeds. The North Korean policy of violence and war, therefore, is the most transparent factor threatening peace and stability on the Korean peninsula.

Accordingly, the key to peace in Northeast Asia and in the world today is to keep North Korea from provoking a war on the peninsula. I would thus like to take this opportunity to stress that it is a task which all peace-loving people should thoroughly understand and tackle.

One thing of note in the present Northeast Asian situation is that the Soviet Union has steadily built up arms in the Far East, thereby threatening the power balance in this region. Another new development is that Communist China is now pursuing modernization and a concomittant open policy, seeking the cooperation of the United States and Japan. If this unusual current in Northeast Asia moves towards abetting North Korea's propensity for violence and war, it would make war on the Korean peninsula unavoidable.

The shortcut to preventing North Korea from going to war is to maintain a military balance between South and North Korea, and not allow any room for miscalculating the situation.

In this respect, I believe the world powers surrounding the Korea peninsula should, in the interests of peace and stability of Northeast Asia, make decisions carefully and wisely.

Blind support for North Korea by pro-Pyongyang countries or any hasty approach to them by Western countries might become a decisive factor abetting North Korea's miscalculation. As I believe the world powers with stakes in this region should fulfill their responsibilities to the peace and stability of the Korean peninsula, I would hope that the surrounding countries, in particular, would play a more constructive and rational role.

As for our relations with the Communist bloc, I will as I

have done so far steadily promote an open-door policy pursuing cooperative relations with them on an equal and reciprocal basis regardless of ideologies and systems.

— On Inter-Korean Relations

We marked the 39th anniversary of national liberation a few days ago. But, the scar of division only deepens amidst still-persisting confrontation and discord in the inter-Korean relations.

I have exerted all available endeavors with the hope to put an end to the history of national division by providing, by all means within the tenure of my office, a turning point for peace and unification through a constructive inter-Korean dialogue.

It has been out of my earnest wish to heal the national pains stemming from national division and to enable all the Korean people to march forward along the road together to prosperity that I have proposed mutual visits and a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea, and set forth a formula for national reconciliation and unification.

However, North Korea, while sticking to its anachronistic violence-oriented policy, has worked to further deepen discontinuity, tension and distrust between South and North Korea.

Such a continuation of the hostile and abnormal inter-Korean relations will only produce a gravely negative result for national reconciliation and peaceful unification. Conflict and confrontation between South and North Korea will only perpetuate the national division and waste national energies. I would, therefore, like to emphasize that such abnormal inter-Korean relations as exist today should be done away with at an early date and that an age of inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation should be opened to facilitate national reconciliation and peaceful unification.

To this end, North Korea should agree to a productive inter-Korean dialogue as soon as possible and show the sincerity

to explore the road of national reconciliation and unification through practical inter-Korean exchanges such as reunion of dispersed families and economic exchanges.

Today we produce high-quality daily necessities, medicines, automobiles and various machines in large amounts for both domestic consumption and export to the world market. On the other hand, North Korea is exporting such resources as coal and iron ore, in which we are lacking.

I do not think there can be any reason why South and North Korea cannot trade and cooperate with their brethren when they are doing so with third countries.

South and North Korea must seek common prosperity through economic cooperation in order for this nation not to fall behind but to grow into an advanced nation shoulder to shoulder with neighboring countries in the current race for development.

I use this occasion to disclose that in the hope of realizing reconciliation and common prosperity as an advanced nation, we are willing to enter trade and economic cooperation with the North and, if North Korea agrees, to provide them with various technologies and commodities free of charge which would substantially contribute to improving the lives of our brethren there I sincerely hope North Korea will agree as these efforts are dedicated to national reconciliation and unification.

The inter-Korean sports meeting to form a single team to take part in the Los Angeles Olympics broke off due to North Korea's decision not to participate in the Olympics. I sincerely hope, however, that South and North Korea will be able to form a single team to represent the Korean people in the 1986 Asian Games and 1988 Seoul Olympics, both set to be held right in our own land. I hope that inter-Korean sports meeting will be held in the days ahead for this purpose.

The remarks President Chun made in his summer press con-

ference with regard to inter-Korean relations can be boiled down to a proposal for inter-Korean trade and economic cooperation and the willingness to offer technologies and materials to the North free of charge.

Background of Proposal

As President Chun stated in the press conference, the government of the Republic of Korea had time and again called for inter-Korean economic exchanges as they could play a significant role in the restoration of mutual trust and the creation of a base for national unification.

In setting forth the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification in January 1982, in particular, the government suggested inter-Korean trade as a means of cooperation between the two sides of Korea. In the proposal for 20 pilot projects made in February that year, the government again proposed multifaceted economic exchanges and cooperation such as trade of daily necessities and exchange of technicians.

However, North Korea turned them all down, and unfortunately, the two sides of Korea are still confronting each other nearly 40 years after national division.

The continuation of this kind of confrontation must be put to an end promptly in view of national pride and the nation's ardent wish for unification.

Moreover, today's world situation is characterized by extreme jingoism which has given rise to resources hoarding and protectionism. Countries around the world are busy seeking their own national interests by transcending ideologies and systems. And the Northeast Asian area is no exception to this worldwide trend.

In order to keep this nation from falling behind and to forestall the waste of national energies stemming from the abnormality of inter-Korean relations, economic exchanges should be realized at

an early date between South and North Korea. Such mutual exchanges and cooperation will lead to the enrichment of mutual trust, contributing ultimately to national reconciliation, which is the foundation of reunification.

Purport of Proposal

President Chun, describing the present juncture as an “age of inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation,” accented the importance of pursuing co-prosperity for all the Korean people.

Before national division, the two regions had maintained ideal inter-complementary relations in terms of not only natural and geographical aspects but also industrial structure. As much as 90 percent of the heavy industrial facilities were in the northern area, which had much more natural resources than the southern region. All of this gave the North an upper hand over the South in terms of conditions favorable to economic growth.

Today, however, South Korea has entered the threshold of advanced industrialization as a result of the steady promotion of open-door industrialization policies, whereas the North is beset with five major economic difficulties — chronic food shortage, energy shortages, backward transportation systems, inability to repay foreign debts and backward expertise. The difficulties stem from their adherence to a closed-door economic system based on their so-called “self-reliant resurrection” policy, coupled with the excessive use of up to 24 percent of their GNP for military purposes in a policy to communize the whole Korean peninsula.

The major economic indicators well illustrate the wide gap in economic abilities of South and North Korea, Gross national product (GNP), the yardstick for measuring a country’s overall economic activities, showed a 5.2 to 1 gap in 1983, with the South’s reaching \$75,300 million and the North’s \$14,500 million. In per-capita GNP, an indicator of the general standard of living, the South sur-

passed the North at a 2.5 to 1 ratio, with \$1,884 to the North's \$765.

South Korea surpasses the North in all the industrial sectors with the sole exception of the production of some natural resources. For instance, the South has an installed power capacity of 13,120,000 KW whereas the North's is no more than 5,740,000 KW. In the capacity of crude steel production, the South leads the North 3.2 to 1 with 13,720,000 tons compared with the North's 4,300,000 tons.

Major Economic Indicators of South and North Korea

As of 1983

Classification	South	North	South-North Comparison
Population	39,950,000	18,900,000	2.1:1
GNP	\$75,300 million	\$14,500 million	5.2:1
Per-capita GNP	\$1,884	\$765	2.5:1
Exports	\$24,200 million	\$1,400 million	17.3:1
Imports	\$26,200 million	\$1,500 million	17.5:1
Farmlands	2,180,000 hectares	2,130,000 hectares	1:1
Grain production (Rice)	7,130,000 tons (5,400,000 tons)	5,200,000 tons (2,120,000 tons)	1.4:1 (2.5:1)
Power generating capacity	13,120,000 KW	5,740,000 KW	2.3:1
Crude steel production ability	13,720,000 tons	4,300,000 tons	3.2:1
Cement production ability	23,450,000 tons	8,600,000 tons	2.7:1
Coal production	1,986,000 tons	3,500,000 tons	1:1.7

The wide economic gap between South and North Korea is certainly not desirable, not only in regard to brotherly love but also for

the realization of peaceful unification.

The offer for technologies and materials made by President Chun would thus serve to prepare a base for the co-prosperity of the 60 million Korean people as well as to help solve the chronic economic stagnation facing North Korea and the resultant pitiful living conditions of the North Korean people.

Chances of Proposal

The proposed inter-Korean trade and economic cooperation broadly incorporates the trade of daily necessities, medicines, automobiles, machines, natural resources, etc., and other cooperation such as mutual visits of businessmen and technicians, technical cooperation and joint projects.

The volume of North Korea's trade amounted to \$3,300 million in 1982, which broke down to \$1,500 million in exports and \$1,800 million in imports. Their major export items are iron ore, coal, lead and zinc, and their key imports include machine, coke, textiles, cotton and wheat.

In 1980, the rest of the Communist bloc accounted for 52.9 percent of North Korea's total trade volume, while the remaining 47.1 percent was with Western countries. Their trade with the free world has been steadily increasing and Japan, West Germany, Hongkong, Malaysia and the Philippines are known to be the main Western countries with which they trade.

In reality, vehicles such as trucks and cargo coaches and some daily necessities like television sets and textile products which they now import from Japan could be supplied by the South, while the South could import some resources including coal and iron ore, which it is now importing from others, from North Korea. Most of the \$327 million worth of machine, textile goods, chemicals and steel products North Korea imported from Japan last year could be supplied by the South.

It is quite foreseeable that once trade began between the two sides of Korea it would lead, in due course, to technical cooperation and joint-venture projects and would inevitably bring economic gains to both sides. Such would also have a tremendous positive spillover effect in terms of restoring mutual understanding and trust. In this respect, the recent proposition may well be taken as a resolute step to unfold a new horizon in the “age of inter-Korean cooperation” which President Chun advocates.

The only remaining question is the attitude of North Korea.

The proposal is quite feasible and practical. As President Chun pointed out, there can be no reason whatsoever why the two sides of Korea, being of the same people, cannot trade and cooperate with each other when they are actively engaged in economic cooperation with third countries. East and West Germany are a divided nation like Korea but they successfully carry out inter-German exchanges and cooperation. Given the circumstances, a refusal of this overture by North Korea would only serve to shed more light on their contradictory nature.

2. Domestic Reactions

Major domestic newspapers welcomed President Chun’s proposal for inter-Korean trade and economic cooperation as “most concrete and epochal.” The press observed that if and when such inter-Korean exchanges are translated into action, they would be highly conducive to laying the foundation for national reconciliation and co-prosperity as well as to speedily restoring mutual understanding and trust, and thereby serve to advance the time of peaceful unification.

Recalling, however, that similar proposals had all been rejected by North Korea in the past, the newspapers pointed out that a thorny path may lie ahead. The press were quick to add that despite the tension and distrust fueled by the North’s anachronistic policy of violent revolution, the unfolding of an “age of exchanges and cooperation” through a productive inter-Korean dialogue, a

reuniting of the 10 million dispersed family members and economic cooperation is an undeniable historical dictate of the nation and would constitute a positive contribution to world peace.

The newspapers also stressed that North Korea should turn an attentive ear to President Chun's point that there can be no reason why the two sides of Korea cannot trade and cooperate with their own people when they are indulging in such with third countries.

3. Reaction from North Korea

North Korea rejected President Chun's proposal by attaching ridiculous preconditions to the undertaking of such trade and cooperation.

In a commentary appearing in the newspaper *Rodong Shinmun*, the organ of the Workers' (Communist) Party, on August 25, five days after the proposal was made, North Korea argued that "if the South wants such trade and cooperation, it should first stop indulging in flunkyistic and nation-selling acts, renounce anti-Communist and confrontation policies and terminate tension-building schemes." As prerequisites to the improvement of inter-Korean relations and ultimate unification, the North Koreans also renewed their demands for the "renouncement of the policy to turn to outside forces," "the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Korea," "an end to fascism, nation-selling activities, division and anti-Communist and war mongering," and "an acceptance of the idea of a tripartite meeting."

Part II

Inter-Korean Contacts on Materials for Flood Victims

1. Initiation of Working-Level Contacts

When prospects for any improvement of inter-Korean relations remained as dim as ever following Pyongyang's rejection of President Chun's August 20th proposal for inter-Korean economic cooperation, the North Korean Red Cross (NKRC) suddenly on September 8, 1984 expressed their willingness to provide materials for the South's flood victims.

In a radio message addressed to the Republic of Korea National Red Cross (ROKNRC), the NKRC said it had decided to provide flood victims in South Korea with 225,950 bushels of rice, 500,000 meters of fabric, 100,000 tons of cement and medicines. They then asked the ROKNRC's cooperation in the "speedy delivery" of the materials to flood victims.

In response, the ROKNRC said that although some human and material losses were suffered in the heavy rains in August, relief and rehabilitation work had been completed in a short span of time thanks to the concerted efforts and warm-heartedness of the people. In a statement, Yoo Chang-soon, ROKNRC president, pointed out that his Red Cross had already declined an offer for assistance by the League of Red Cross Societies, but that the ROKNRC had decided, nevertheless, to accept the NKRC offer in the hope of finding a breakthrough in the efforts to improve inter-Korean relations. The ROKNRC president then expressed the hope that contacts between working-level officials of the two Red Cross societies could be held at an early date to discuss procedures for the delivery and receipt of the offered materials.

The text of the ROKNRC president's statement was as follows:

In a press conference on last August 20, President Chun Doo Hwan emphasized the need for inter-Korean economic exchanges and cooperation and announced a willingness to provide North Korea free of charge with the kind of expertise and materials which would be helpful to improve the lives of the

North Korean people.

Our proposal for the provision of daily necessities to the North Korean people stemmed from pure brotherly love and a humanitarian spirit. It was hoped that they would help meet the North Korean people's need for such daily necessities as household items and medicines.

While North Korea expressed a negative attitude toward our humanitarian proposal, the North Korean Red Cross announced in a radio broadcast last September 8 that it would provide 225,950 bushels of rice, 500,000 meters of fabric, 100,000 tons of cement and medicine to the victims of our recent flood.

Some people were left homeless or suffered property damage in the flood in Seoul and some provincial areas. But we have been able to rehabilitate them completely in a short span of time thanks to a concerted effort by the public. We have thus completed the work of repairing the flood damage. Yet, we appreciate the concern of the North Korean Red Cross for our suffering caused by the flood.

In line with the spirit of the humanitarian proposal made by President Chun last August 20, the Republic of Korea National Red Cross hereby accepts the offer of the North Korean Red Cross. We hope that the materials specified by North Korea will be delivered to us within this month. It would be good if the North Korean Red Cross were to carry the goods to either Inchon or Pusan harbor by ship.

When the League of Red Cross Societies offered assistance last September 3 for our flood victims, we politely declined it because we could fully rehabilitate them with our own efforts. Nevertheless, we accept the North Korean offer in the sincere hope of paving the way for genuine mutual assistance between fellow Koreans beginning with humanitarian areas, and of improving inter-Korean relations.

Should any calamities occur in North Korea in the future, we will not spare our efforts to provide materials from a

humanitarian standpoint. We hope that this new contact and exchange to be realized between the Red Cross societies of South and North Korea will serve as an occasion to foster an atmosphere of reconciliation and mutual assistance between South and North Korea, and that such humanitarian exchanges will be expanded.

We hope that working-level officials' contacts will be held at an early date between the two Red Cross societies to discuss procedures to receive the goods offered by the North Korean Red Cross.

The NKRC said in a radio broadcast on September 14 that they agreed to working-level contacts and would send five delegates headed by Han Ung-shik, vice chairman of the Central Committee of the North Korean Red Cross, to the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at Panmunjom at 10 a.m., September 18, 1984.

The ROKNRC, in a radio message on September 15, notified the North of the list of its five delegates led by Lee Yong-dok, vice president of the ROKNRC.

The two delegations were as follows:

ROKNRC Delegation

- Chief delegate — Lee Yong-dok, ROKNRC vice president
- Delegate — Cho Chol-hwa, ROKNRC secretary general
- Delegate — Song Yong-dae, a member of the ROKNRC's Disaster Relief Committee
- Delegate — Choi Eun-bom, director of ROKNRC Relief Service Department
- Delegate — Lee Jun-hi, advisory member for ROKNRC social services

NKRC Delegation

Chief delegate — Han Ung-shik, vice chairman of NKRC Central Committee

Delegate — Choi Won-sok, a standing member of NKRC Central Committee

Delegate — Choi Ki-bong, director of NKRC Central Committee

Delegate — Paek Yong-ho, deputy chief secretary of NKRC Central Committee

Delegate — Lee Nam-in, vice chairman of NKRC Nampo Committee

2. Working-Level Contacts and ROKNRC Position

The delegates of the two Red Cross societies met to discuss the delivery and receipt of the materials offered by the NKRC for flood victims in the area of South Korea. The contact was materialized because of the ROKNRC's acceptance of the NKRC offer for materials.

The South was actually in no need of the materials offered by the North. It had already completed the relief work for flood victims and the rehabilitation of flood damage. And, foods and other daily necessities are in abundant supply in the South as evident in the South's earlier offer of technologies and materials free of charge to the North to help improve the lives of the North Korean people.

Nevertheless, the ROKNRC accepted the NKRC offer for materials in a broad-minded bid to put an end to the trend of blindly rejecting each other's proposals and to obtain some clue to improving the relations between South and North Korea.

The basic position of the ROKNRC with regard to the inter-Korean Red Cross contact was as follows:

Embodiment of Humanitarian Spirit of August 20th Proposal

In a press conference on August 20, 1984, President Chun, stressing the need for inter-Korean economic exchanges and cooperation, declared a willingness, if agreeable to the North, to provide free of charge the North with the kind of technologies and materials that could help improve the lives of the North Korean people.

The offer derived from a pure humanitarian spirit, as it was meant to improve the lives of North Koreans by easing the hardships they suffer as a result of shortages of such daily necessities as household goods and medicines.

The ROKNRC decision to accept the materials offered by the NKRC represents a positive resolve to broadly embody President Chun's humanitarian spirit and thereby unfold an age of inter-Korean mutual assistance, exchanges and cooperation.

Occasion to Improve Inter-Korean Relations and Promote National Reconciliation.

Some human and material losses were suffered in some areas of the South in the heavy rainfalls in August 1984. Through the concerted efforts of the people, however, relief and rehabilitation programs had all been completed. This is why the ROKNRC declined an offer made by the League of Red Cross Societies on September 1 for assistance.

Nevertheless, the ROKNRC accepted the NKRC offer to practice the spirit of national reconciliation based on President Chun's August 20th offer for free expertise and materials to the North

Korean people, and thereby to pave the way for mutual assistance and prepare the base of material exchanges between the two sides of Korea. The ROKNRC acceptance was also in line with the public desire to see that steps be taken to resolve the questions of dispersed families and improve the overall relations between the South and the North.

If and when a precedent is set through the South's acceptance of the offer from the North, it would oblige the North to accept it if the South offers help in the event of some calamities requiring relief activities.

Besides, the North has rejected every overture the South has made. If the South does likewise, it would only serve to bring the vicious circle of proposal and rejection, making any improved inter-Korean relations as remote as ever. It was against this backdrop that the South accepted the North Korean offer in a bid to improve the inter-Korean relations by all means but not because the South needed North Korean materials.

Superiority in National Strength Over North Korea

As it became apparent in the course of contact, North Korea offered materials despite their own serious economic problems with the ulterior motive to shine up their overseas image tarnished as a result of the Rangoon terrorist bombing and to undermine the sense of anti-Communism in the South on the strength of the "brotherly love" and "humanitarianism" superficially involved in the offer. Their another intent was to give point to their grip of the North Korean people taking advantage of the "assistance" for the South.

But, the South's acceptance of the North Korean offer was not because, to repeat it again, it needed their help. The acceptance was rather the manifestation of the South's confidence in an overwhelming superiority over the North in politics, economy and all other areas.

Given the living standards in both sides, the South is in a position to help the North Korean people in many respects. This is all the more so in view of the wide economic gap existing between the two sides of Korea.

Production of Rice, Fabric, Cement and Medicine in South and North Korea

As of 1983			
Classification	South	North	South-North Comparison
Rice	5,400,000 tons	2,220,000 tons	2.5:1
Fabric	5.6 billion meters	0.6 billion meters	9.3:1
Cement	23,450,000 tons	8,600,000 tons	2.7:1
Medicine	7,000 kinds	1,200 kinds	5.8:1

3. Working-Level Contact and Subsequent Development

a. Working-Level Contact

An inter-Korean Red Cross working-level contact was held at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at 10 a.m. September 18, 1984. The contact, attended by five delegates from each side, lasted six hours and 35 minutes.

At the contact, the two sides agreed that the materials to be transported by ship would be delivered and received at the harbors of Inchon and Pukpyong. As for the overland transport of goods, however, the two sides differed widely. The South suggested the items be delivered and received at Panmunjom but the North insisted on delivering them to Seoul. The contact ended without any settlement as the northern delegates walked out of the conference room unilaterally.

At the working-level contact, the ROKNRC delegates said that it was good for the NKRC to show concern about the South's flood damages and to offer materials for flood victims and suggested the following procedures for the delivery and receipt of the materials.

First, the materials should be delivered and received between the Red Cross societies of South and North Korea.

Second, the delivery and receipt of the materials should be completed within September.

Third, the materials should be transported by ship.

Fourth, taking the distance into consideration the point of the delivery and receipt of the materials should be Inchon harbor.

Fifth, all the materials should be delivered and received on a package basis.

Sixth, to facilitate business related to the delivery and receipt of the materials, a direct inter-Korean telephone should be operated.

Pointing out that under the regulations of the League of Red Cross Societies and general practices, relief goods are usually delivered to the place designated by the recipient side, Lee Yong-dok, chief ROKNRC delegate, explained that it would be most convenient to use Inchon harbor for the speedy and effective transport of the materials since it is the shortest distance from the port of Nampo, North Korea. The NKRC, on the other hand, insisted that the materials be transported by both land and sea and suggested Seoul and the harbors of Sokcho, Inchon and Pusan as points of delivery.

As for the method of delivery, the NKRC maintained that the materials should be delivered and received in ceremonies attended by North Korean officials and pressmen, who, they argued, should be allowed to visit the scenes of flooding to "console" flood victims.

At the contact, the ROKNRC first suggested that the materials be transported to the South by sea only, but later agreed to land transport as well, as the North asserted that the materials had already been assembled at Kaesong for overland transport.

Regarding sea transport, the ROKNRC counter-proposed that Pukpyong harbor be used instead of Sokcho as suggested by the North, saying that Pukpyong has better harbor facilities than Sokcho. The NKRC accepted the proposal and an agreement was

thus reached on the use of Inchon on the west coast and Pukpyong on the east coast.

Overland transport, however, was a different story as the two sides could not come to terms. The ROKNRC suggested that the goods should be transported overland to an area south of Panmunjom, whereas the North insisted the materials should be transported all the way to Seoul.

Despite repeated calls by the ROKNRC for a delivery point south of Panmunjom, the NKRC delegates one-sidedly walked out of the conference room, saying that the next contact should be on September 21. Thus the inter-Korean Red Cross contact, held for the first time in seven years after the 25th Red Cross working-level meeting of December 1977, ended without any substantial achievement.

b. Subsequent Development

After the working-level contact, both Lee Yong-dok, ROKNRC chief delegate, and Yoo Chang-soon, ROKNRC president, each issued a statement expressing regret over the failure to reach any agreement on the delivery and receipt of materials due to the insincerity of North Korean delegates.

ROKNRC President Yoo, in particular, said that "If North Korea is truly interested in offering materials, it should, without sticking to preconditions, transport materials to Inchon, Pukpyung and Panmunjom by ship or truck within the month of September." Yoo let it be known that "If only the North informs the South about a concrete plan to deliver all the materials within September, the South would take steps necessary for the receipt of the materials in the most speedy and simple manner."

The text of the ROKNRC president's statement was as follows:

As was already reported, the inter-Korean working-level contact held at Panmunjom today broke off as the North Korean delegation walked out of the conference room one-

sidedly despite our delegation's call for continuous discussion to resolve all questions within today.

Today's inter-Korean Red Cross working-level contact was designed to discuss procedures for the delivery of the materials the North Korean Red Cross offered to our flood victims, to the Republic of Korea National Red Cross.

Nevertheless, the North Korean side held fast to the incomprehensible assertions from the outset that in disregard of the principles and practice of international Red Cross activities, they would carry the materials aboard their trucks directly to flood victims all across the country and console them.

In accordance with the international practice in which recipient countries designate the points of the delivery of materials, we gave the harbor of Inchon as the site of the delivery of materials so as for us to receive their materials in the most speedy and convenient way.

And, we made a concession and showed sincerity by additionally designating Pukpyong and Panmunjom as the sites of delivery as the North wished.

The North Korea side, however, turned a deaf ear to our effort to select Inchon, Pukpyong and Panmunjom as the sites of the delivery, and discuss other procedural matters. They instead insisted to the end on carrying the materials to Seoul, thus revealing that their offer for materials was not motivated by genuine humanitarianism and brotherly love.

We believe that unless there is a basic change in their attitude, any continuation of the inter-Korean Red Cross contact would be totally meaningless.

We regret that no agreement, due to North Korea's insincerity, was reached on such a simple matter as could be fully resolved with today's single-day contact.

If the North is truly interested in offering materials, they can simply transport them to Inchon, Pukpyong and Panmunjom by ship and automobile within this month without insisting on other conditions.

If North Korea informs us in advance of a concrete plan to deliver materials completely within the month of September, we shall take necessary measures to receive the materials in the most speedy and simple manner.

As public opinion at home and abroad had turned unfavorable to them because of the unreasonable insistence they showed during the contact and their one-sided walkout, North Korea made an abrupt aboutface on September 19, saying, in a statement issued by their chief delegate to the working-level contact, that they would transport the materials to Inchon, Pukpyong and Panmunjom as designated by the ROKNRC. The ROKNRC accepted the schedule for the delivery of the materials, thus paving the way for the delivery and receipt of materials for flood victims between the two Red Cross societies.

Following concrete discussions of matters related to the delivery and receipt of materials, such as the method of delivery and conveniences for North Korean personnel and their personal safety, the two Red Cross societies completed the delivery and receipt of the materials for flood victims in four days from September 29 through October 4.

Another achievement incidental to the Red Cross project was the reopening of a direct inter-Korean telephone line. The North Koreans belatedly agreed to the South's repeated calls to resume direct telephone service.

4. Reactions at Home and Abroad

The domestic press welcomed the September 14th statement of the ROKNRC president that his Red Cross had decided to accept the materials offered by the North Koreans as a "historic resolution." The acceptance was invariably described in press commentaries as "another manifestation of the strong resolve to unfold an age of inter-Korean mutual assistance, exchanges and cooperation."

However, as the inter-Korean Red Cross working-level contact broke up due to the North's unreasonable demand, the press called their demand a "transparent violation of the principle of disaster relief activities of the League of Red Cross Societies." They also remarked that the failure was another disappointment for the Korean people who are craving for contacts between the two sides of Korea.

When North Korea withdrew their demand in an abrupt about-face, and came to deliver the materials they offered, the press said, "Whatever their ulterior motive might have been, the delivery and receipt of the materials are highly significant as they set an affirmative precedent in the frozen inter-Korean relations." The press expressed the hope that the exchange of materials would herald the coming of a warm spring.

Showing much interest in the South's heroic decision to accept the North Korean offer for materials, the foreign press said the acceptance was an affirmative response indicative of the consistent commitment of the Republic of Korea government to easing tension on the Korean peninsula.

Some media including the *New York Times* said that though the delivery and receipt of materials for flood victims has given rise to the wishful thinking that it could lead to a more substantial dialogue, it's too early for anyone to look for an outright political breakthrough between the two sides of Korea.

Part III

Continuous Efforts to Resume Inter-Korean Dialogue

1. Proposal for Inter-Korean Economic Talks

Deputy Prime Minister and Economic Planning Minister Shin Byong-hyun proposed to North Korea on October 12, 1984 an inter-Korean economic conference to discuss trade and economic cooperation between the two sides of Korea.

In a message sent to Choe Yong-rim, vice premier of North Korea's State Administration Council, Deputy Prime Minister Shin, pointing out that "Recently our government proposed to your side the early implementation of inter-Korean trade and economic cooperation, stressing that South and North Korea should thereby improve relations and pursue common prosperity," stated that "In order to safeguard the national survival and interests at this time of ever-fiercer international economic competition, South and North Korea should transcend ideologies and systems and join forces instead of continuing to waste national capabilities in antagonism and confrontation." The Deputy Prime Minister said that if only inter-Korean trade in commodities and economic cooperation could be realized, it would immediately and directly help improve the lives of the South and North Koreans, and further contribute to the realization of balanced development, common prosperity and national reconciliation in all areas. To this end, he said, "Our government will positively support the participation by our businessmen and industries in inter-Korean trade and economic cooperation."

Expressing the view that "If it is necessary, it would be good to establish an organization for inter-Korean trade and economic cooperation composed of government authorities of both sides and representatives of economic circles to serve as a permanent body to promote trade and economic cooperation between South and North Korea." Deputy Prime Minister Shin proposed as a venue for a discussion of these questions, the holding of an inter-Korean economic meeting attended by delegates representing the authorities of the government and private economic organization of

South and North Korea with vice minister-level government officials as chief delegates.

Deputy Prime Minister Shin's message to his North Korean counterpart, Choe Yong-rim, was as follows:

Recently our government proposed to your side the early implementation of inter-Korean trade and economic cooperation, stressing that South and North Korea should thereby improve relations and pursue common prosperity.

Our proposal is intended to pave the way to mutual economic assistance between the brethren of South and North Korea who have been dissociated from each other for nearly 40 years, and to use this development to advance at least a little bit the unification of the homeland which all our people crave.

We are positive that, if only inter-Korea trade in commodities and economic cooperation can be realized, it will immediately and directly help improve the lives of our South and North Korean brethren, and further contribute to the realization of balanced development, common prosperity and national reconciliation in all areas in the future.

In particular, we believe that in order to safeguard the national survival and interests at this time of ever-fiercer international economic competition, South and North Korea should transcend ideologies and systems and join forces instead of continuing to waste national capabilities in antagonism and confrontation.

It is from this standpoint that we hope trade in commodities and economic cooperation between South and North Korea will be realized as soon as possible as our government recently proposed.

Regarding your side's pursuit of a new systematic measure to promote economic cooperation with the outside, we expect that such a step could be conducive to exploring inter-Korean economic exchanges and cooperation in the future. Our government will positively support the participation by our

businessmen and industries in inter-Korean trade and economic cooperation.

We believe that to this end, it will be necessary for economic authorities of the South and North Korean governments and representatives of private economic organizations to have an open-hearted dialogue.

If it is determined to be necessary, it would also be good to establish an organization for inter-Korean economic cooperation composed of government authorities of both sides and representatives of economic circles to serve as a permanent body to promote trade and economic cooperation between South and North Korea.

We propose that an inter-Korean economic meeting be held to discuss these questions, attended by delegates representing the authorities of the government and private economic organizations of South and North Korea with vice minister-level government officials as chief delegates.

We hope that such an inter-Korean meeting will be realized soon. We leave it to your side to determine the time and venue of the proposed meeting. We look forward to an affirmative response.

<p>Background of Proposal for Inter-Korean Trade and Economic Cooperation</p>

Following the announcement of the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification on January 22, 1982, the South proposed 20 inter-Korean pilot projects on February 1, 1982 as a practical measure to begin putting the formula into practice. The pilot projects called, among other things, for economic cooperation in the form of trade in daily necessities and joint exploration and use of natural resources.

Chronology of Economy-Related Proposals to North Korea

January 12, 1977 — Proposal to provide foodstuffs.

June 23, 1978 — Proposal for the creation of a private economic body to expedite inter-Korean trade and capital cooperation. If necessary, the holding of a ministerial meeting.

January 22, 1982 — Call for the realization of national reconciliation through the conclusion of a Provisional Agreement on Basic Relations between South and North Korea. Promotion of the opening of the two societies to each other.

February 1, 1982 — Proposal for 20 inter-Korean pilot projects.

— Joint development of the Soraksan and Kumkangsan mountains as a free tourist area.

— Creation of free joint fishery zones.

— Joint development and use of natural resources for the development of the economies.

August 20, 1984 — Proposal for economic exchanges and cooperation. Willingness to offer materials and expertise to North Korea free of charge.

As is widely known, North Korea is now beset with chronic economic difficulties and a pitiful standard of living due to repeated failure in industrialization program and excessive military outlays. Lately it has been trying to overcome such difficulties by seeking a new systematic measure to promote economic cooperation with others. But, no substantial results can be expected due to the insufficiency of the investment environment and various restrictive conditions inherent to the North Korean system. Therefore, the gap in economic potential and the level of living and welfare between the two sides of Korea is expected to grow wider with the passing of time.

Given these circumstances, President Chun Doo Hwan proposed last August 20 inter-Korean trade and economic cooperation, and expressed a willingness, if acceptable to North Korea, to offer free of charge such expertise and materials as would contribute to

enhancing the standard of living of the North Korean people.

The South's recent acceptance of materials offered by North Korea for flood victims was not because of any need for the materials but because of its desire to set a precedent of humanitarian inter-Korean assistance and provide a breakthrough for improving inter-Korean relations.

Now is a time for both sides to pursue broader inter-Korean improvement when the mood is unusually right for reconciliation. The recent proposal for inter-Korean trade and economic cooperation is yet another positive measure taken against such a backdrop to engineer an improvement of inter-Korean relations and co-prosperity.

Singificance of Proposal

First, the proposal is a practical step to translate President Chun's August 20th overture into action. Pointing out that it is a dictate of the times to put an end to the 40-year-long national division and achieve reconciliation and unification, President Chun called for the pursuit of inter-Korean prosperity through trade and economic cooperation between the two sides.

The proposition made in the Deputy Prime Minister's message was a positive measure taken in the spirit of the August 20th proposal to translate that call for inter-Korean trade and economic cooperation into action through dialogue between the economic authorities of the government and representatives of private economic organizations of South and North Korea.

Second, the proposal is part of consistent efforts to improve inter-Korean relations and seek common interests and co-prosperity of South and North Korea.

The basic spirit of the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification is for both sides of Korea to become reconciled with each other and, based thereon, achieve unification via

democratic procedures. It is with such a spirit that the South has made multi-faceted efforts to improve inter-Korean relations and promote national reconciliation. The proposal for an economic conference, which came on the heels of calls for resumed sports meetings and Red Cross talks on the separated family issue, was part of the South's consistent efforts to improve inter-Korean relations and achieve national reconciliation.

In particular, the proposal for economic talks was highly significant in that it was intended to pave the way to mutual economic assistance between the brethren of South and North Korea who have been dissociated from each other for nearly 40 years and to pursue common interests and prosperity in all areas, thereby laying the stepping stones to peaceful unification.

Third, the proposal is a realistic proposition to realize inter-Korean economic cooperation as it calls for the participation of not only government representatives but also those of private economic organizations in the proposed economic meeting.

Of course, the recent proposal is in line with the basic principle of the South's policy for unification, that is that a breakthrough should be found for improved relations under the initiative of government authorities.

The fact, however, that the proposed economic meeting includes representatives of private economic organizations and that the government expressed the resolve to encourage businessmen and industries of the South to participate in inter-Korean economic exchanges and cooperation is a realistic and reasonable step stemming from the recognition that the effective implementation of inter-Korean trade and economic cooperation needs not only governmental efforts but also the participation of private economic bodies which should play a major role in any such inter-Korean trade or joint-venture investments.

Fourth, the proposal embodies a resolve to promote economic cooperation continuously and effectively by creating a permanent inter-Korean economic organization.

For the effective and continuous implementation of trade in

commodities and economic cooperation, there should be uninterrupted consultations and adjustment of technical and working-level issues. Therefore, the creation of a permanent organization is unavoidable.

Thus seen, the Deputy Prime Minister's proposal of the establishment of a permanent inter-Korean economic organization was a practical move to realize substantial and concrete economic cooperation.

In the meantime, the heads of four major economic organizations in the South issued a joint statement on October 13, 1984, in which they welcomed Deputy Prime Minister Shin's proposal for inter-Korean economic talks and expressed a willingness to take part in inter-Korean trade and economic cooperation. The four economic leaders were Chung Ju-yong, president of the Federation of Korean Industries; Nam Duck-woo, president of the Korean Traders' Association; Chung Soo-chang, president of the Korean Chamber of Commerce and Industry; and Ryu Ki-jung, president of the Korea Federation of Small Businesses.

In the joint statement made public at a press conference held at the Sejong Cultural Center, the economic leaders observed that "If South and North Korea open their doors to each other and actively promote economic cooperation, it will serve the interests of both sides, providing an epochal turning point in the improvement of inter-Korean relations." They expressed the hope that trade would first be carried out between the two sides on a reciprocal basis, and then joint-venture investments would be promoted in various sectors.

The text of the joint statement of the heads of the four economic organizations was as follows:

Deputy Prime Minister Shin Byong-hyun, stressing the need for inter-Korean economic exchanges and cooperation, proposed in a message to North Korea on October 12 that an inter-Korean meeting be held to discuss the question. He also pronounced that the government will positively support the par-

ticipation by businessmen and industries in trade and other economic activities with North Korea.

We welcome the proposal since it is a manifestation of a practical resolve to explore the road to peaceful unification by promoting mutual prosperity and the improvement of inter-Korean relations through economic cooperation between South and North Korea. We hereby disclose our willingness to take active part in inter-Korean trade and economic cooperation.

Being one people, we are deeply distressed that South and North Korea alone are wasting their abilities in unending antagonism and confrontation at this time when many countries are expanding economic cooperation in spite of difference in ideologies and systems.

Before division, South and North Korea were a single economic unit and complemented each other in terms of resources.

If South and North Korea open their doors to each other and actively promote economic cooperation, it will serve the interests of both sides, providing an epochal turning point in the improvement of inter-Korean relations.

We are heartbroken at reality. Though they are brethren, the South and the North have failed to make any contact or to cooperate with each other despite the fact that they both engage in trade and economic cooperation with foreign countries. We believe, however, that the time has come for South and North Korea businessmen to join forces and take the lead in putting an end to such abnormal relations and to promote national economic development in the interests of mutual prosperity and reconciliation.

We hope that first trade will be briskly carried out between South and North Korea on a reciprocal basis, and then joint-venture investments will be promoted in various sectors.

In trade, we believe we could purchase from North Korea such mineral goods as anthracite coal, iron ore, magnesia and lead ingots, and some farm and fishery products like cod roe

and natural aromatic materials. We would willingly provide at any time those items which North Korea wishes to buy.

We also believe that once a brisk trade has started, joint-venture investments could be made in the exploration of coal and ores, in the production of electric home appliances, farm chemicals and medicine, and in the creation and operation of shipping and tourist firms.

We hope that the government-proposed inter-Korean economic meeting will be realized as soon as possible to discuss the means to implement such inter-Korean trade and joint-venture investments, and we look forward to a positive response from North Korea.

Domestic Reactions

The domestic press welcomed Deputy Prime Minister Shin's proposal as a "practical step to systematically implement President Chun's August 20th idea of inter-Korean trade and free offer of materials and technologies." The press said that if only trade and economic cooperation is realized, it would not only serve to improve the living standards of the South and North Korean people but would also contribute to increasing contacts and exchanges in other areas as well. The press also described the economic offer as the most realistic overture and one which conforms to the current international trend.

Observing that this is a time for the two sides of Korea to transcend the differences in their ideologies and systems and explore the path of co-prosperity instead of wasting national energies in confrontation, the press said that the only thing remaining is for North Korea to make a political decision.

"North Korea should favorably respond to the call for inter-Korean economic talks in a sincere manner, aware that their national conscience is once again being tested," the press said.

Reaction from North Korea

On October 16, 1984, North Korea agreed to the South's proposal for economic talks. The agreement was expressed in a letter sent to the South through Panmunjom at 10 a.m., October 16. It was signed by Kim Hwan, deputy premier of North Korea's State Administration Council.

In the letter, North Korea agreed to the proposal in principle, and suggested that each delegation be composed of five delegates headed by a vice minister-level government official; that the meeting be held at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission; that the meeting be held at 10 a.m., November 15; and that other matters related to the preparation of the meeting be discussed via the direct inter-Korean telephone now in operation.

It is fortunate that the North has showed an affirmative response to the proposal for an inter-Korean economic conference. But, it is entirely dependent upon North Korea's sincerity as to whether the proposed historic meeting will be as fruitful as hoped.

2. Proposal for Resumption of Inter-Korean Red Cross Talks

Yoo Chang-soon, president of the Republic of Korea National Red Cross (ROKNRC), said in a press conference on October 6, 1984 that he had proposed to the North the resumption of the South-North Red Cross Conference on the question of locating the whereabouts of dispersed families. Yoo said the proposition was made in a message delivered to the North Korean Red Cross (NKRC) on October 4 through Han Ung-shik, chief NKRC delegate to the Red Cross working-level contact and one of the senior NKRC officials who came to the South to deliver materials for flood victims to the ROKNRC.

At the press conference, Yoo said his Red Cross, which he pointed out had earlier declined an offer of assistance from the League of Red Cross Societies, had accepted the materials offered by North Korea in the lofty desire to pave the way for the reunion of dispersed family members. The ROKNRC president said that even if the South and the North have conflicting systems and ideals, he sees no obstacles to broadening relations in humanitarian areas.

Noting that the Red Cross societies of the South and the North had, from a humanitarian standpoint, set a good precedent with the exchange of materials, Yoo said this is a good time for the Red Cross officials of the two sides to show more sincerity and exert greater efforts to resolve the question of 10 million separated family members. The ROKNRC president then expressed the hope that North Korea would affirmatively respond to his call for the resumption of the Red Cross talks.

The ROKNRC president's message addressed to Sohn Sung-pil, chairman of the Central Committee, North Korean Red Cross, was as follows:

It pleases me greatly that the Red Cross societies of South

and North Korea have successfully completed the delivery and receipt of materials for our flood victims.

I appreciate the efforts your side made to send the materials by mobilizing a considerable number of personnel and transportation means. I let you know that the materials we received are being distributed to the flood victims.

The giving and receiving of the materials between the Red Cross societies of South and North Korea was a historic event transcending the barriers of division in the aspects of brotherly love and humanitarianism.

In this sense, I believe the humanitarian project we have accomplished recently will serve as a good precedent for broadening the avenue for new contacts and exchanges between South and North Korea which have dissociated themselves from each other.

All the Koreans of the South and the North hope that the recent flow of materials for flood victims will not end as merely a giving and taking of materials but will grow into a broader humanitarian project to help reunite the families and relatives dispersed in the South and the North.

To look back, no less than 13 years have passed since we began the South-North Red Cross Conference to realize the reunion of 10 million separated family members. It is heart-breaking that we have thus far made little progress toward resuming the suspended talks, let alone mitigating even a bit the pains of the separated blood relatives.

It is really unfortunate and deplorable that in spite of today's international trend of mutual visits and exchanges made beyond the boundary of ideologies and systems, the reality of South and North Korea remains to be such that people have no way to learn the fates of their families and relatives and to exchange letters with them despite their being so near on the same land.

Therefore, to facilitate the exchange of information and open the way for reunion between separated families in the two

sides is an ardent wish of all the Korean people and also a solemn mission our Red Cross workers should accomplish. It is a most urgent task we cannot afford to put off.

From this point of view, I am convinced that the recent rare inter-Korean Red Cross contact should, without fail, lead to talks aimed at realizing the reunion of dispersed families.

Believing that your side agrees in principle to our position that the South-North Red Cross Conference should be resumed as soon as possible, I hope that a meeting will be held within this month, if possible. I took forward to an affirmative response from your side.

Reason Why The Red Cross Talks Should Be Resumed

A humanitarian precedent has been set between the South and the North with the delivery and receipt of materials for flood victims between the Red Cross societies of the two sides. This precedent should not end merely in the single exchange of materials, but should be developed into a humanitarian project to locate the whereabouts of families separated in the two sides.

If the delivery of materials for flood victims was genuinely motivated by brotherly love and a humanitarian spirit, North Korea should agree to resume the Red Cross meeting and show sincerity toward resolving the question of dispersed families.

Following the suspension of the inter-Korean Red Cross meeting, the ROKNRC time and again called on North Korea to agree to resume the talks to resolve the separated family issue. But, no progress was made due to North Korea's intransigence.

Now that a base has been laid for the two sides of Korean to carry on contacts and dialogue from a humanitarian point of view, the two sides should first tackle the dispersed family question, the most pressing issue facing the Korean nation. To this end, the South-North Red Cross Conference should be resumed unconditionally.

Basic Position of ROKNRC

In his commemorative message on the 37th Liberation Day, August 15, 1982, President Chun Doo Hwan announced the opening of the nation's door to all Koreans residing in Communist-bloc countries including North Korea, so that they could freely visit their homeland. Thanks to the measure, a large number of Korean residents in the Communist bloc have visited Korea freely.

A compatriot from Czechoslovakia recently flew to Korea to meet her relatives. Many Korean residents in mainland China heartily responded to a family search campaign, exchanging letters with their blood relatives in the homeland and an increasing number of overseas residents have been visiting Korea.

It is an intolerable national pain that only people in the two sides of Korea have to be denied any information about their missing family members or mutual visits at a time when even those abroad, especially those in Communist-bloc countries with systems and ideologies different from ours, are allowed to visit their homeland freely.

The basic stand of the ROKNRC is that the question of dispersed families should be solved at an early date from a humanitarian standpoint transcending the differences in political systems and ideologies.

Responsibility of NKRC

As is widely known, the government of the Republic of Korea has already taken steps to facilitate visits by North Koreans to the Republic of Korea at any time, while striving for the early resolution of the dispersed family question from a humanitarian viewpoint.

In June 1983, an extensive campaign was launched to search for dispersed families both at home and abroad. The drive has been highly successful as many compatriots from around the world, with the exception of those in North Korea, responded heartily to the campaign. Therefore, if only North Korea agrees to a family search project, it can be put into action right away.

North Korea, in a telephone message on October 29, agreed to the ROKNRC proposal for the resumption of the Red Cross talks, suggesting that a preliminary contact be held at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at 10 a.m., November 20 to discuss the holding of the eighth full-dress Red Cross meeting.

Even if just to prove that the delivery of materials for flood victims was not intended for political propaganda but motivated by pure humanitarianism, North Korea should display substantial sincerity toward dispelling the pains of the 10 million dispersed family members at the forthcoming Red Cross contact.

3. Proposal for Fourth Inter-Korean Sports Meeting

The Korean Amateur Sports Association (KASA) proposed to North Korea on October 4, 1984 that the suspended inter-Korean sports talks be resumed and the fourth meeting held at an early date. The offer was made in a message to the North by Noh Tae-woo, who replaced Chung Ju-yong as president of the Korean Olympic Committee and the Korean Amateur Sports Association.

In the message, Noh pointed out that the South's acceptance of the North's September 8th proposal of materials for flood victims stemmed from the genuine desire to resume the suspended dialogue and realize exchanges between South and North Korea as hoped for by the entire Korean people. The KASA president said that if the sports officials of both sides were to work positively with the determination to resolve pending issues in a way befitting sportsmen, it would lead to satisfactory results. He said that if only to form single inter-Korean teams to participate in international games such as the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Seoul Olympics, the two sides should hasten their preparations and undertake sports exchanges promptly. The KASA president's message addressed to Kim Yu-sun, chairman of the North Korean Sports Guidance Committee and the North Korean Olympic Committee, was as follows:

I regret that your side has sent a negative reply to the August 17th message of our side, in which we urged that the fourth inter-Korean sports meeting be held on August 30.

It was really heartbreaking that South and North Korea failed to form a single team for this year's Los Angeles Olympics and that the inter-Korean sports meeting could not be held over a long period of time.

What is important to us at this juncture is to resume the suspended inter-Korean sports meeting at an early date without arguing who was right or wrong in the past. I believe that if only we try to broaden the horizon of understanding from the

standpoint of the same sports officials, there can be no reason why we cannot resume the inter-Korean sports meeting.

That we accepted the North Korean Red Cross's September 8th offer for materials for flood victims despite our declining of the September 1st offer for assistance from the League of Red Cross Societies, stemmed from the genuine desire to use that occasion to resume the suspended inter-Korean dialogue and realize inter-Korean exchanges as acutely hoped for by all the people.

We have affirmed once again that the invariable wish of our 60 million people is for the South and the North to open their heart and enter discussions to resolve their common problems, taking advantage of the recent inter-Korean Red Cross contact.

If our sports officials, too, assume a positive posture to settle pending problems by all means in a sound manner inherent in sportsmen, the questions of single inter-Korean teams or sports exchanges could be resolved.

As your side knows, many international sports events take place in Seoul and Pyongyang next year, too. In particular, we will in the near future have such mammoth international games as the 1986 Seoul Asian Games and the 1988 Seoul Olympics.

If South and North Korea are to send single teams to these international games, we must hold sports meetings and hasten their preparations from now. The exchange of games and other sports exchanges should be put into practice without any delay.

To this end, the South and the North should sit together at a conference room with a forward-looking attitude and without any preconditions.

It is from this standpoint that I hope your side will come forward to the table of sports talks as soon as possible. As I hope that the fourth inter-Korean sports meeting will be held at an early date, I leave to your side the determining of the time of the meeting.

I look forward to your affirmative response.

This proposal of KASA president Noh was to call again for the North's participation in a sports meeting as it had rejected the August 17th KASA proposal for the holding of the fourth sports meeting on August 30.

North Korea is yet to show any affirmative response to this latest KASA overture. However, in a statement issued by NKRC chairman Sohn Sung-pil during the delivery and receipt of materials for flood victims and in the October 16th reply by Pyongyang's vice premier Kim Hwan agreeing to a suggested inter-Korean economic conference, North Korea hinted, though indirectly, at a willingness to agree to resume the sports meeting in the days ahead.

4. Statement on the 12th Anniversary of the July 4 South-North Joint Communique

Min Kwan-shik, Seoul-side acting co-chairman of the South-North Coordinating Committee, issued a statement on the 12th anniversary of the July 4 South-North Joint Communique on July 4, 1984, calling for the early resumption of inter-Korean dialogue.

In the statement, the acting co-chairman, regretting that the long-awaited inter-Korean contacts were suspended due to the ulterior motives and obstructive maneuvering of North Korea, called on North Korea to return to the basic spirit of the July 4 South-North Joint Communique, which calls for the two sides to promote multi-pronged exchanges and cooperation transcending their conflicting systems and ideologies, and thereby to build up trust and reconciliation and further national unification.

Min went on to say that despite the fact that the South had thrown the door wide open to a broader inter-Korean dialogue by proposing a meeting of government authorities and representatives of political parties and social organizations of South and North Korea, the North Koreans, turning a deaf ear to these, had trampled down the spirit of the Joint Communique by committing barbaric violence like the Rangoon bombing.

The acting co-chairman also said it is utterly deplorable that North Korea attempted to mislead public opinion by arguing that the tripartite meeting they advanced is the only method of solving the question of the Korean peninsula.

Stressing that a direct dialogue between the two sides is the only shortcut to normalizing inter-Korean relations and finding a clue to unification, Min said that if North Korea genuinely pursues national unification, they should take acceptable measures to atone for the Burma incident and assume a sincere attitude, return to the basic spirit of the South-North Joint Communique to which both sides pledged adherence before the nation and try to resolve all questions through a dialogue between South and North Korea, the

direct parties concerned. The text of the statement of the Seoul-side co-chairman of the South-North Coordinating Committee was as follows:

Today marks the 12th anniversary of the historical South-North Joint Communiqué, which the authorities of South and North Korea agreed to and signed in compliance with the nation's desire for unification.

Twelve years ago today, the South and the North agreed to solve peacefully the question of national unification through dialogue under the principle of national self-determination, and solemnly pledged adherence to the agreement before the nation and the world.

Basically, the July 4 South-North Joint Communiqué calls for the two sides to promote multi-pronged exchanges and cooperation transcending their conflicting systems and ideologies, and thereby to build up trust and reconciliation and further national unification.

To embody the spirit of the South-North Joint Communiqué, the authorities of South and North Korea established the South-North Coordinating Committee as a permanent apparatus for dialogue, and installed and operated direct telephone lines between Seoul and Pyongyang.

The adoption of the South-North Joint Communiqué and the creation of the South-North Coordinating Committee facilitated, to a limited extent, personnel exchanges between South and North Korea for the first time since national division. In particular, the South-North Red Cross Conference, intended to realize reunions between 10 million persons separated from their families, raised public expectations.

Regrettably, however, the inter-Korean dialogue of the 1970s did not go smoothly from the outset. The long-awaited inter-Korean contacts were soon suspended due to the ulterior motives and obstructive maneuvering of North Korea.

We must, at an early date, stop the confrontation, renew

contact between us and prepare a dialogue to explore a new age of national unification.

In the conviction that we must chart a new phase in inter-Korean relations in the 1980s and accomplish national unification within our generation by all means, we have proposed a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea and announced the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification.

Moreover, by proposing a meeting of government authorities and representatives of political parties and social organizations of South and North Korea, we have thrown the door wide open to a broader inter-Korean dialogue.

Nonetheless, North Korea, as was seen in the Burma incident last year, responded to us not with dialogue but with barbaric violence, trampling down again the spirit of the South-North Joint Communiqué and betraying our national craving for unification.

In particular, we are disappointed and deplore the fact that North Korea, while rejecting any dialogue, attempts to mislead public opinion at home and abroad by arguing that the tripartite meeting they have advanced is the only method of solving the question of the Korean peninsula.

If North Korea genuinely pursues national reconciliation and unification, they should take acceptable measures to atone for the Burma incident and assume a sincere attitude, returning to the basic spirit of the South-North Joint Communiqué to which both sides pledged adherence before the nation and trying to resolve all questions through a dialogue between South and North Korea, the parties directly concerned.

We believe that a direct dialogue between us is the only shortcut to normalizing inter-Korean relations and finding a clue to unification.

In this respect, we are convinced that the early convening of a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea and a cabinet-level meeting is the most realistic step to settle

through dialogue the issues pending between the South and the North as well as the unification question.

We take the occasion of the 12th anniversary of the July 4 South-North Joint Communiqué to urge North Korea once again to agree to an inter-Korean dialogue at an early date without betraying the national wish any further.

Domestic Reactions

In commentaries made upon the issuance of the acting co-chairman's statement on the 12th anniversary of the South-North Joint Communiqué, the domestic press invariably said that the North Koreans, contrary to what they pledged in the Joint Communiqué, had broken off inter-Korean dialogue and indulged in schemes to build up tension, driving the strained inter-Korean relations to a dangerous point. The media stressed that the only way for both sides of Korea to survive and prosper within such perilous circumstances is to ease tension in the first place and seek reconciliation, pouring their energies into peaceful projects.

Recalling, in particular, that one of the most important spirits embodied in the Joint Communiqué is the principle of national self-determination, the commentaries charged that North Korea boycotted dialogue by rejecting repeated calls by the South for a dialogue between the direct parties concerned, namely, South and North Korea, and sticking to their idea of a tripartite meeting involving alien forces. The press urged North Korea to return to the spirit of the South-North Joint Communiqué, which, they said, is a valuable product of national consensus.

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South-North Dialogue in Korea

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Part 1

Continuous Efforts to Improve Inter-Korean Relations

1. President Chun's 1985 Policy Statement

— A Renewed Call for a Top Leaders' Meeting —

On January 9, 1985, President Chun Doo Hwan again renewed his call for North Korea to agree to an early meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea, and proposed the creation of permanent liaison missions in Seoul and Pyongyang. The proposal was made in the 1985 Policy Statement he delivered before the 124th extraordinary session of the National Assembly.

Recalling that over the past 40 years, the ideological and military confrontation has brought incalculable misery to the people, dissipated national energies and perpetuated mutual distrust, President Chun stressed, "The tragedy of this century must not be allowed to continue into the next century. The Korean people must leave an illustrious mark on world history by ending the division for good and creating an era of unification and prosperity in this land." The President called for a courageous and momentous shift from the era of South-North confrontation into a new era of national reconciliation.

President Chun then renewed his call for North Korea to agree to an early exchange of visits and a meeting between the top leaders of the two sides in order to advance toward a relaxation of tensions on the peninsula and toward peace and unification. The President also proposed the establishment of permanent liaison missions in Seoul and Pyongyang with a view to easing tension between the South and the North, improving mutual relations and facilitating multi-faceted dialogues, exchanges and cooperation.

Expressing the conviction that a new era of peace and unification must be opened within the 1980s by all means, President Chun stated he would patiently endeavor to accommodate North Korea through dialogue.

The following is the part of President Chun's 1985 Policy Statement regarding inter-Korean dialogue for unification.

Now I shall discuss the question of national unification. It is now 40 full years since the nation was divided in half. The partitioning represents not only a great misfortune for the Korean people but a major smear on world history. This tragedy must not be allowed to continue into the next century. The Korean people must leave an illustrious mark on world history by ending the division for good and creating an era of unification and prosperity in this land.

I am sure that what we must liquidate first in our efforts to build a future of peace and unification is the state of confrontation that has persisted for the past 40 years. Over the past 40 years, the ideological and military confrontation has brought incalculable misery to the people, dissipated national energies and perpetuated mutual distrust. Such sufferings are continuing even today. Further there is an increasing danger of a renewed war that would wreak havoc on the 60 million Korean people.

South and North Korea should no longer remain behind high walls and continue their confrontation and mutual enmity; being of the same ethnic family, both sides should open up to each other and help each other in a spirit of reconciliation and accommodation. If only South and North Korea recognize each other's socio-political system and institutions and nurture a sense of kinship on the foundation of reconciliation and mutual trust, the national wish for peace and unification will be fulfilled without fail. I, therefore, advocate a courageous and momentous shift from the era of South-North confrontation into a new era of national reconciliation.

On January 22, 1982, I proclaimed the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification to the whole world and urged the entire Korean people to assiduously open a road to peace and unification. This also stemmed from the conviction that the self-defeating, abnormal relations between the South and the North must be rectified.

I have also proposed to North Korea an exchange of visits

and a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea with a view to providing a decisive momentum to promoting national trust and peaceful unification between South and North Korea. A South-North dialogue will be the crucial first step to end confrontation and build peace and unification. It could have a more important bearing on the future of the Korean people than anything else.

Even if the attitude of the North Korean side toward dialogue is not genuinely sincere, we will endeavor to turn any form of dialogue into a forum for peace and reconciliation. This resolve has already resulted in our accepting flood relief goods from the North and in the proposals for economic talks, a Red Cross conference and athletic meetings. And this is why we put a positive value on North Korea's affirmative response to the proposals.

My sincere hope is that these talks will make substantial progress toward genuine dialogue on which the foundation for national prosperity and peaceful unification could be built. In that way, we could demonstrate the self-esteem and maturity of the Korean people to the whole world.

I take this occasion to once more renew the call on North Korea to agree to an early meeting between myself and President Kim Il-sung in order to apply a decisive push toward eased tensions on the peninsula and toward peace and unification. At a time when exchanges of visits with foreign leaders have been made frequently, there can be no reason why the top leaders of the South and the North cannot meet with each other. To achieve peaceful unification and prosperity of the Korean nation, our two leaders should meet with each other with an even more positive attitude than in meeting any other leader.

I also propose that permanent liaison missions be stationed in Seoul and Pyongyang in order to ease inter-Korean tensions, improve mutual relations and facilitate multi-faceted dialogues, exchanges and cooperation.

With the conviction that a new era of peace and unification

must be opened within the 1980s by all means, I will patiently endeavor to accommodate North Korea through dialogue, and hope that the North will affirmatively respond to these proposals.

The propositions President Chun made to the North in his Policy Statement boiled down to a renewed call for a top leaders' meeting and the creation of permanent mission in Seoul and Pyongyang.

Background and Significance

It is just 40 years since Korea was divided in half. This 40-years period of political and military confrontation has only increased national misfortune, wastes of energies and mutual distrust.

The government of the Republic of Korea has made untiring efforts to put an end to such a tragic state of confrontation and enmity and to achieve a breakthrough toward improved inter-Korean relations.

As part of the efforts, various offers were made to North Korea, including a proposal for an exchange of mutual visits (January 12, 1981) and a meeting between the top leaders of the two sides (June 5, 1981), the pronouncement of the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification (January 22, 1982), a presentation of immediate issues to be discussed and resolved at a top leaders' meeting (January 18, 1983), and a proposal for trade and economic cooperation (August 20, 1984).

In addition, the South suggested 20 joint inter-Korean pilot projects as a practical measure to realize the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification. Recently, it also offered inter-Korean sports, Red Cross and economic talks to promote exchanges and cooperation in the sports, humanitarian and economic areas.

Nevertheless, North Korea, while paying only lip service to dialogue, has in effect rejected any dialogue with the South by insisting only on a confederate system and a tripartite meeting on the one hand and perpetrating grave provocations like the heinous bombing in Rangoon on the other.

Despite the persistent intransigency of the North Koreans, President Chun again renewed the call for a top leaders' meeting and suggested the creation of permanent liaison missions in Seoul and Pyongyang with a view to improving relations and expediting multi-faceted dialogue, exchanges and cooperation between the South and the North of Korea. The President made the overtures in the belief that it is the historical mission of the Korean people to leave an illustrious mark on world history by ending the division for good and creating an era of unification and prosperity in this land.

Principal Features

Call for a Dramatic Shift from an Era of Confrontation to One of National Reconciliation

During the past 40 years the South and the North have been cut off from each other, only enmity and frictions have arisen between them sides, resulting in a tremendous waste of national energies and increased mutual distrust and national heterogeneity. Such sufferings continue even today and the danger of a renewed war that would wreak havoc on the 60 million Korean people is increasing.

At a time when more and more countries in the world are trading and cooperating with one another irrespective of their differences in ideologies and political systems, it would be a national shame and historic regression if the Korean people alone are unable to cast off the fetters of confrontation, a vestige of the Cold War. For the sake of national prestige and prosperity, the inter-

Korean confrontation must be brought to an end speedily and be replaced with an era of national reconciliation.

Renewed Call for an Early Top Leaders Meeting

On June 5, 1981, President Chun proposed to North Korea a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea. The offer was made in a speech he made at the opening of the first meeting of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy.

In the proposal, President Chun disclosed his willingness to meet with the top leader of North Korea at any time and any place to openheartedly discuss all the issues pending between the two sides including the question of national unification. The offer came from the President's sincere desire to resolve the Korean question in the most effective and productive manner. It was the manifestation of a firm resolve to ease tension on the Korean peninsula and provide a breakthrough toward peaceful unification through such a summit conference.

The resolve was well illustrated by the four topics to be taken up at a top leaders meeting, which President Chun presented while making a renewed call for a top leaders meeting in his 1983 Policy Statement. They are:

- The question of taking effective measures to ease tension and prevent the recurrence of war between the South and the North;
- The question of comprehensively discussing the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification and North Korea's idea for unification;
- The question of putting an end to the waste of national energies stemming from excessive competition between South and North Korea in the world arena; and
- The question of creating an international environment conducive to peaceful unification.

In light of the realities on the Korean peninsula, these tasks must be urgently resolved to achieve substantial progress toward peace and unification. Inasmuch as these tasks require resolute decisions by the top leaders of the two sides, an inter-Korean summit would be the most effective approach to them.

Proposal to Establish Liaison Missions in Seoul and Pyongyang

In the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification announced on January 22, 1982, the government of the Republic of Korea proposed the conclusion of a "Provisional Agreement on Basic Relations between South and North Korea" as a transitory measure pending unification. Article 7 of the proposed agreement provided for the establishment of resident liaison missions in Seoul and Pyongyang.

If resident liaison missions were established in Seoul and Pyongyang, they could facilitate mutual exchanges and cooperation in the political, economic, social, cultural and all other sectors, and could arrange close consultations and discussions between the authorities of the two sides on issues that emerge between the two sides. Such missions, therefore, would contribute much to easing tension and improving relations between the South and the North.

Although dialogue remains deadlocked due to the North's unilateral postponement, the inter-Korean economic and Red Cross talks are destined for resumption. Since the road should also be paved to multi-faceted exchanges and cooperation in the sports and cultural areas as well, the creation of liaison missions in Seoul and Pyongyang is highly desirable. There can be no reason why North Korea should oppose their creation.

2. Domestic Reactions

The media in Korea welcomed as a "courageous pronouncement" President Chun's call for active efforts to promote peace and

unification, and for a shift to an era of national reconciliation. The press commented that the presidential call constituted “a serious and epochal development of the idea of national unification.”

Touching on President Chun’s renewed call for an early top leaders meeting and proposal for the establishment of liaison missions in Seoul and Pyongyang, the media stressed that the suggested top leaders meeting should be realized at an early date if only to demonstrate the self-esteem and maturity of Koreans before the world. They observed that the systematization of such a system as permanent liaison missions is a most reasonable device that could lead to unification without any bloodshed.

The press also said that if North Korea is truly interested in a dialogue with the South, they should agree to these offers without any hesitation.

Part II

Inter-Korean Economic Talks and Preliminary Contacts for a Full-Dress Red Cross Meeting

1. Initiation

The government of the Republic of Korea has made a series of important overtures to bring reconciliation and co-prosperity to the Korean nation. The first offer was the 1981 proposal for a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea. In January 1982, the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification, a grand charter for unification, was announced. The government soon proposed 20 inter-Korean pilot projects as a practical means to realize the formula. And in August 1984, an offer was made for trade and economic cooperation between the two sides of Korea.

In addition, the government renewed the calls on every opportunity for inter-Korean sports and Red Cross talks to promote multi-faceted exchanges and cooperation.

The South's acceptance of the materials offered by the North for flood victims in the South last year, was motivated by an intent to use the occasion as a step towards improving the strained inter-Korean relations. In reality, the South did not need the materials. It's true some damages were suffered in a flood. But, relief and rehabilitation programs were already completed thanks to prompt countrywide efforts. Besides, the South abounds in such materials and even offered knowhow and materials to the North free of charge for the improvement of the living standard of the North Korean people.

Nevertheless, the South accepted the North Korean offer in a bid to pave the way to mutual assistance and material exchanges and, with the occasion as a basis, to also explore the way to resolving the dispersed family issue and further improving overall inter-Korean relations.

It was to such an end that immediately after the delivery and acceptance of the materials for flood victims, Yoo Chang-soon, president of the Republic of Korea National Red Cross, proposed to the North on October 4, 1984 that the Red Cross talks be re-

sumed within the month. In the meantime, Deputy Prime Minister and concurrent Economic Planning Minister Shin Byong-hyun proposed an inter-Korean economic meeting on October 10, 1984, leaving the time and place of the suggested talks to the North to determine.

The North Koreans felt forced to accept the offers since they could no longer reject them in the face of the South's untiring efforts to resume dialogue and the world opinion advocating talks between the two sides of Korea.

In a letter signed by Kim Hwan, a deputy premier, and dated October 16, 1984, North Korea expressed their acceptance of the South's call for economic talks, suggesting that the first economic meeting be held on November 15 and that delegations be headed by vice minister-level officials. Sohn Sung-pil, chairman of the North Korean Red Cross Central Committee, further proposed in a telephone message of October 29 that a preliminary contact be held on November 20 to discuss the question of holding the eighth full-dress meeting.

A forum was thus prepared for the first time in 40 years of national division to promote the nation's common interests and co-prosperity through trade and economic cooperation between the two sides of Korea. As for humanitarian issues, South and North Korean Red Cross officials could meet over the issue of resuming a full-dress meeting of the Red Cross on the dispersed family question, which had been stalled for the past seven years.

2. Progress

a. First Inter-Korean Economic Meeting

Formation of Delegation

In response to the proposal made on October 10, 1984 by Deputy Prime Minister and Economic Planning Minister Shin Byong-hyun for inter-Korean economic talks, North Korea suggested on October 16 that the first economic meeting be held on

November 15 at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at Panmunjom and that each delegation consist of five members headed by a vice minister-level government official.

In a telephone message on November 2, Deputy Prime Minister Shin, welcomed the North Korean acceptance of the South's call for an economic meeting, and counter-proposed that the delegations consist of seven members each. The Deputy Prime Minister reasoned that it would be more desirable for the delegations to include members of economic organizations in addition to government officials for the effective implementation of trade and economic cooperation.

North Korea agreed to the South's suggestion and the stage was thus set for the first inter-Korean economic meeting. The following lists of delegates were notified to each side over the direct telephone:

Delegation of the Republic of Korea

- Chief delegate — Kim Kihwan, secretary general of the International Economic Policy Council
- Delegate — Cha Sang-pil, Second Assistant Minister of Trade and Industry
- Delegate — Koo Bon-tae, director of research, National Unification Board
- Delegate — Kim In-joon, executive director of the Korea Chamber of Commerce and Industry
- Delegate — Shin Bong-shik, executive director of the Federation of Korean Industries
- Delegate — Noḥ Chin-shik, executive managing director of the Korean Traders Association
- Delegate — Lim Byong-suk, managing director of the Korean Federation of Small Businesses

Delegation of North Korea

- Chief delegate — Li Song-rok, vice minister of Foreign Trade
- Delegate — Ke Hyong-myong, director of the Mining Industry Commission
- Delegate — Paek Jun-hyok, director of the Foreign Trade Commission
- Delegate — Ho Hang-chan, vice president of the External Trade Cooperation Company
- Delegate — Li Chin-sik, director general of the Metal Industry Ministry
- Delegate — Son Jong-chol, deputy director of the Trade and Economic Institute
- Delegate — Kim Hae-ryong, vice president of the Kwangmyong Allied Company

Progress

The first inter-Korean economic meeting was held at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at Panmunjom from 10 a.m. to 12:35 p.m. November 15, 1984. The seven delegates from each side attended the meeting.

At the meeting designed to discuss the question of promoting trade and economic cooperation between the two sides of Korea, the two delegations arrived at a de facto agreement on the procedure of the meeting as well as on some tradable items. They were also able to narrow their differences considerably on the subject of the meeting, presaging a smooth progress for the talks.

In a keynote speech, the Republic of Korea chief delegate stressed that the two sides should do all they could to bring the talks to a successful fruition. "We believe that if this meeting could progress well resulting in economic trade cooperation, it would contribute directly to improving the lives of those of both the South and the North, and further contribute immensely to easing tension, fostering trust and promoting national reconciliation between the South and the North," he said.

Chief Delegate Kim also said that while implementing trade between the two sides, the South and the North should, at the same time, promote such economic cooperation as capital and technological joint-venture investment based on mutual trust. The Republic of Korea delegation then proposed two topics to be discussed at the meeting:

First, the question of implementing trade between the South and the North; and

Second, the question of implementing economic cooperation between the South and the North.

With respect to Topic No. 1, the delegation made a ten-point proposal on such things as tradable items, volume of trade, method of transactions, and currencies for settlement. It also suggested that a trade agreement and a memorandum for detailed matters be concluded between the relevant authorities of South and North Korea.

The Republic of Korea delegation also stated that parallel with trade, the two sides would be able to engage in joint-venture investment in the development of resources like briquette coal and iron ore; in the production of electric home appliances such as color television sets and audio systems; in the production of textiles like polyester yarns, medicines and cosmetics; and in such service areas as tourism and maritime transportation.

The southern delegation further proposed that a South-North Economic Cooperation Committee be created of officials of the government and economic organizations of the two sides to promote inter-Korean trade and economic cooperation smoothly and steadily.

The matters the Republic of Korea delegation proposed in connection with trade and economic cooperation at the first inter-Korean economic meeting were as follows;

— Trade of Materials —

(1) Tradable Items

Items the South Could Purchase from the North: mineral goods such as briquette coal, iron ore, pig iron, lead ingot, zinc ingot, silica, scrap; agricultural and fishery products like pollacks, silk cocoons, red beans, corn and castor beans; and materials for herbal medicines.

Items the South Could Sell to the North: metallic goods such as steel and steel products, copper and copper products, and aluminium products; machines like household and industrial sewing machines, power tillers, cars and bicycles; such electric and electronic goods as watches, color television sets and audio systems; textiles including yarns, raw materials, fabrics and blankets; and rubber belts, pianoes, potassium sulfate, refined glycerin and medicines.

(2) Volume of Trade

The volume of trade should be determined on an item-by-item basis in consideration of each side's domestic situation of demand and supply, and its volume of external trade.

(3) Prices

Prices should in principle be set on the basis of objective international prices (L.M.E.) through negotiations between trading parties.

(4) Trading Parties

The subjects of trade should be specific trading offices or companies designated by each side's government authorities, preferably a single trading party at first with a switch to multiple ones in due course.

(5) Method of Transaction

Trade should be implemented based in principle on letters of credit issued by the banks of third countries. At an early stage, compensation trade could be considered, and so could be the method of settlement agreement when trade becomes expanded.

(6) Handling of Settlement

Settlement should be handled in principle by the banks of third countries. Depending on development, however, the foreign exchange banks of the two sides could be considered.

(7) Settlement Currencies

Settlement currencies should be selected from among the international exchangeable currencies (U.S. dollars, D.M., Japanese yen, British pound) in use by the two sides in common. Creation of a settlement unit applicable only to inter-Korean settlement could be considered in the future.

(8) Tariffs

No tariffs should be assessed inasmuch as inter-Korean trade is not external trade.

(9) Transportation

It would be convenient to use the ships of a purchasing side when large amounts of cargo are involved. If and when trade becomes expanded, linking of a railroad between the two sides could be considered to make transportation by rail possible. Small amounts of cargo could be transported by trucks, for which it would be good to create a joint cargo terminal at Panmunjom.

(10) Miscellaneous Matters

Other concrete matters incidental to trade, such as issues involving customs, inspection, communications, accident handling and settlement of disputes should be resolved through mutual consultation.

To promote trade steadily and smoothly, a trade agreement should be concluded between the relevant authorities of the South and the North. A memorandum on various details related to such an agreement should also be concluded.

— Economic Cooperation and Joint-Venture Investment —

(1) Joint Projects

In the proposal for the 20 inter-Korean pilot projects, the South had already proposed the joint development and utilization of natural resources between the South and the North, and the creation of joint fishery zones for the fishermen of the two sides.

(2) Joint-Venture Investment and Technical Cooperation

Parallel with trade, the two sides could engage in joint-venture

investment in the development of resources like briquette coal and iron ore; in the production of electric home appliances such as color television sets and audio systems; in the production of textiles like polyester yarns, medicines and cosmetics; and in such service areas as tourism and maritime transportation.

Capital, technical and personnel exchanges are also necessary to promote a broad economic exchange.

— Question of Creating an Economic Cooperation Body —

To discuss and resolve various problems related to the smooth and steady implementation of trade and economic cooperation, the South proposed the creation of a South-North Economic Cooperation Committee among the officials of the government and economic organizations of the two sides.

On the other hand, the North Korean delegation contended that the topic of the economic meeting should be “concerning the realization of collaboration and exchanges in the area of economy between the South and the North.” It also suggested methods of economic cooperation, tradable items and methods of transaction and transportation.

At first, a difference was shown in the selection of the topics of the meeting, as the North insisted on their idea. But, when the southern delegation offered a compromise, the North seemed to respond favorably by changing the word “collaboration” to “cooperation” in the topic they suggested. Suddenly, however, the North Koreans turned stiff, asserting that the question of topics should be discussed at the next meeting. The meeting thus failed to determine the topics of the economic talks.

A wide gap was also shown in the method of trade. Whereas the South suggested that the volume of trade be determined in consideration of each side’s internal demand and supply situation as well as the volume of external trade, North Korea asserted that they are only interested in the purchase of raw and intermediary materials such as iron materials, tungsten ore, naphtha and textiles

and not in any daily necessities and finished products. They also suggested material exchanges in the form of raw materials for raw materials, finished goods for finished goods and farm products for farm products.

Still, the suggestions of the two sides did have the following in common:

(1) Tradable Items

— Items the South could purchase from the North: briquette coal, iron ore, magnesia clinker, corn, pollacks.

— Items the South could sell to the North: iron materials, textiles.

(2) Development of natural resources.

(3) Creation of joint fishery zones.

(4) Linking of a railroad.

(5) Creation of an Inter-Korean Economic Cooperation Committee.

The suggestions made by the North Korean delegation at the first economic meeting were as follows:

— Exchange of Materials —

(1) *Tradable Items*

— Items the North Is Interested in Selling to the South: industrial products such as iron ore, coal, magnesia clinker and general machinery; and such farm and fishery goods as pollacks, rice and corn.

— Items the North Is Interested in Purchasing from the South: industrial products such as iron materials, tungsten ore, naphtha and petroleum; and such farm and fishery products as salt and tangerines.

(2) *Method of Transaction*

Trade should be conducted to meet each other's needs for raw materials, finished products and farm goods, with exchanges taking the form of raw materials for raw materials, finished products for

finished products and farm goods for farm goods.

(3) Transportation

Transport should be made by railroad and ship. To this end, the Seoul-Shinuiju line should be connected, and the Nampo and Wonsan harbors in the North and the Incheon and Pohang harbors in the South should be opened to each other.

— Economic Collaboration —

(1) Joint Development and Utilization of Underground Resources: each side should explore mines and minerals in the other's area with its own efforts and facilities.

(2) Collaboration in Fishery Areas: the South and the North should create joint fishery zones for joint development and use. A joint-venture fisheries company should be established.

(3) Collaboration in Farm Areas: reclaimable lands of the South should be developed jointly, or the irrigation networks severed by the Military Demarcation Line should be restored.

(4) A South-North Economic Cooperation Committee should be created as a joint cooperation body.

Prior to entering the business talks and again immediately before the adjournment of the meeting, the North Korean delegation proposed a contact between Deputy Prime Minister Shin Byong-hyun and his North Korean counterpart, Deputy Premier Kim Hwan. The North Koreans expressed the wish that the proposal be conveyed to Deputy Prime Minister Shin.

At the first economic meeting, the Republic of Korea delegation also suggested that future meetings be held behind closed doors to ensure their effective progress, and that one of the direct telephone lines already installed between the two sides be designated exclusively for the economic meetings to facilitate liaison activities and discussions. The North Korean side agreed to the proposal.

The two sides agreed to hold the second economic meeting on

December 5, 1984 at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at Panmunjom.

b. Preliminary Contacts for Full-Dress Red Cross Meeting

Initiation In response to the Republic of Korea National Red Cross (ROKNRC) proposal of October 4, 1984 for the resumption of the South-North Red Cross Conference, the North Korean Red Cross (NKRC) sent a message to the ROKNRC on October 9 agreeing to resume the Red Cross talks.

In the message signed by Sohn Sung-pil, chairman of the NKRC Central Committee, and addressed to Yoo Chang-soon, ROKNRC president, North Korea suggested that a preliminary contact be held between South and North Korean Red Cross delegates to discuss procedural matters related to the resumption of full-dress South-North Red Cross talks that had been suspended for the past 11 years. The message said that North Korea would send three delegates to the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at 10 a.m. November 20.

In a telephone message on November 14, the ROKNRC notified the NKRC of the list of its three delegates led by Cho Cheol-hwa, ROKNRC secretary general. Two days later, the NKRC informed the ROKNRC of its delegation. The lists of the two delegations were as follows:

ROKNRC Delegation

- Chief delegate — Cho Cheol-hwa, ROKNRC secretary general
- Delegate — Song Yong-dae, member of ROKNRC Disaster Relief Committee
- Delegate — Choe Un-bom, director of ROKNRC Relief Service Division

NKRC Delegation

Chief delegate — So Song-chol, standing member of NKRC
Central Committee

Delegate — Park Yong-su, deputy director of NKRC Central
Committee

Delegate — Park Dong-chun, division chief of NKRC Central
Committee

Progress A preliminary contact designed to discuss the holding of the eighth full-dress meeting of the South-North Red Cross Conference was held from 10 a.m. to 12:03 p.m. November 20, 1984 at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission.

Since the contact was aimed chiefly at reaffirming various operational procedures such as the topics, venue and the composition of delegations, based on the matters already agreed on between the two sides through their preliminary contacts of 1971 and '72, the two sides could reach an agreement easily except on a few items.

At the contact, ROKNRC chief delegate Cho Cheol-hwa, saying that he was pleased to see that the NKRC agreed to a ROKNRC proposal to discuss the question of resuming full-dress meetings at an early date, suggested that the two sides reaffirm the various items which both sides had already agreed to with respect to the operation of the full-dress South-North Red Cross meetings, and discuss any additional matters that needed to be agreed on.

From this point of view, the ROKNRC chief delegate offered the following matters for discussion.

(1) The Venue of the Eighth Full-Dress Meeting

The venue of the eighth full-dress South-North Red Cross meeting should be Seoul in accordance with the agreement made at the third South-North Red Cross preliminary meeting of October 6, 1971 that full-dress meetings would be held in Seoul and Pyongyang by turn.

(2) The Topics of Full-Dress Meetings

The topics of full-dress South-North Red Cross meetings should be, as agreed on at the 20th South-North Red Cross preliminary meeting of June 16, 1972:

1. The question of ascertaining, and notifying thereof, the whereabouts and fate of the dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North;
2. The question of facilitating free mutual visits and free meeting among the dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North;
3. The question of facilitating free postal exchanges among the dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North;
4. The question of facilitating reunions of the dispersed families according to their free individual wishes; and
5. Other humanitarian problems to be settled.

(3) The Delegations to Full-Dress Meetings

As agreed on between the two sides, delegations to full-dress meetings should be headed by Red Cross vice president-level officials and should each comprise seven delegates, seven consultants, 20 attendants and 25 press members.

(4) The Operating of a Permanent Conference Liaison Office

The function of the permanent conference liaison office established under an agreement reached at the second South-North Red Cross preliminary meeting of September 29, 1971 should be normalized, and the direct telephone line between the Freedom House and Panmungak reopened for operation.

(5) Other Operational Procedures for Full-Dress Meetings

Matters related to personal safety, procedures for visits, period of stay and schedule of talks, emblems, equipment and belongings, transportation, communications, activities outside the conference site, facilities at the conference site, recording of talks, whether to open the talks to the public, press coverage, conference proceedings, drafting and announcement of agreements, and provision

of facilities, should be in accordance with the agreement reached at the 25th South-North Red Cross preliminary meeting of August 11, 1972.

(6) The Time of the Eighth Full-Dress Meeting

The time of the eighth full-dress South-North Red Cross meeting should be within one month from the date of the conclusion of this preliminary contact.

The NKRC delegation agreed in principle to this ROKNRC suggestion. But, it demanded a readjustment of some of the matters, contending that the Red Cross meeting had been suspended over a protracted period of time and the "situation has changed much during the period."

As to the formation of delegations, the NKRC suggested that the number of press members on each side be increased from 25 to 50 and the number of attendants be reduced from 20 to 15. The North Koreans reasoned that an increase in the number of press members is unavoidable because more publishing and press media have come into being during the period and because press and publishing equipment have become diversified.

The ROKNRC, in response, suggested that the number of attendants remain at 20 as before but agreed to increase the number of press members to 50 as suggested by the NKRC.

In addition, the NKRC delegation, pointing out that the full-dress meeting would be resumed after a suspension of 11 years, insisted on an exchange of art troupes so that the eighth and ninth full-dress meetings scheduled for Seoul and Pyongyang, respectively, could be held in a festive atmosphere. The NKRC insistence cast doubt on whether North Korea agreed on the resumption of the Red Cross talks to actually resolve the dispersed family issue.

The ROKNRC delegation rejected the idea of an exchange of art troupes, stressing that such festive programs are not compatible with the original aim of the Red Cross talks and the wish of the 10 million dispersed family members.

As to the time of the eighth full-dress meeting, the NKRC at first said they would leave it to the host — the ROKNRC — to deter-

mine the date of the eighth meeting. But, when the ROKNRC delegation suggested December 18-21, 1984, the NKRC abruptly made an aboutface and demanded that the eighth meeting be held on January 23, 1985, arguing that no full-dress meeting had ever been held in December or January in the past. As they failed to reach an agreement on the time of the eighth full-dress meeting, the two sides decided to discuss it further over the direct telephone line.

The matters agreed on between the two sides at the preliminary contact were as follows:

(1) The Venue of Full-Dress Meetings

The eighth full-dress meeting should be held in Seoul and the ninth full-dress meeting in Pyongyang.

(2) The Topics of Full-Dress Meetings

The topics should be the five items agreed on at the 20th South-North Red Cross preliminary meeting of June 16, 1972:

The question of ascertaining, and notifying thereof, the whereabouts and fate of the dispersed families and relatives in the South and North;

The question of facilitating free mutual visits and free meetings among the dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North;

The question of facilitating free postal exchanges among the dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North;

The question of facilitating reunions of the dispersed families according to their free individual wishes; and

Other humanitarian problems to be settled.

(3) The Forming of Delegations to Full-Dress Meetings

Each delegation should be composed of seven delegates, seven consultants, 20 attendants and 50 press members.

(4) The Operating of a Permanent Conference Liaison Office

The function of the permanent conference liaison office at Panmunjom and the direct telephone line should be restored immediately.

(5) The Question of Whether to Open Full-Dress Meetings to

the Public

The eighth and ninth full-dress meetings should be open to the public. Afterwards, full-dress meetings should be held in principle behind closed doors. However, they may be opened to the public if both sides so agree.

(6) Other Operational Procedures of Full-Dress Meetings

Matters related to personal safety, procedures for visits, emblems, equipment and belongings, transportation, communications, activities outside the conference site, facilities at the conference site, and provision of facilities, should be in accordance with the agreement reached at the 25th South-North Red Cross preliminary meeting of August 11, 1972, and the additional agreement reached at the third full-dress meeting of October 25, 1972.

Part III

North Korea's Unilateral Postponement of Talks

1. The Postponement

On November 23, 1984, 12 days before the scheduled second inter-Korean economic meeting, a shootout flared up between United Nations Command and North Korean guards in the U.N. Command sector of the Joint Security Area of Panmunjom.

The shootout started when dozens of North Korean guards illegally crossed the Military Demarcation Line into the U.N. Command sector in pursuit of a defecting Soviet man, and opened fire at U.N. Command guardsmen. It was an express violation of the Armistice Agreement on the part of North Korea, a violation which could well be described as the second Panmunjom ax-murder incident.

Nonetheless, North Korea tried to shift the blame to the southern side, demanding that "responsible steps" be taken. On November 27, North Korea unilaterally notified the South that they would put off the second inter-Korean economic meeting set for December 5 indefinitely.

Kim Kihwan, Republic of Korea chief delegate to the inter-Korean economic meeting, in a November 28 telephone message addressed to his North Korean counterpart, Li Song-rok, stressed that North Korea should concede that the Panmunjom incident of November 23 was provoked by North Korean guards crossing the Military Demarcation Line into the southern sector and opening fire first. The chief delegate then said that the conference dates mutually agreed on must be respected, and that should North Korean circumstances not allow a second meeting to take place on December 5, he would propose that it be held on January 17, 1985. The text of chief delegate Kim Kihwan's telephone message was as follows:

I profoundly regret that your telephone message of November 27 not only distorted the facts by claiming that the recent shootout at Panmunjom was provoked by our side but

also used the incident as a pretext to postpone until next year the second inter-Korean economic meeting originally scheduled for December 5.

It has been indisputably established that the November 23 incident at Panmunjom was caused by your guards crossing the Military Demarcation Line into our area and opening fire first.

Escalating the seriousness of the Panmunjom affair by putting off the inter-Korean economic meeting is tantamount to your side forsaking the ardent wish of the 60 million patriots to see the talks succeed.

If your side is genuinely interested in making the inter-Korean economic meeting a success, a meeting that has been opened with high hopes, the conference dates mutually agreed to ought to be respected.

As I believe that the recent Panmunjom event must not be allowed to stand in the way to the smooth progress of the economic talks, I propose that should your circumstances not allow a second meeting to take place on December 5, it be held on January 17, 1985.

We look forward to an affirmative reply from your side.

Meanwhile, in connection with the decision made at the Red Cross preliminary contact of November 20, 1984 that the time of the eighth full-dress Red Cross meeting would be determined through mutual discussion over the direct telephone line, ROKNRC chief delegate Cho Cheol-hwa, in a telephone message of November 22, proposed to his NKRC counterpart, So Song-chol, that the eighth full-dress meeting be held January 22-25, 1985. The message read:

Concerning the time of the eighth full-dress meeting, I propose taking into account the opinion your side expressed at the November 20 preliminary contact that the eighth full-dress meeting be opened at 10 a.m. January 23, 1985 in Seoul and that the period of the meeting be four days from January 22

through 25.

I look forward to your early reply.

As North Korea agreed, in a telephone message of December 14, 1984, to the times of both meetings as suggested by the South, the second inter-Korean economic meeting was set to be held at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at Panmunjom. at 10 a.m. January 17, 1985, and the eighth full-dress South-North Red Cross talks January 22-25, 1985, in Seoul.

On January 9, 1985, however, North Korea unilaterally postponed both the economic and Red Cross talks indefinitely with the excuse of the annual Team Spirit military exercise. In telephone messages from Kim Hwan, North Korea's deputy premier, and Sohn Sung-pil, NKRC Central Committee chairman, to Deputy Prime Minister Shin Byong-hyun and ROKNRC president Yoo Chang-soon, respectively, the North Koreans argued that the joint Korea-U.S. Team Spirit '85 exercise set to begin on February 1 was an "act of provocation," and therefore North Korea had decided to postpone indefinitely the second inter-Korean economic meeting slated for January 17 at Panmunjom and the eighth full-dress Red Cross talks set for January 23 in Seoul.

In particular, Kim Hwan's message, arguing that an "obstacle had been laid before the economic meeting due to the Team Spirit '85 military training exercise," suggested that the two sides' deputy prime ministers meet around January 17, the original date of the second economic meeting, to discuss measures to "remove the obstacle."

2. The Unreasonableness of the Postponement

Once again, North Korea committed an utterly insincere act by unilaterally putting off for an unjustifiable reason the inter-Korean economic and Red Cross talks, the times of which had already been agreed on. Less than two months earlier, on November 27, 1984, North Korea had postponed the second

economic meeting with the excuse of the Panmunjom shootout which they themselves provoked. North Korea's repeated postponement of the scheduled talks make objective observers doubt whether it is genuinely interested in a dialogue.

**Carping on Routine
Military Exercise**

North Korea's postponement of the economic and Red Cross talks with the excuse of the Team Spirit military exercise is totally irrational.

Every country routinely conducts military training with the aim of insuring its self-defense capabilities. In particular, Team Spirit exercises have been openly conducted every year since 1976 solely for defensive purposes to help preserve peace on the Korean peninsula. The Team Spirit exercise has been so open that the southern side has made it a practice to notify North Korea of the training in advance and invite it to send observers to the annual field maneuver.

North Korea, too, conducts massive joint tri-service field exercises for one to two months some time between November and March every year. However, the South has never taken issue with the North Korean training in connection with an inter-Korean dialogue.

Both NATO and Warsaw Pact organizations conduct annual military exercises. Still, the West and the East are engaged in disarmament talks irrespective of such war games.

Between South and North Korea also, various meetings have taken place in the past regardless of Team Spirit exercises. During Team Spirit '84, in particular, North Korea affirmatively responded to Seoul's proposal for sports talks and actually attended them in early April 1984.

Inter-Korean Meetings Held During Team Spirit

Team Spirit Period	Inter-Korean Meeting
March 1-17, 1979	Inter-Korean Table Tennis Talks – Second meeting, March 5 – Third meeting, March 9 – Fourth meeting, March 12 Contacts between Delegates of the Seoul Side of the South-North Coordinating Committee, and Delegates of the Front for the Fatherland of North Korea – Second contact, March 7 – Third contact, March 14
March 1-April 20, 1980	Working-Level Contacts for Prime Ministers Meeting – Third contact, March 4 – Fourth contact, March 18 – Fifth contact, April 1 – Sixth contact, April 18
February 1- mid-April, 1984	The first inter-Korean sports meeting, April 9

Moreover, when both sides agreed to hold the economic and Red Cross talks in January 1985, it was foreseen that Team Spirit would take place this year. Moreover, January 1985, for which the economic and Red Cross talks were slated, was not even the time for Team Spirit.

It was self-contradictory for North Korea to

Insincerity	call for a deputy prime ministers meeting while unilaterally postponing the already agreed-on economic and Red Cross talks. The only aim of their offer was to avert criticism against them for having postponed the dialogue
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for no justifiable reason.

Their refusal to honor already-agreed on matters on dialogue while talking about peace, well indicates that what they are really after is not to resolve the Korean question by means of dialogue but to attain some wicked political gains by taking advantage of dialogue.

Ulterior Motives

North Korea gave Team Spirit as their reason for postponing the talks in a bid to make the point that the U.S. forces in Korea and the Team Spirit are a major cause of tension on the Korean peninsula. They were attempting to justify the logic of their call for a tripartite meeting, a logic that in order to ease tensions on the peninsula, it is necessary, first of all, for the United States and North Korea to have direct contacts with each other to pave the way for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Korea. North Korea thus tried to promote world opinion conducive to their idea of a tripartite meeting. Also by attempting to make the world community believe that tension persists on the Korean peninsula, the North Koreans tried to rationalize their attempts to obstruct the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Seoul Olympics.

3. The South's Efforts to Resume Talks

In the face of the insincere and irresponsible attitude of the North Koreans manifested in repeatedly postponing scheduled inter-Korean talks, Deputy Prime Minister Shin Byong-hyun urged North Korea on January 10, 1985 to agree to hold the second economic meeting on January 17 as already agreed.

In a telephone message addressed to North Korea's deputy premier Kim Hwan, Deputy Prime Minister Shin stressed that if North Korea is truly interested in the smooth progress of the inter-Korean dialogue, they should at least respect the matters already agreed on between the two sides. The text of Deputy Prime Minister Shin's telephone message was follows:

I couldn't help but be disappointed and shocked at your telephon message of January 9, in which you denounced our routine military exercise and asserted that you could not hold the inter-Korean economic meeting slated for January 17.

At present, the entire people of South and North Korea have been pleased to see the inter-Korean dialogue resumed after a long suspension. They pin high expectations on the two channels of dialogue set for this month.

That your side unilaterally put off the second inter-Korean economic meeting indefinitely, when it was only one week away, with the excuse of our military exercise held annually and openly for defensive purposes, cannot but be an act of forsaking public wishes at home and abroad for smooth progress of the meeting.

To speak of military exercises, the whole world knows that your side conducts large-scale field maneuvers in the forefront areas in a simulated attack on us. It is totally nonsensical that your side, nevertheless, put off a scheduled meeting with the excuse of our routine military exercise.

In the past, our two sides had many rounds of inter-Korean meetings including working-level delegates' contacts for a prime ministers meeting during the periods of our military exercises. As recently as early last April when the Team Spirit exercise was under way, we began sports talks. But, your side did not dispute the exercise in connection with the sports meeting.

Moreover, our side's annual military exercise was foreseen when our two sides agreed on the time of the second inter-Korean economic meeting. Nevertheless, your side has abruptly made an issue of the Team Spirit in connection with the talks. We cannot but be doubtful about your ulterior motives.

On last November 23 at Panmunjom, your side's guards trespassed into our sector across the Military Demarcation Line and opened fire first. Despite this provocative act, your side, as is the case with a thief accusing his victim, unilaterally postponed the second economic meeting while trying to shift the blame

for the incident to our side. And, again this time your side showed an insincere attitude by putting off the talks with an unjustifiable excuse. We cannot but doubt whether your side is truly interested in the inter-Korean dialogue.

If your side is willing to carry out the dialogue sincerely, your side should at least respect what has already been agreed on between the two sides. If your side does not keep your word and offers yet another meeting while refusing to open agreed-on conference as your side does now, who on earth can believe your side?

I believe that the second inter-Korean economic meeting should be held on the agreed-on date by all means not only for the smooth progress of the economic meeting but also to prepare a firm basis for the multi-faceted contacts and exchanges to be made between the South and the North in the days to come.

I think it is possible for me to meet you directly at any time if only the second inter-Korean economic meeting takes place as planned and registers satisfactory results. From this position, I urge that the second economic meeting be held at 10 a.m. January 17 at Panmunjom as our two sides have already agreed before our whole people and all the peace-loving peoples of the world.

I look forward to your affirmative response.

In the meantime, Yoo Chang-soon, president of the Republic of Korea National Red Cross, called on the North Korean Red Cross on January 10, 1985 to agree to hold the eighth full-dress South-North Red Cross meeting in Seoul on January 23 as already agreed. The call was made in a telephone message addressed to Sohn Sung-pil, chairman of the NKRC Central Committee. The message read:

It was truly surprising and regrettable that you have suddenly notified us that you would unilaterally postpone the eighth full-dress South-North Red Cross meeting set to be held

in Seoul on January 23.

My disappointment and grief at your insincere posture and cruel political schemes with respect to the great national program grow all the deeper as I observe the pathetic scene of the 10 million dispersed family members who briefly stopped wailing before the artificial barrier of national division in a renewed expectation for reunions.

As is widely known, the Team Spirit exercise is a peace-keeping maneuver held annually for defensive purposes. This year's exercise was already foreseen when our South and North Korean Red Cross societies agreed on the time of the eighth full-dress meeting in Seoul.

Nonetheless, your side is attempting to put off the eighth full-dress meeting with the excuse of our military exercise that has nothing to do with the Red Cross meeting. We are doubtful of your side's sincerity towards the Red Cross talks.

We believe that for the effective solution of the question of separated families in the South and the North, the Red Cross humanitarian spirit should be respected. We believe that the unfortunate past of the South-North Red Cross Conference obstructed or refracted by non-Red Cross schemes and calculations, should not be allowed to recur to disappoint the dispersed families of the South and the North.

To make our Red Cross efforts pay off and ease the pains of dispersed families, there should be trust between the two sides and agreed matters should be respected by all means.

To hold a meeting on an agreed-on date is the obligation and duty of our Red Cross workers who should value trust and service.

From such a viewpoint, we, being the host of the eighth full-dress meeting, have completed all preparations for the successful operation of the meeting. We now only wait for the day when we can receive your delegation.

When your delegation comes to Seoul, we shall receive them warmly with brotherly love and extend our sincerest hospitality

to them so that they won't have any inconvenience during their four-day stay.

If your side is truly faithful to humanitarian spirits and interested in respecting agreed matters and advancing the South-North Red Cross Conference, your side should come to the conference table on the agreed date of January 23 instead of raising a controversy over an issue that has nothing to do with the talks.

I hope your delegation will come to Seoul as scheduled so that our nation won't miss the valuable opportunity that has come to us for the first time in a very long period.

Despite such sincere efforts and urging on the part of the South, North Korea showed no response at all, and thus the second inter-Korean economic meeting and the eighth full-dress Red Cross talks failed to take place on the agreed-on dates of January 17 and January 22-25, 1985.

On January 17 when the second economic meeting was supposed to be held, Kim Kihwan, Republic of Korea chief delegate to the economic talks, urged North Korea in a press interview to agree to hold the second economic meeting at an early date.

The remarks he made in the press conference were as follows:

It is very regrettable that the second inter-Korean economic meeting scheduled for January 17 has been aborted because of its unilateral postponement by North Korea.

North Korea insisted that it was impossible to hold the talks unless the Team Spirit exercise was cancelled. But, this cannot be a justifiable reason to put off the conference.

The Team Spirit exercise is an annual event. Moreover, when both sides agreed on the date for the second economic meeting, North Korea must have foreseen that the training would begin in February.

In a telephone message sent to the North on January 10, we pointing out that their insistence on the postponement of the

second inter-Korean economic meeting was unreasonable, cordially urged them to come to the conference as scheduled. But, no reply has yet come.

It is utterly beyond comprehension that North Korea laid an artificial obstacle before the economic talks by refusing to attend the conference on the agreed date and then proposed a deputy prime ministers meeting under a pretext of seeking to remove that obstacle.

I believe that the North Korean refusal to hold the scheduled second economic meeting itself is an act of deliberately laying a road block to the talks. There can be no other obstacle.

We have made clear our position that contacts between the deputy prime ministers of the South and the North would be feasible at any time depending on the progress of the economic talks.

That North Korea has breached agreed matters under a preposterous pretext and unilaterally put off the talks means that they have disclosed their insincerity for the talks and betrayed the expectations of the 60 million Koreans and the international community for the peace and unification of the Korean peninsula.

North Korea is urged to come forward to the second inter-Korean economic meeting at the earliest possible date in conformity with the great domestic and international concern and expectations for the inter-Korean economic talks.

Meanwhile, on January 23, 1985 when the eighth full-dress meeting was supposed to be held in Seoul, the Republic of Korea National Red Cross charged the North Koreans with aborting the eighth meeting in disregard of public expectations and mutual agreements.

In a statement, Yoo Chang-soon, ROKNRC president, said that North Korea should be held responsible for the failure to hold the eighth full-dress meeting, adding that their disruptive conduct could not be justified by any excuse.

Saying that the ROKNRC, the host of the eighth full-dress meeting, had completed all preparations for the smooth progress of the talks and stands ready to receive the North Korean Red Cross delegation at any time, Yoo said in the statement that North Korea should come forward to the table of the eighth full-dress meeting at an early date in response to the public desire to see the 10 million dispersed family members reunited early.

However, North Korea did not show any positive response to the South's repeated call for the resumption of the inter-Korean talks.

4. Reactions at Home and Abroad

The press in the South had invariably expressed shock at North Korea's unilateral postponement of both the second inter-Korean economic meeting and the eighth full-dress Red Cross talks. The press said that though not many expectations could be pinned on the resumed talks from the outset in view of the North's intransigency shown in the early 1970s dialogue, they could not even imagine that North Korea would obstruct the talks so early and recklessly. The press commented that such an insolent violation of a mutual agreement by North Korea amounted to splashing cold water upon the national desire for dialogue and would hardly escape criticism by all brethren at home and abroad.

At the same time, the media welcomed as "appropriate and natural" the Seoul government's statement that the economic and Red Cross talks should be held as scheduled and that a deputy prime ministers' meeting could be held once the economic talks register a satisfactory result. The press stressed that if North Korea is genuinely interested in an inter-Korean dialogue and the peaceful unification of the Korean peninsula, they should come forward to the table of the two meetings at an early date, aware that dialogue efforts should begin with a respect of agreed matters.

The major foreign press media also observed that the postponement of the two meetings by North Korea indicates that Pyongyang has not been seriously interested in inter-Korean talks. They

remarked that North Korea's ulterior motive seems to "shed an added light on the joint Korea-U.S. military exercise and the presence of U.S. forces in Korea itself so as to foster a world opinion advocating the halt of the training exercise and the withdrawal of the U.S. forces from Korea."

The foreign media also commented that North Korea's postponement of the scheduled talks with the excuse of the Team Spirit exercise was a premeditated act, adding that the put-off could be a delaying tactic to earn time because they have yet to prepare a system to effectively cope with change incidental to a rapid progress of the inter-Korean dialogue.

The foreign press added that one should not be too optimistic about or expect much from inter-Korean talks, but the two sides should build up mutual trust and strive steadily in order to carry on their dialogue.

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South-North Dialogue in Korea

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Part I

Third Plenary Session of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy

1. President Chun Reiterates Call for Top Leaders' Meeting

— Opening Address at Third Plenary Session of the Advisory Council —

The Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy held its third plenary session at the Chamsil Gymnasium in Seoul on June 5, 1985 with 10,634 members from throughout the country and abroad attending.

In his opening address, President Chun Doo Hwan, who is concurrently chairman of the Advisory Council, reiterated his call to North Korea to agree to a meeting of the top leaders of the two sides of Korea, stressing that the most pressing thing for the South and the North is to put an end to the 40-year history of division at an early date and cement a base for peace and unification in this land. He then urged the North to desist forthwith from engaging in a self-injurious slander campaign and to respond affirmatively to the inter-Korean sports meeting which the South had proposed with a view to fielding single Korean teams to international games.

Noting that North Korea has outwardly come to the table of the inter-Korean economic meeting and the South-North Red Cross Conference, President Chun said, "Whatever their motivation may be, we shall try to steer the valuable talks toward serving to expel the danger of war on the Korean peninsula and registering an important milestone in the realization of peaceful unification."

The President said the government of the Republic of Korea would positively endeavor to lead the world powers surrounding the Korean peninsula into constructively contributing to peace and unification on the peninsula, while keeping a

keen eye on the developments of the fast-changing international situation in this multi-polar age. The Chief Executive also professed the government intent to strengthen close cooperation with Third World nations.

President Chun exhorted the members of the Advisory Council to exert greater efforts to develop national harmony into an inter-Korean reconciliation, to solidify the base of stability and to focus national energies on the single area of building up national strength.

The full text of the opening address President Chun made at the third plenary session of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy follows:

Members of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy, distinguished guests, and sixty million compatriots.

With burning determination and emboldened confidence, we have gathered here today to further accelerate our march toward accomplishing the sacred task of realizing national unification.

Like you, I take pride in having steered our forceful march toward unification in the four years since the inauguration of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy. I congratulate and thank you for the strenuous efforts you have made as the standard bearers of the cause.

The growth in national strength, which we have brought about by displaying our confidence in unification, has now resulted in drastically bolstering our ability to achieve unification.

The fact that North Korea has come to the table of dialogue, though their motivation is not clear, is undeniably attributable to the initiatives we have made to bring about the talks on the strength of the phenomenal expansion of

our national strength and firm national confidence. With this achievement as a stepping stone, we should now speed up our march toward liquidating this century of division and separatism and construct a new century of unification and harmony.

I wish to take this occasion to pledge once again that in conformity with the fervent wish of all our compatriots, I, together with you, will do all I can to advance the time of national unification.

Members of the Advisory Council,

Given the ever-changing and complex situations both at home and abroad, the time has come for us to prepare ourselves more soundly for the 2000s.

I cannot but emphasize again that the most pressing task facing the South and the North at the threshold of this all-important historic chapter is to put an end to the 40-year history of division, a history stained with war and confrontation, at an early date and solidify the ground for peace and unification in this land.

If confrontation and distrust between the South and the North remain unresolved and become even more entrenched, it will result in a waste of national energies and an aggravation of the suffering, which would in turn lead to war and destruction and eventually to national self-destruction. To put an end to this extremely dangerous and abnormal situation and ensure the coexistence and coprosperity of the people of the South and the North, we should first cement mutual trust and harmony through genuine dialogue.

I have proposed to North Korea an exchange of visits and a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea in the conviction that an inter-Korean dialogue based on the principle of national self-determination is the best way to realize peaceful unification. The consensus of all

sensible people is that there can be no reason whatsoever why such a meeting, which is designed to discuss and fundamentally solve the problems pending between South and North Korea, should be rejected.

I once again urge that a top leaders meeting between South and North Korea be held at an early date to handle comprehensively and resolve from a more responsible approach all the issues pending between the two sides of Korea.

If such a meeting could be realized within this year, we would be able to make this year, which happens to mark the 40th anniversary of national liberation, all the more meaningful as one in which we opened a new chapter of peace and unification in our national history.

At the same time, I would like to emphasize the need for the South and the North to launch broad and productive efforts to further elevate the nation's self-esteem in the international community as well as to restore national homogeneity and mutual trust.

To foster an atmosphere for such efforts, the two sides should desist forthwith from engaging in the self-destructive acts of slandering one another.

And, hoping that North Korea will participate in the 1986 Asian Games and the Seoul Olympics of 1988, I hereby make it clear that we will thoroughly guarantee the personal safety of all participants and all necessary conveniences. If South and North Korea were to take part in the two sports festivals under single teams, we would be able to demonstrate our nation's outstanding abilities and great potential to the world with records much better than those we achieved in last year's Los Angeles Olympics.

Since a considerable length of time would be required for the selection, formation and training of athletes for single teams, we must hasten to do so from now. North

Korea should show sincerity toward forming single teams and realizing inter-Korean sports exchanges by agreeing early to the inter-Korean sports talks we proposed at an early date.

North Korea has, at least on the surface, come to the table of the inter-Korean economic meeting and the South-North Red Cross Conference.

Whatever their motivation may be, we shall try with sincerity to steer the dialogue in a direction where it could serve to expel the danger of war on the Korean peninsula and substantially improve inter-Korean relations, becoming a significant milestone in the realization of peaceful unification.

Members of the Advisory Council,

The Korean question is basically the problem of the direct parties involved, namely, South and North Korea, and it is a question which we should all try to resolve with our own efforts.

While paying keen attention to the international situation which is in the process of becoming multi-polarized, we must endeavor to steer the international atmosphere in a way that can be conducive to realizing our great task of unification.

It is in this belief that I will steadily endeavor to lead world powers around the Korean peninsula into constructively contributing to the peace and unification of the Korean peninsula, and, at the same time, bolster our close cooperative relations with Third World nations.

To this end, we shall more faithfully pursue our open-door policy in which we will, on the principle of reciprocity, seek to establish and develop friendly cooperative relations with even Communist-bloc countries whose ideologies and systems are different from ours.

Lately North Korea has been trying to approach Western

countries in an effort to find a way out of their economic distress. But, what they should do first, I believe, is to open their society to all the world's peoples, let alone their compatriots in the South, and thereby dispel the treacherousness and deceptiveness which everyone feels typifies their closed society.

Members of the Advisory Council,

In light of the national desire that the tragedy of division born in the current century should not be carried forward to the new century, the next 15 years till the turn of the 2000s will really be an important period so far as our history is concerned.

It thus behooves us to have a clear insight into the conditions we are faced with and further solidify national harmony and security. Any act undermining our national security and unity which leads directly to dispersing national energies and impairing our efforts to bring about unification and prosperity, cannot be tolerated under any circumstances.

You members of the Advisory Council, who represent various social sectors, should, based on the proud achievement you have made, exert greater efforts and dedicate yourselves to developing our national harmony into reconciliation between the South and the North, to further consolidating national security and to focusing our national energies exclusively on the buildup of national strength. I am confident that if only we all work hard for unification, we will surely see a new historic chapter of unification unfold before long.

Together with all of you, I pledge to construct a glorious unified homeland within our generation without fail. I pray that health and happiness will always be with you and your families.

Thank you.

At the session that followed the opening ceremony, Minister of National Unification Lee Se-ki made a report on the government's unification policies. In the report, he explained in detail about the two meetings of the Inter-Korean Economic Talks and the eighth full-dress meeting of the South-North Red Cross Conference held in Seoul, both of which were promoted on the heels of the delivery and receipt of North Korean materials for flood victims. The Minister also disclosed the government stand toward the 3rd Inter-Korean Economic Meeting, the 9th full-dress Red Cross meeting, and the proposed inter-Korean parliamentarians meeting.

The following is the full text of Minister Lee's report on the promotion of unification policies:

Honorable members of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy,

First I wish to express my sincere respect to you, the members of the Advisory Council, who have worked hard at home and abroad to explore the way to, and advance the time of, national unification, the cherished wish of our nation.

This year we observe with mixed feelings of joy and bitterness the 40th anniversary of both national liberation and division. At this historic turning point, our concern about the questions of inter-Korean dialogue and unification are more acute than at any other time in the past.

I find it very meaningful for me to present at this time a report on the promotion of unification policies with emphasis on the progress of inter-Korean dialogue.

It is a truly historic tragedy that, to date, the South and the North of Korea have confronted each other for a generation or, more accurately, for the 40 years since the

homeland was divided. In view of our national dignity and wish for unification, inter-Korean confrontation must be put to an end on a priority basis.

The government has steadily made multi-pronged efforts to implement the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification. Last year, in particular, was especially rewarding; our positive determination to promote unification was amply displayed and, based thereon, remarkable progress was registered in the area of inter-Korean dialogue.

As is well known, President Chun Doo Hwan, in his August 20 summer press conference, emphasized the need to open an age of inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation, proposing to North Korea trade and economic cooperation between the two sides of Korea and expressing the willingness to provide North Korea, if they agree, with technical knowhow and materials free of charge.

Based on a firm confidence forged through the development of national strength and the attitude of our people, the new offer represented the manifestation of a grand national obligation to explore the road to inter-Korean economic cooperation and mutual assistance and thereby achieve national harmony and co-prosperity. It was also significant, given the fierce competition among nations that characterizes today's world history, that it was derived from our invariable wish to pool the nation's development capabilities to promote common prosperity.

Also in his policy statement of last January 9, President Chun stressed, "The tragedy of this century must not be allowed to continue into the next century. The Korean people must leave an illustrious mark on world history by ending the division for good and creating an era of unification and prosperity in this land." The Presidential remarks served to expressly define the spirit of our contemporary generation and also represented the forceful code of action to

follow in the grand march toward unification.

By also proposing that "a top leaders' meeting between South and North Korea be held at an early date to promote national trust and provide a decisive momentum for peaceful unification, and permanent liaison missions be created in Seoul and P'yongyang to expedite multi-faceted dialogue, exchange and cooperation," President Chun set forth reasonable and concrete ideas of unification to enliven the atmosphere for dialogue.

The proposal, based on the conviction that a new chapter of peace and unification should be unfolded by all means within the 1980s, was designed to promote an inter-Korean summit meeting which could serve as the starting point of such a new chapter, as well as to accelerate smoothly various exchanges and cooperative programs with the opening of an age of inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation.

To look back, we accepted the North Korean offer for materials for flood victims last September to set a precedent in an effort to explore the road to mutual assistance between the two sides based on the spirit of economic cooperation President Chun proposed earlier on August 20 and thereby provide a fresh breakthrough for an improvement in inter-Korean relations. With the occasion providing the momentum, we proposed an inter-Korean economic meeting and also urged North Korea to agree to resume the suspended Red Cross talks.

Fortunately North Korea responded affirmatively to these offers and two inter-Korean economic meetings were held at P'anmunjom on November 15 last year and May 17 this year. In addition, the eighth full-dress meeting of the South-North Red Cross Conference, which was preceded by a preliminary contact at P'anmunjom on November 20 last year, was held in Seoul this past May 28. It was the first

full-dress Red Cross meeting to take place in 12 years.

At the first inter-Korean economic meeting, the two sides produced a multitude of ideas on the trade of materials and economic cooperation. Among them were many items suggested in common by both sides. But, there was some difference regarding the method of implementation.

What can be regarded as an important achievement is that the two sides reached a virtual agreement on briquette coal, iron ore, steel and iron products, textiles, corn and pollacks as tradable items. We almost agreed on linking the Seoul-Shinuiju Railroad Line and the establishment of an economic cooperation body.

The second meeting, however, failed to discuss substantial matters. The South suggested a debate of substantial matters by proposing to adopt the topics of the economic meeting and then discuss concretely the questions of trade and economic cooperation. In particular, the southern delegation expressed the willingness to purchase 300,000 tons of briquette coal from North Korea immediately. The North Koreans, on the other hand, refused to discuss the issues of topics, tradable items and economic cooperation suggested at the first meeting and insisted only on the creation of a South-North Joint Economic Cooperation Committee.

Despite the difference in basic stands, the two sides fortunately agreed to hold the third inter-Korean economic meeting on June 20. At the eighth full-dress Red Cross meeting, the two sides reaffirmed the objective of the Red Cross talks, that is, to alleviate the pains of dispersed families, and decided to hold the ninth full-dress meeting in P'yongyang on August 27.

What has increased our expectations about the Red Cross talks is that the two sides agreed on an exchange of

hometown visiting groups and art troupes around the time of the 40th anniversary of national liberation, August 15. The two sides decided to have a working-level contact at P'anmunjom on July 15 to discuss the procedures for the exchange.

If an agreement could be reached at the working-level contact, it would be the first substantial achievement ever recorded since the inter-Korean dialogue began in the early 1970s and the first opportunity for some of the dispersed family members to visit their hometowns and blood relatives across the dividing line.

Our National Assembly, in the meantime, sent a reply to North Korea last June 3 in response to the April 9 message from the North's Supreme People's Assembly in which they proposed an inter-Korean parliamentarians' meeting. The reply was preceded by a careful supra-partisan study of the North Korean offer. I believe it was proper for the National Assembly to propose in the reply that the parliamentarians discuss the creation of a consultative body to prepare a constitution for a unified state and debate other matters necessary for the creation of a base for unification.

Members of the Advisory Council,

Buttressed by the iron-firm will of our national leader for peaceful unification and the invariable support of all our people, we have now opened the second age of inter-Korean dialogue. And, I firmly believe, given the lessons of past experiences, that the resumed inter-Korean dialogue must be carried out in a direction conforming to the national wish for unification and the dictate of the times.

Few persons can deny that the pressing task facing us trying to resolve the Korean question is to ease tension and consolidate peace between the two sides of Korea. I believe that the most effective and reasonable approach is to seek a resolution of the task at an inter-Korean summit meeting,

for the solution of such a question basically requires the political decision of the top rulers.

It is from such a viewpoint that the government believes a top leaders' meeting, a meeting that could serve as a decisive turning point for easing tension and realizing peaceful unification, must be held at an early date. To materialize the meeting, the government shall steadily try to persuade the North Koreans and exert all available efforts to create conditions conducive to holding the meeting.

Moreover, the government shall positively carry out the on-going Inter-Korean Economic Meeting so as to pave the way to trade and economic cooperation between the two sides, and, at the same time, extend full support for the success of the South-North Red Cross Conference so that the reunions of dispersed families could be realized at an early date.

The government will also exert due efforts to resume the inter-Korean sports meeting early, whereby we shall endeavor to promote exchanges and goodwill between athletes and sports officials of South and North Korea as well as joint participation in various international games, thereby manifesting the outstanding ability and united image of the Korean nation before the world and turning the 1988 Seoul Olympics, a festival for all peoples, into an occasion for the whole Korean nation to celebrate.

We shall prepare ourselves thoroughly for a dialogue for unification so that this year, which happens to be the 40th anniversary of national liberation, could witness the advent of a new phase of national harmony and unity and become a shining milestone in our struggles to overcome national division.

Before concluding my report, I want to say that I look forward to the continuous advice and participation of the members of the Advisory Council.

The third plenary session of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy adopted a resolution calling on North Koreans to join efforts to realize a top leaders' meeting and to translate the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification into action; urging North Korea to show a modest and sincere posture toward the inter-Korean Red Cross, economic and sports meetings; calling for a worldwide diffusion of the Koreans' peace-oriented determination; and pledging to play a leading role in the national march toward unification.

The full text of the resolution was as follows:

Aware that this is a time for us to lay the groundwork for the change of the unfortunate age of inter-Korean confrontation we have gone through in the past 40 years into a period of national reconciliation, and

Upholding the fervent wish of the 60 million compatriots for peaceful unification of the homeland,

We hereby resolve that:

The unification of the nation must be realized in a democratic and peaceful manner. The North Korean authorities should join in efforts to materialize a top leaders' meeting proposed by President Chun Doo Hwan and the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification;

The North Korean authorities should show a modest and sincere posture so that the atmosphere conducive to dialogue that was fostered through the eighth full-dress meeting of the South-North Red Cross Conference could be further developed, facilitating the success of the economic and sports talks and thus paving the way to peaceful unification;

Peace on the Korean peninsula should be consolidated

for the stability of Northeast Asia and the world peace and we shall thus diffuse around the world our firm peace-oriented determination to reunify the divided homeland at an early date and thereby contribute to national prosperity and mankind's co-prosperity; and

As the central force dedicated to executing faithfully the determination of the people to bring about unification with a view to creating a glorious, advanced and unified homeland, we proudly pledge to play a leading role in exploring a new age of national reconciliation in the national march toward unification.

2. Domestic Reactions

Major domestic newspapers, observing that signs of a new chapter in history have emerged in the relations of South and North Korea, commented that the third plenary session of the Advisory Council on Peaceful Unification Policy was highly significant in that it took place at a time when inter-Korean dialogue, in the form of the Red Cross, economic and parliamentarians talks, looked somewhat promising at least on the surface.

Touching on the call made by President Chun Doo Hwan in his opening address for the immediate cessation of self-injurious slander campaigns and his renewed call for a top leaders' meeting, the newspapers said that a top leaders' meeting, if realized, would serve as a more forceful stimulant than anything else in dismantling the barrier of division. The media also said that the halt of slander campaigns would contribute to expelling mutual distrust and hatred and to fostering

an atmosphere for mutual love and trust, the basis of unification. The newspapers stressed that North Korea should agree to these offers without delay and show a sincere attitude toward forming single Korean teams for international games by agreeing to resume the suspended inter-Korean sports meeting at an early date.

Part II

Minister of National Unification Lee Se-ki Stresses the Importance of Initiatives in “Second Age of Inter-Korean Dialogue”

— Address at International Symposium Sponsored by the
Christian Academy —

As a guest speaker of the International Symposium for National Reconciliation between South and North Korea held on June 14, 1985 under the sponsorship of the Christian Academy, Minister of National Unification Lee Se-ki delivered a speech before the participating scholars and religious leaders from home and abroad. The speech was entitled “Prospects for Unification and our Posture: Towards the Establishment of Unification Logics in an Age of Dialogue.”

In the address, Minister Lee discussed broadly the latest inter-Korean talks including the eighth full-dress Red Cross meeting resumed for the first time in 12 years, the third Inter-Korean Economic Meeting, the question of parliamentarians’ talks and the issue of resuming sports meeting.

The Minister said the “second age of inter-Korean dialogue” has been opened following President Chun’s offer to North Korea last August for materials and economic cooperation, and the South’s acceptance of North Korean materials for flood victims. He then stressed that the second age of dialogue requires broad national consensus and concurrence on the government’s determination and efforts to promote dialogue.

Minister Lee said that government, given its responsibility for national history and the fulfillment of national wishes, intends to broadly incorporate the sound debates on unification among various sectors of society in its unification policy. He was quick to add, however, that such sound debates must be distinguished strictly from politically motivated, senseless arguments.

The Minister also stressed that the “second age of inter-

Korean dialogue” should be accompanied by nationwide efforts to create a unification culture, explaining that a unification culture could be created when everyone accepts the question of unification as an integral part of their lives and foster unification-oriented sentiments, confident that unification will be materialized by all means.

When such a unification culture is created at a nationwide level, he said, the possibility of peaceful unification based on national reconciliation would grow much greater. The Minister said that what is important is to carry on the dialogue with prudence and perseverance, without hastily pinning great expectations on a little progress nor getting frustrated at the lack of any achievements.

A summary of Minister Lee’s speech follows:

Prospects for Unification and Our Posture

— Towards the Establishment of Unification Logics
in an Age of Dialogue —

a. Necessity of Re-establishing an Approach to the Question of Unification

Almost all people agree to the proposition that the nation, having been divided for 40 years, must be reunited under all circumstances. It is true, however, that a considerable number of people remain skeptic or pessimistic about the possibility of unification. The reasons they give for their skepticism are the unchanging aggressiveness of North Korea, the deepening heterogeneity of the Korean nation and the conflicting interests of those countries having stakes in the Korean peninsula.

We should reflect on ourselves for, just as it is difficult for

us to realize that the earth is round from on its surface, our preoccupation with reality in our approach to the unification issue prevents us from tackling the problem effectively.

Our view of and prospects for unification would change, if, with an awareness of the flow of history and the way things change, we would only broaden our perspective, change our microscopic standpoint for a macroscopic one, and view things as being linked to the past, present and future instead of analyzing them in terms of reality only.

b. Possibility of Elimination of Factors Detrimental to Unification Seen from a Microscopic Angle and from a Changed Point of View

Possibility of Change in the North Korean System

Power succession is expected to take place in North Korea after much maneuvering. Suppose Kim Jong-il succeeds his father as the ruler, he would be obliged to explore politics of his own style in order to cement the base of his power.

To the North Korean people who have long been fed up with the strict system of mobilization based on Kim Il-sung's fictitious proposition of "liberation of South Korea," anything that could improve their lives would be most appealing. As if to back up this assumption, North Korea has given policy emphasis to textile and food industries and housing development since the close of the 1970s. This policy change could serve to expediate a change in the North Korean society.

In view of the fact that a change has taken place in the upper echelon of the North Korean society since the sixth congress of the Workers' (Communist) Party in 1980 in which reasonability and effectiveness were no less stressed than party

and ideological loyalty, North Korea is expected to introduce ways to promote external economic cooperation and increase productivity through material incentives instead of adhering to self-reliant regeneration and ideologically prompted mobilization policies.

It may be assumed that these changes would, in turn, possibly bring about a notable change in the North Korean style Communism though only a substantial fundamental change can hardly be expected. This change, if it were to occur, could lead to a change in their view of, and strategy towards, the South as well as in a change in their attitude towards dialogue with the South.

Possible Overcoming of National Heterogeneity in Favor of Homogeneity

Given Korea's time-honored history of national integrity, the current division can be no more than a passing phenomenon. The cultural history shows that opposing cultural elements have tended to be absorbed into more historical and universal ones. Therefore, if the culture of the South can be more in keeping with the history of Korea and more acceptable anthropologically than the North's, the heterogeneity of the South and the North could be overcome in the long run and the North Korean people could recover a sense of values, a code of conduct and a way of thinking traditionally Korean.

Though we are far apart in terms of traditions, we of the same age find ourselves sharing a similar way of thinking and code of conduct. This points to the importance of time zones, which are interrelated to social and economic development

stages.

The unification approach we pursue does not look back to the point where division began but, in pace with the flow of world history, to the future and is meant to reunite the nation for the construction of a unified homeland. Therefore, instead of simply condemning the tendency towards national heterogeneity, we should explore, in terms of recent developments, the possibilities for national homogeneity and a system of values and devise ways to bring them about.

Assuming that the hostile sentiments, distrust and enmity are mere fictional and superficial phenomena that are bound to crumble like a castle built on sand after the lapse of a certain period of coexistence and that national sentiments will remain unscathed, despite the brain-washing and artificial heterogeneous policies being undertaken in North Korea, we ought to put aside the pessimism that the unification of the South and the North will be difficult due to internal reasons.

The Structure of International Political Order and Change in the Unification Environment on the Korean Peninsula

In one word, the order of super power hegemony in international politics is in the process of crumbling both in theory and reality. And, it cannot be checked by either the United States or the Soviet Union. The only option left them is to pursue either a power balance or detente on the basis of recognizing the independence of surrounding countries.

Since the turn of the 1980s, the surrounding countries have invariably called for a dialogue between South and North Korea as if to reflect the new international political order that has been more multi-polarized than in the 1970s. On the other

hand, trade contacts and exchanges among Northeast Asian countries have grown more frequent.

If we recognize the realities of division and accept these changes as contributing to the creation of a new reality and a step towards unification instead of rejecting them as a partisan policy aimed at maintaining the status quo or cementing the division and thereby cultivate within ourselves a firm determination to achieve unification, we would be able to persuade the surrounding countries and adroitly take advantage of the changing power relations among them.

*c. Conditions and Factors Contributing to Unification,
and Prospects for Their Exploration*

Unification is by no means so simple that it can be realized through the mere elimination of detrimental factors. Conditions and factors favorable to unification should be developed at the same time. Such conditions and factors can be classified into two.

**Changes in Inter-Korean Relations and Factors
Contributing to a Consolidation of Peace**

Several eye-catching steps North Korea has taken recently draw our attention as things that may lead to a change in inter-Korean relations. A series of policy measures including the encouragement of greater production of daily necessities, partial easing of the controls over the people and signs of restoring the function of the family, could prompt the North Korean people to demand more.

Industrialization is a must for the improvement of living

standards. The advancement of industrialization and living standards could change the nature of the society from militancy and bellicosity to compromise and appeasement. Once the nature of their society changes, their attitude will also change and there will no longer be any ground for an aggressive strategy against the South.

When the North Korean people come to know that the "liberation of South Korea" is nothing more than a day-dream, when their attitude changes toward dialogue, and when exchanges and cooperation show substantial progress, inter-Korean relations could be developed to a point where even peaceful co-existence is possible.

If an "age of peaceful coexistence" and an "age of productive inter-Korean dialogue" unfold, the question of peaceful unification would boil down to whether the nation has a strong enough will to promote unification and whether the Korean people have the ability to translate such a will into action.

Determination and Ability to Achieve Peaceful Unification

The development of and changes in man's history are not accidental products but the product of man's determination to develop. In particular, the role of influential leaders with an understanding of history and social elites serve to expedite such development and change. Thus seen, the question of whether to improve inter-Korean relations to the point of achieving peaceful unification lies ultimately in whether the Koreans harbor in their hearts a strong will to do so.

d. Our Posture: Necessity of Preparation for Unification through Creation of Unification Culture

Requirement or wishes alone will not bring unification. Unification is not to be discovered somewhere; it is the product of a creation that has to be generated by ourselves through the pooling of our people's will to unify.

In establishing conditions conducive to and preparing for unification, we must all further increase our understanding of the nation and history. Only when we all take the question of unification as an integral part of our lives, will our unification-oriented national bond grow stronger, the driving force for unification grow more powerful, and conditions for peaceful unification advance more speedily.

The word "unification culture" incorporates preparations for unification along with the exerting of efforts to promote the possibility of unification. In other words, unification culture calls for the pooling of national wisdom for the productive linking of the past, present and future of our nation's history.

When, with the unfolding of the "second age of inter-Korean dialogue" in the offing, a unification culture is created through nationwide efforts, our unification policy could be all the more increased and the possibility of peaceful unification based on national reconciliation could grow further.

Part III

Progress of Inter-Korean Dialogue

1. Inter-Korean Economic Meeting

a. Resumption of Talks

To resume the Inter-Korean Economic Meeting which had been suspended due to the North's unilateral postponement of it twice, Kim Kihwan, the South's chief delegate to the meeting, sent a telephone message to North Korea on March 25, 1985, urging them to agree to the early holding of the second economic meeting.

Expressing regret over the failure to open the second meeting originally scheduled for December 5 last year and rescheduled for January 17 this year due to the North's unilateral postponement, the chief delegate suggested that the second Inter-Korean Economic Meeting be held on April 18, expressing the hope that "the economic talks will be reopened as soon as possible to arrange for exchanges and other forms of cooperation between South and North Korea, contributing eventually to national reconciliation and peaceful unification."

The full text of Chief Delegate Kim's message to Lee Sung-rok, the North's chief delegate, was as follows:

We have failed to open the second Inter-Korean Economic Meeting to date, four months after the first meeting was held on November 15 last year. I deeply regret that, due to your side's unilateral postponement, we have yet to hold the second meeting which was originally scheduled for December 5 last year and rescheduled for January 17 this year.

All our compatriots are now eager to see the Inter-Korean Economic Meeting reopened as soon as possible to arrange for exchanges and other forms of economic cooperation between South and North Korea, contributing

eventually to national reconciliation and peaceful unification.

Though there were some differences, the ideas of trade and economic cooperation produced by both sides at the first meeting had many areas in common. I believe that we will be able to produce better results if we dedicate ourselves to finding a wider range of commonality in the future.

Since winter is over and spring has come, our talks to promote economic exchanges and cooperation between our two sides, should also come to efflorescence.

In this expectation, I propose that the second Inter-Korean Economic Meeting be held at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at 10 a.m. April 18. I look forward to your affirmative response.

Meanwhile, North Korea, in an April 4 message to the South which was signed by Lee Sung-rok, agreed to resume the economic talks, but counterproposed that the meeting be held on May 17.

The South accepted the North Korean counterproposal, thus setting the stage for the second Inter-Korean Economic Meeting at Panmunjom on May 17.

b. Progress

(1) Second Meeting

The second Inter-Korean Economic Meeting, designed to discuss inter-Korean trade and economic cooperation, was held at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission for two hours and three minutes beginning at 10 a.m. May 17, 1985, six months after the first meeting was held.

A seven-man delegation from each side attended the meeting. Except for one member from each side, the delegates were the same as at the first meeting. Im In-taek, Second Assistant Minister of Trade and Industry, was newly named as a member of the South's delegation in place of Cha Sang-pil, while Han Yong-up, executive member of the Chosun International Trade Promotion Committee, replaced Paek Jun-hyok as a member of the North Korean delegation.

The second meeting failed to register any substantial progress. The timing of the third meeting was the only thing agreed on. The North Koreans, while refusing to discuss even those matters on which the two sides had almost agreed to at the first meeting, raised the idea of establishing a South-North Joint Economic Cooperation Committee headed by a deputy premier-level official from each side, insisting that the second meeting should discuss none but the creation of the proposed committee.

In his first speech at the second meeting, the South's chief delegate Kim Kihwan expressed regret over the twice postponements of the second meeting, and stressed that such should not be repeated ever again.

Pointing out that as a matter of course the topics of the meeting should first be determined and then a discussion of the issues entered into, the chief delegate suggested that the topic should be the "question of implementing trade and economic cooperation between the South and the North" as almost agreed on at the first meeting.

Chief delegate Kim said the two sides ought to reaffirm the ideas they had in common among their suggestions advanced at the first meeting and then formally agree on such matters through sincere discussions.

He then suggested that the two sides promptly enter into

trade of those items both sides virtually agreed on, which included iron ore, coal, magnesia clinker, corn, pollacks, iron and steel products and textiles. Expressing the hope that inter-Korean trade would begin within this year, chief delegate Kim said that as a measure to advance the realization of trade, the South was willing to purchase 300,000 tons of briquette coal from the North immediately.

Kim also noted that the issue of linking the Seoul-Shinuiju Railroad Line was almost agreed on at the first meeting as both sides raised the idea. He then proposed that contacts between working-level railroad officials of the two sides be held within the following month to discuss technical problems related to the linking of the railroad.

The contents of the suggestion the South's delegation made at the second meeting with respect to the implementation of the trade of materials and other forms of economic cooperation were as follows:

Now, of the ideas advanced by both sides at the previous meeting, I shall mention those issues which need to be discussed first today.

First, it would be good to implement trade promptly on those items on which the two sides have reached an accord. Hoping that inter-Korean trade will begin within this year, our side, as a measure to advance the realization of trade, proposes to purchase 300,000 tons of briquette coal from your side immediately.

If the two sides were to mutually change their opinions, the tradable items could be increased from those on which we have already reached an accord. For example, of the items your side desired to purchase, we can offer fishery products from the southern coastal sea such as laver, brown seaweed and anchovies; local specialties like salt and

tangerines; and various industrial products. Your side, too, could offer additional raw materials and farm and fishery products to our side.

Next, I shall give our side's opinion as to the method of trade.

I would like to know a little further whether the method of trade your side suggested, that is, exchanges in the form of raw materials for raw materials, finished products for finished products and farm and fishery goods for farm and fishery goods, is absolute or is there some room to accommodate other methods of trade.

In our view, if materials were traded under the method your side suggested, it would result in the extreme restriction of tradable items, and would, in the long-run, entail considerable difficulties in expanding trade.

It would be good to implement compensation trade incorporating various items without distinguishing raw materials, finished goods or farm and fishery products. And, depending on the expansion of trade, it could be gradually developed into the method of settlement agreement.

I believe that it would be reasonable to implement the trade of materials by concluding an inter-Korean trade agreement based on the ten-point idea of trade, involving the afore-mentioned issues our side suggested. I would like to know your side's opinion of this.

The issue of linking a railroad, which was raised by both sides, was mutually agreed on. Therefore, it would be good to begin preparing it now so that railroad transport would be available when trade begins between the South and the North.

Hoping that the Seoul-Shinuiju Line will be linked within the year, I propose that contacts between working-level railroad officials of the two sides be held within the

next month to discuss technical problems related to the linking of the railroad.

And, as to the question of opening ports, we can open Inchon and Pohang Ports to your side, and your side could open Nampo and Wonsan to us when trade is actually initiated.

However, to ensure economic efficiency in loading and unloading, it is only reasonable that the party doing the selling designate the loading place and the party doing the purchasing the unloading place on a case-by-case basis. Therefore the two sides could open more harbors in addition to the four if it is considered convenient and agreed on.

Second, there needs to be some adjustment of opinions with regard to the two areas of economic cooperation, of which necessity has already been recognized by both sides. We would need to have concrete discussions about this.

At the last meeting, your side, while raising the "issue of utilizing each other's coal and other mines with one's own efforts and facilities," suggested that your side provide our side with iron and coal while our side offer tungsten and molybdenum to your side. However, as your side well knows, your side has more tungsten deposits than our side, and the deposits of our side's molybdenum mines are limited and not large enough to be explored jointly with your side. Therefore, our side can offer your side kaoline and silica mines instead, whose quality is outstanding and among the world's best and whose deposits are so abundant that they could be shared with your side. I believe that this issue can be resolved easily if your side accepts this counter-proposal of our side.

Concerning the issue of establishing joint fishery zones for the fishermen of the South and the North, I believe we can expect good results if the two sides come up with some good ideas and discuss them in a positive way. Since this

would first require various technical review, it would also be good to discuss this issue through contacts between working-level officials of the two sides.

Third, the question of establishing an Inter-Korean Economic Cooperation Committee, too, can be satisfactorily agreed on if the two sides can come up with reasonable ideas and, based thereon, can adjust their opinions.

Last, I shall discuss our side's position regarding the issues of "reclaiming tidal lands along the west coast" and "linking irrigation networks" which your side proposed at the last meeting.

I think that given our side's level of expertise and experience, such projects as the reclamation of tidal lands and linking of irrigation networks are not worth undertaking in joint projects between the South and the North. Our side is quite capable of reclaiming tidal lands with our own ability. We have much experience in the reclamation of tidal lands at home and abroad, and maintain able professional technicians trained to the international standard and lots of equipment.

As your side knows, our side is engaged in civil engineering projects in many countries, earning universal recognition of our technology and ability. Currently we are successfully reclaiming shore land in Singapore and carrying out large-scale irrigation projects in the Middle East and Libya.

And, concerning the question of linking the irrigation networks cut off by the Military Demarcation Line, we have already resolved the irrigation problem with various irrigation projects.

On the other hand, the North Korean delegation, contending that some basic measures should be taken to resolve problems substantially, demanded from the outset the creation of a South-North Joint Economic Cooperation Committee head-

ed by a deputy premier-level official from each side as an exclusive body for the discussion and resolution of matters related to economic cooperation and exchanges between the two sides.

The North Koreans refused to discuss issues other than the creation of a joint body despite the South's compromising suggestion that, since it would review the North Korean offer and disclose its response there to at the following meeting, the second meeting should discuss the issue of topics and other items the two sides had already raised. However, the north Korean delegation stuck to their contention, thus indicating that they were not interested in any substantial debate of the issue of implementing trade and other economic exchanges between the two sides of Korea.

Details of the formation and operation of the joint committee North Korea suggested at the second meeting were as follows:

- Formation and Organization
 - One chairman (deputy prime minister) and one vice chairman (minister-level), seven members (minister- or vice minister-level), and a chief secretary (vice minister-level)
 - Creation of seven sub-committees (each consisting of five members): resources development, industry-technology, agriculture, fishery, commodity exchange, transportation-communication, monetary — financing.
- Function
 - Discussing and determining the scope and size of economic cooperation and exchanges, determining the basic form and method of cooperation and exchanges, and discussing uniform plans for cooperation and exchanges.
 - Guaranteeing the implementation of matters of mutual

agreement and determination, and discussing and mediating disputes between the two sides.

— Guiding sub-committees and discussing and resolving other matters.

- Operation

— The Joint Committee shall meet every quarter in P'yongyang and Seoul by turn, and sub-committees shall meet at any time of mutual agreement. The first meeting of the Joint Committee shall be held in September in P'yongyang.

— Detailed operating procedures of the Joint Committee shall be discussed and adopted separately.

The two sides decided at the second meeting to hold the third Inter-Korean Economic Meeting at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at P'anmunjom on June 20, 1985.

(2) Third Meeting

The third Inter-Korean Economic Meeting was held behind closed doors at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission for one hour and 37 minutes beginning at 10 a.m. June 20, 1985.

In his first speech, the South's chief delegate Kim Kihwan, pointing out that there were many items in common among the ideas advanced by the two sides at the first and second meetings, said that the two sides should reaffirm and adopt such common items at the third meeting. He also produced a draft agreement on the implementation of trade and economic cooperation and the establishment of the South-North Joint Economic Cooperation Committee between the South and the North.

The draft agreement incorporated general aspects relating

to the implementation of trade and economic cooperation based on the suggestions the two sides made at the first and second meetings. It also envisaged concrete ideas as to the formation, function and operation of the Joint Economic Cooperation Committee.

As for its formation, in particular, the South suggested that the Joint Committee be composed of a deputy premier-level co-chairman, one minister-level vice chairman, and five members from government authorities and economic circles from each side. It also said that under the Joint Committee, two sub-committees — one for commodity trade and another for economic cooperation — and, if necessary, other ad hoc committees and small sub-committees could be created. The draft agreement further proposed the creation of a joint secretariat under the Joint Committee for the effective execution of programs.

The draft agreement of the South, which, if adopted, would successfully conclude the economic talks, incorporated even the position of North Korea as revealed at the second meeting.

The difference showed at the third meeting was that the South proposed to discuss and adopt those items the two sides suggested in common and the proposed creation of Joint Committee on a package basis, whereas the North wanted only to adopt an agreement on the establishment of the Joint Committee.

In the end, however, North Korea, apparently worried about being possibly censured for their narrowmindedness and irrationality, agreed to discuss and adopt at a future meeting an agreement on the implementation of trade and economic operation and the establishment of a South-North Joint Economic Cooperation Committee.

The two sides agreed to review each other's draft agreement and to have concrete discussions of this matter at the fourth meeting. The text of the draft Agreement on the Implementation of Trade and Economic Cooperation and the Establishment of the South-North Joint Economic Cooperation Committee put forth by the Republic of Korea delegation was as follows:

Draft Agreement on the Implementation of Trade and Economic Cooperation and the Establishment of the South-North Joint Economic Cooperation Committee Between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

The Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, (hereinafter referred to as "the Contracting Parties"),

Recognizing that the implementation of direct trade and economic cooperation will contribute to the prosperity and welfare of our peoples, and the peaceful reunification of our nation,

Being assured that trade and economic cooperation shall be implemented in good faith and with sincerity,

Have agreed as follows on the implementation of trade and economic cooperation and the establishment of the South-North Joint Economic Cooperation Committee:

Article 1

The Contracting Parties shall take all necessary and appropriate measures to implement and expand trade and economic cooperation effectively between the Contracting Parties.

Article 2

The Contracting Parties shall designate, for each commodity and project, appropriate trade organizations, corporations, associations, or other authorities (hereinafter referred to as "the designated parties") to participate in commodity trade and economic cooperation projects.

Article 3

Trade between the Contracting Parties shall be implemented according to the following guidelines except in cases where the Contracting Parties agree on a different procedure.

1. The Contracting Parties shall start trade with the commodities specified below and will expand trade to other commodities by common consent.

a) Commodities to be sold by the South: iron products, textiles, salt, tangerines, and such South Sea marine products as green seaweed, brown seaweed, oyster, and anchovy.

b) Commodities to be sold by the North: anthracite coal, iron ore, magnesia clinker, pollack, and corn.

2. The amount and volume of trade shall be decided through consultations of the designated parties concerned, considering the supply and demand of the commodity.

3. The price of the commodity shall be decided by the designated parties concerned, considering international market prices.

4. The Contracting Parties shall conduct trade by means of Back-to-Back Letters of Credit issued from third country banks. However, in cases where the amount and value of commodities to be traded is the same, the Contracting Parties may conduct trade by means of barter trade without the exchange of Letters of Credit or notes.

5. A third country bank, to be agreed upon by the Con-

tracting Parties, shall settle the accounts for the Letters of Credit.

6. The currencies for settlement shall be the British Pound and the Swiss Franc.

7. The Contracting Parties shall not impose the customs or similar charges which they impose on imports from other countries, on the commodities they purchase from the other Contracting Party.

8. As for customs procedures, inspections, dispute settlement, etc. in connection with commodity trade between the Contracting Parties, the Contracting Parties shall apply the same regulations which they use for normal external trade.

Article 4

The Contracting Parties shall reconnect the Kyong-Ui Railway to facilitate transport of commodities for trade.

Article 5

The mode of transportation for commodities shall be determined through consultations of the designated parties, considering the character, weight, etc., of the commodities involved and the costs of transport.

In cases of marine transport, the Contracting Parties shall guarantee to extend the most favorable treatment to the transport ships of the other Contracting Party regarding entry, anchoring, unloading and loading, departure, etc., and to handle all procedures promptly.

Article 6

The Contracting Parties shall implement joint economic projects to promote the common prosperity of our peoples.

The Contracting Parties shall start joint economic projects in the-areas specified below and expand projects into

other areas by common consent.

- a) The establishment of Joint Fishing Areas.
- b) The Joint Development of Natural Resources.

Article 7

The scale, method, condition, timing, etc., for the implementation of the joint projects shall be determined through consultations of the designated parties concerned.

Article 8

The Contracting Parties may, if agreed upon, extend exemption or reduction of income tax, corporation tax, property tax, customs, and other taxes for the designated parties concerned of the other Contracting Party when the designated parties concerned are operating in their territories.

Article 9

The Contracting Parties shall open the ports of Inchon and Pohang in the South, and Nampo and Wonsan in the North in order to facilitate marine transport for commodity trade and joint economic projects. In addition, as trade and cooperation continue to expand, other ports may be opened as agreed upon.

Article 10

The Contracting Parties shall establish communication facilities necessary for trade and joint economic projects, and these facilities may be expanded as agreed upon.

Article 11

The Contracting Parties shall permit the designated parties concerned of the other Contracting Party to visit their territories or territorial waters in order to conduct advance inspections for commodity trade, feasibility studies for joint

projects, and related activities.

Article 12

The Contracting Parties shall guarantee the visits and safety of the persons concerned with trade and economic cooperation (hereinafter referred to as “the persons concerned”) of the other Contracting Party and assist them as much as possible with traffic, communications, lodging and boarding, medical care, etc.

Article 13

The Contracting Parties shall take prompt and effective relief measures for physical injuries incurred by the persons concerned of the other Contracting Party and notify the other Contracting Party without delay of the details of the situation.

Article 14

The Contracting Parties shall, within thirty days after the signing of the Agreement, establish and operate the South-North Joint Economic Cooperation Committee (hereinafter referred to as “the Joint Committee”), chaired by representatives at the Deputy Prime Minister level appointed by each Contracting Party. The Joint Committee shall meet in order to fulfill this Agreement, to discuss and decide on the methods for developing commodity trade and joint economic projects, and to insure the implementation of all decisions.

Article 15

The organization of the Joint Committee and supporting bodies shall be as follows:

1. The Joint Committee shall consist of seven members from each Contracting Party: one Chairman at the Deputy

Prime Minister level; one Vice Chairman at the Ministerial level; and five other members at the Ministerial or Vice Ministerial level appointed from the government or private sector.

2. To support the Joint Committee, the Contracting Parties shall establish two Sub-committees under the Joint Committee; the Sub-committee for Commodity Trade and the Sub-committee for Economic Cooperation (hereinafter referred to as “the Sub-committees”). The Contracting Parties may, however, set up other ad hoc Sub-committees by common consent when necessary. In addition, the Contracting Parties may set up small sub-committees for the efficient operation of the Joint Committee or the Sub-committees.

3. The Sub-committees shall consist of five members from each Contracting Party: one Chairman appointed by the respective Chairman of the Joint Committee from the Joint Committee members; and four other members at the Director General level appointed from the government or private sector.

4. The Contracting Parties shall establish the Joint Secretariat in order to provide the Joint Committee and the Sub-committees with administrative assistance. The Secretariat shall be located in Panmunjom. The respective Chairmen of the Joint Committee shall each appoint one Secretary General from the members of the Joint Committee to head the Joint Secretariat. The Contracting Parties shall agree upon the number of officials or experts, to be appointed by each Contracting Party, who will serve in the Secretariat.

Article 16

The function of the Joint Committee shall be as follows:

1. The Joint Committee shall fulfill in good faith this Agreement on commodity trade and joint economic projects

between the Contracting Parties.

2. The Joint Committee shall discuss and determine the methods for developing commodity trade and joint economic projects, insure the implementation of all decisions, and make other necessary agreements.

3. The Joint Committee shall discuss and coordinate the problems arising from the implementation of this Agreement.

4. The Joint Committee shall take all necessary administrative measures to insure the safety of transported commodities and the persons concerned in the course of the implementation of commodity trade and joint economic projects between the Contracting Parties.

5. The Joint Committee shall promote and encourage the mutual exchange of persons, trade fairs, shows, information, materials, etc.

6. The Joint Committee shall discuss and determine other necessary measures to promote commodity trade and joint economic projects between the Contracting Parties.

Article 17

The functions of the Sub-committees shall be as follows:

1. The Sub-committees shall discuss and determine concrete methods for the implementation of measures agreed to or mandated by the Joint Committee and insure their implementation.

2. The Sub-committees shall work out the details for implementing commodity trade and economic cooperation, draft the necessary agreements, and submit them to the Joint Committee.

3. The Sub-committees shall discuss and settle problems arising in their areas and present them, if necessary, to the Joint Committee.

Article 18

The function of the Joint Secretariat shall be as follows:

1. The Joint Secretariat shall provide all necessary administrative assistance to the Joint Committee and the Sub-committees in the form of arranging committee meetings, preparing the place and agendas for meetings, and recording.
2. The Joint Secretariat shall establish and manage the Joint Goods Exchange Office for the exchange of samples, material, and letters related to commodity trade and joint economic projects.
3. The Joint Secretariat shall provide all communication services and administrative assistance related to the transport of commodities and the visit to the persons concerned.

Article 19

The Joint Committee and the Sub-committees shall operate as follows:

1. The meetings of the Joint Committee and the Sub-committees shall be held at Panmunjom, and may be held in Seoul and Pyongyang as agreed upon by the Chairmen.
2. As a general rule, the regular meetings of the Joint Committee shall be held every three months and the meetings of the Sub-committees shall be held whenever deemed necessary by the Chairmen.
3. All the meetings of the Joint Committee and the Sub-committees in principle shall not be open to the public. Meetings, however, may be opened to the public when agreed to by the Chairmen.
4. The designated parties concerned and the members of the Joint Secretariat may observe the meetings of the Joint Committee and the Sub-committees.
5. Other matters necessary for the operation of the Joint

Committee shall be determined separately through consultations between the Contracting Parties.

Article 20

The Joint Secretariat shall be established and shall operate as follows:

1. The Contracting Parties shall establish the Joint Secretariat within thirty days after the signing of this Agreement.

2. The Contracting Parties shall arrange for Freedom House and Panmungak respectively to be used temporarily by the Secretariat until construction of the Joint Secretariat building in Panmunjom is completed.

3. The Contracting Parties shall share the costs for the construction of the Secretariat building and the operation of the Secretariat on an equal basis.

Article 21

This Agreement may be amended or supplemented by common consent of the Contracting Parties.

Article 22

This Agreement shall be valid for a period of five years, from the date of its entering into force. Upon the expiration of the said period, its validity shall be automatically extended for a further period of five years, unless either of the Contracting Parties declares in writing its intention to terminate this Agreement one year prior to its expiration.

Article 23

This Agreement shall enter into force on the date when it is signed and authentic texts are exchanged.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned, duly

authorized by the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, have signed and exchanged the present Agreement.

Done at Panmunjon on _____, 1985, in duplicate in the Korean language, both texts being equally authentic.

For the Government of
the Republic of Korea

For the Government of
the Democratic People's
Republic of Korea

/Sgd/ Kim Kihwan

/Sgd/ Lee Sung Rok

As to the South's proposal to purchase 300,000 tons of briquette coal from the North and hold working-level contacts to discuss the linking of the Seoul-Shinuiju Railroad Line, the North Koreans said that since these matters were in principle agreed on, they could be resolved if the relevant sub-committees to be formed would put a final seal on them, thus showing no interest in their immediate implementation.

The two sides decided to hold the fourth meeting at 10 a.m. September 18 at P'anmunjom.

c. Reactions at Home and Abroad

On the eve of the second Inter-Korean Economic Meeting of May 17, 1985, major domestic newspapers showed in editorials and commentaries their exceptional interest in the progress of the economic talks, expressing the hope that the meeting would be productive so that it could serve to provide a breakthrough in the strained inter-Korean relations.

As the meeting failed to produce any tangible results, ex-

cept for an agreement on the time of the third meeting, the media did not conceal their disappointment, saying that the North's far-fetched demand and obstinacy had resulted in shattering their expectations. The press feared that P'yongyang's sudden aboutface might have stemmed from their scheme to scale down or render powerless the present working-level talks.

Observing that North Korea's policy change could mean that no agreement had yet been reached between their factions for and against inter-Korean exchanges, the newspapers predicted that no substantial progress could be expected unless P'yongyang's stand is basically moderated. Nevertheless, the newspapers said, the South should try to carry on the dialogue with patience and should be careful in its approach to the dialogue lest advocates of openness in P'yongyang be driven into a corner.

Also observing that the draft Agreement on the Implementation of Trade and Economic Cooperation and the Establishment of the South-North Joint Economic Cooperation Committee represented the broad-mindedness and magnanimity of the South as it incorporated even the position of North Korea, the media said the North's agreement to review and adopt the proposed agreement represented remarkable progress in the inter-Korean dialogue.

Foreign press media, too, welcomed the resumed inter-Korean economic talks, expressing the hope that economic exchanges will be implemented between the two sides of Korea to serve as a stimulant to the realization of unification. The foreign press observed that the South's acceptance of the North Korean idea of the creation of a Joint Committee, as embodied in Seoul's draft Agreement, must have caught the North Koreans by surprise.

2. Eighth Full-Dress Red Cross Meeting

a. Background

On March 25, 1985, Yoo Chang-soon, president of the Republic of Korea National Red Cross (ROKNRC), sent a telephone message to Son Sung-pil, chairman of the Central Committee of the North Korean Red Cross (NKRC), again urging him to agree to the early holding of the eighth full-dress Red Cross talks. The message came after the NKRC unilaterally postponed the eighth full-dress meeting, which had been scheduled to meet in Seoul January 22, 1985, with the excuse of the South's annual military exercise, Team Spirit '85, and had thereafter rejected the repeated call of the South for the resuming of the Red Cross talks.

Stressing that the South-North Red Cross Conference cannot be delayed any longer for any reason or excuse, Yoo suggested in the message that the eighth full-dress Red Cross meeting be held at 10 a.m. May 15, 1985 in Seoul with the North Korean delegation's stay in Seoul beginning on May 14 and lasting until May 17.

The full text of ROKNRC President Yoo's message to the NKRC was as follows:

I regret that the eight full-dress meeting of the South-North Red Cross Conference, which we agreed to open on January 23 this year, has not been held for two months because of your unilateral postponement. All 60 million Koreans were greatly disappointed by the postponement of the talks which were to be reopened after a 12-year suspension.

It is one of the most important tasks for those of us engaged in Red Cross activities to find the families and relatives separated in the South and the North and to arrange for their reunion. Thus, the South-North Red Cross Conference should not be delayed for any reason or excuse.

For this reason, I propose to hold the eighth full-dress meeting of the South-North Red Cross Conference at 10 a.m. May 15, 1985 in Seoul, with your stay in Seoul beginning on May 14 and lasting for four days until May 17.

As the host of the eighth full-dress South-North Red Cross meeting, I hope to hear from you concerning the meeting at least one month before its opening so that we can prepare for your delegation's stay in Seoul and make other necessary arrangements for the conference.

Unable to turn a deaf ear to the consistent call of the South for the resumption of the Red Cross talks, North Korea, in a telephone message dated April 4, 1985 and signed by Son Sung-pil, the North's Red Cross Central Committee chairman, agreed to hold the eighth full-dress meeting as proposed by the South, but counter-proposed that it be opened on May 28.

On the same day, April 4, the ROKNRC accepted the North's counterproposal, thus setting the stage for the eighth full-dress meeting of the South-North Red Cross Conference in Seoul May 27-30.

Prior to the opening of the eighth full-dress meeting, the two sides held liaison officers contacts three times — May 20, May 23 and May 25 — to discuss procedural matters related to the Seoul meeting and to exchange lists of delegation members. The lists of the two delegations were as follows:

ROKNRC Delegation

— Delegates —

Chief delegate: Lee Yung-dug, ROKNRC vice president

Delegate: Cho Chul-hwa, ROKNRC secretary general

Delegate: Song Yong-dae, member of ROKNRC Disaster Relief Consultative Committee

Delegate: Lee Byung-ho, member of the ROKNRC Public Relations Advisory Committee

Delegate: Chung Hyong-sok, member of the ROKNRC Youth Advisory Committee

Delegate: Lee Jun-hee, member of the ROKNRC Social Services Advisory Committee

Delegate: Lee Byung-woong, director of the ROKNRC General Affairs Department

— Consultants —

Cho Duk-song, editorial writer of the Chosun Ilbo

Kim Dong-hwan, lawyer and director of the Committee for Promotion of Reunion between 10 Million Separated Family Members

Lee Kyung-suk, professor of Sukmyung Women's University

Chung Si-song, member of the ROKNRC Dialogue Operations Committee

Ahn Byung-jun, professor of Yonsei University

Lee Sang-woo, professor of Sokang University

Han Sung-joo, professor of Korea University

KNRC Delegation

— Delegates —

Chief delegate: Li Jong-ryul, vice chairman of the KNRC Central Committee

Deputy chief delegate: So Song-chol, executive member of the NKRC Central Committee

Delegate: Han Yon-su, executive member of the NKRC Central Committee

Delegate: Pak Yong-su, director of the NKRC Central Committee's Compatriots Programs Department

Delegate: Kim Wan-su, director of the NKRC Central Committee's Culture and Propaganda Department

Delegate: Pak Dong-chun, deputy director of the NKRC Central Committee's International Department

Delegate: Kim Chang-hyun, deputy director of the NKRC Central Committee's Organization and Planning Department

— **Consultants** —

Kang Sok-sung, member and department director of the Workers' Party Central Committee

Kim Sok-jun, vice chairman of the Social Democratic Party Central Committee

Choe Hui-jun, vice chairman of the Chongdokyong-Chongwu Party Central Committee

Im Chun-gil, vice chairman of the Committee for Peaceful Unification of the Homeland

Kim Yong-nam, vice chairman of the General League of Professions

Kim Chang-ryong, vice chairman of the Central Committee, Socialist Working Youth League

Park Chae-ro, vice chairman of the Chosoren Central Committee

Earlier on May 18, the government of the Republic of Korea issued a statement in which Minister of Home Affairs Chung Sok-mo issued an announcement guaranteeing the per-

sonal safety of the members of the North Korean delegation, attendants and press members during their stay in, and trips to and from, the South.

On the heels of these preparatory measures, the NKRC delegation, attendants and press members totaling 84 drove into Seoul by way of P'anmunjom on May 27, 1985 to hold the full-dress Red Cross meeting after a suspension of 12 years.

b. Progress

(1) First-Session

The first session of the eighth full-dress Red Cross meeting was held May 28, 1985 for one hour and 35 minutes from 10 a.m. at the first floor conference room of the Convention Center of the Sheraton Hotel in Seoul.

At the meeting, which began with an opening declaration by ROKNRC Chief Delegate Lee Yung-dug, the chief delegates of each side delivered a keynote speech. They were preceded by greeting by ROKNRC's Lee and NKRC Chief Delegate Li Jong-ryul and congratulatory speeches by NKRC Consultant Kang Sok-sung and ROKNRC Consultant Cho Duk-song.

In his keynote speech, ROKNRC Chief Delegate Lee stressed that the objective of the South-North Red Cross Conference is to reunite the families and relatives dispersed in the South and the North at an early date and, in such a way, foster an atmosphere for national reconciliation and contribute ultimately to the peaceful unification of the homeland. He then reaffirmed the topics of the full-dress meetings, the principles to apply to the discussion of the topics, and the

issue of establishing project offices, which already been agreed on between the two sides through the preliminary contacts, in the following way.

1) Five-point Agenda

— The question of ascertaining, and notifying thereof, the whereabouts and fate of the dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North.

— The question of facilitating free mutual visits and free meetings among the dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North.

— The question of facilitating free mail exchange between the dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North.

— The question of facilitating reunions of dispersed families according to their free individual wishes.

— Other humanitarian problems to be settled.

2) Principles of Discussion of Agenda

— Exertion of efforts to dissipate the suffering of dispersed persons and prepare the way for unification based on the spirit of the 1972 South-North Joint Communique providing for the principles of independence, peaceful unification and a grand national unity, and on the Red Cross principles.

— Adherence to the principles of democracy and freedom, the spirit of the Joint Communique, brotherly love and the Red Cross spirit of humanitarianism in solving the problems envisaged in the agenda topics.

3) Project Offices

— Establishment of a South-North Red Cross Joint Committee and a Joint South-North Red Cross P'anmunjom Project Office.

Pointing out that “the important task we are now en-

trusted with is to concretely discuss and resolve the agenda topics one by one and implement agreed-on projects promptly," the ROKNRC chief delegate also explained the ROKNRC position with respect to the discussion of the five agenda as follows:

The first of the agenda is the "question of ascertaining, and notifying thereof, the whereabouts and fate of the dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North."

To do this, we believe it would be best to exchange letters of inquiry and replies between the two Red Cross societies in accordance with the practices of the International Red Cross tracing service.

The second topic, the "question of facilitating free mutual visits and free meetings among the dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North," could be resolved by fixing, in principle, the duration, frequency and places of such visits and meetings in utmost deference to the free wishes of the persons involved.

As for visits, it would be good to exchange large groups of visitors accompanied by adequate numbers of press members, whose freedom to report would be guaranteed, since huge numbers of would-be visitors are expected to turn out at the same time in the initial stage.

For meetings, measures should be taken to establish a center at P'anmunjom or to allow the people involved to meet at places they consider convenient.

As for the third topic, the "question of facilitating free mail exchange between the dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North," correspondence should be made in letters, postcards, or whatever form is most conve-

nient to the people involved. The use of such communication means as telephone and telegraph should also be made possible.

The freedom of communication should be thoroughly guaranteed, and delivery service should be made speedily. When the "Joint South-North Red Cross P'anmunjom Project Office," the establishment of which was agreed on at the fourth full-dress meeting, is set up, it would be good to have the Office execute a postal exchange service between the South and the North.

Regarding the fourth topic, the "question of facilitating reunions of dispersed families according to their free individual wishes," we should see to it that even before unification, the families dispersed in the South and the North are able to reunite and settle down together at places of their own choosing.

The fifth topic may include, through mutual discussion, humanitarian programs related to the issue of dispersed families, which are not contained in topics one through four. For example, the repatriation of relics and remains of dead relatives, the relocation of tombs, etc., could be included.

ROKNRC Chief Delegate Lee then expressed the hope that the two sides would, at an early date, discuss and determine ways to implement the five topics and would be able to inaugurate the "South-North Red Cross Joint Committee" and the "South-North Red Cross P'anmunjom Joint Project Office," which were agreed on at the fourth full-dress meeting as project implementation organization, and embark on the project to search for dispersed families by August 15, 1985 at the latest.

Lee also suggested that even before a method of imple-

menting the five topics is agreed on, a “Dispersed Families Hometown Visiting Group” of a substantial size be exchanged on August 15 as a step to expedite the dispersed family search project.

On the other hand, the NKRC chief delegate suggested that the five agenda topics already agreed on between the two sides be discussed on a package basis, insisting that “a fresh method should be employed in place of the old-fashioned means of the past” in order to ease the pains of the dispersed families and relatives at an early date.

The North Korean side, arguing that if only free visits were facilitated other humanitarian issues would be resolved of themselves, asserted that the issue of free visits, which they said is most essential in resolving the five agenda on a package basis, should be discussed before any other issues. The NKRC delegation then set forth details about the procedures, scope, conveniences and the guarantee of personal safety related to such free visits.

The NKRC delegation also proposed that in August 1985, which marks the 40th anniversary of national liberation, an art troupe of about 100 members personally led by the Red Cross president of each side be exchanged between the two sides to stage “congratulatory performances” comprising mostly traditional songs and dances to foster a “festive mood” for the Red Cross talks.

In short, the ROKNRC called for the discussion of the five agenda one by one based on the project principles the two sides had already agreed on and the NKRC demanded the discussion of the agenda on a package basis and also the initial discussion of the issue of free visits regardless of already agreed matters, contending that if only free visits were realized, other issues could be resolved by themselves. This North

Korean contention was tantamount to demanding the adoption of the issue of free visits as the sole agenda in place of the already agreed on five agenda topics.

The first session ended without any substantial discussions after the conflicting stands were advanced by the two sides.

The details the NKRC suggested regarding their idea of free visits were basically as follows:

1) Procedures for Free Visits

— Visitors shall produce the letters of credence issued by the Red Cross organizations.

— Visitors shall notify the persons and places to be visited one month before their departure.

— The destination of visitors shall be the places where their families or relatives lived at the time of separation. The destination may be changed if need arises.

— The period of stay in the other side shall be one month, but may be extended if need arises.

— The points of entry through the Military Demarcation Line shall be P'anmunjom and Chorwon. Such points may be increased through mutual agreement.

2) Visitor Eligibility

— Families shall mean the members of a family at the time of separation, and their children.

— Relatives shall include up to third cousins on the father's side and first cousins on the mother's side or the wife's.

— Other relatives specifically requested may be included.

3) Conveniences and Guarantees of Safety

— P'anmunjom and Chorwon joint project offices and a South-North Red Cross joint committee shall be established.

— Conveniences such as lodging and boarding, transporta-

tion and communications shall be guaranteed by the Red Cross organization of the other side.

— Should there be a need for emergency relief or medical care, the Red Cross organization of the other side shall offer it free of charge.

— Measures for personal safety shall be taken by the authorities of each side at the recommendation of the Red Cross organizations.

— Detailed discussions shall be made separately.

(2) Second Session

The second session of the eighth full-dress South-North Red Cross meeting was held from 10 a.m. to 12:10 p.m. May 29 at the same conference room at the Sheraton Hotel in Seoul.

At the meeting, which began with an opening declaration by ROKNRC Chief Delegate Lee Yung-dug, the two sides entered into a substantial discussion of the ideas the two sides advanced at the first session with respect to the issue of agenda topics and the method of project implementation.

In his first speech, the ROKNRC Chief Delegate pointed out that the ideas of both sides were not without differences but that they had many things in common. Touching on the question of free visits suggested by North Korea, Lee said that since the matter had already been agreed on and adopted as Agenda Topic No. 2, there was no need to discuss it again.

As to the North Korean contention that “free visits are pivotal to resolving the issue of dispersed families,” the ROKNRC Chief Delegate said the argument reminded him of the contention made by the NKRC at the third full-dress meeting that “the improvement of statutory conditions and social environment is prerequisite” to the discussion of the agenda topics. ROKNRC Chief Delegate Lee said that if their

idea of free visits was not motivated to produce such political prerequisites as in the past or to dispute the South's internal issues, the question could be agreed on at any time. He then challenged the North Koreans to make clear their true intention.

The ROKNRC also suggested that together with the exchange of art troupes the NKRC suggested, groups of dispersed families for hometown visits, accompanied by specific numbers of press members, be exchanged around August 15, 1985. It proposed that a working-level contact be held at P'anmunjom on July 15 to discuss the exchange.

The remarks ROKNRC Chief Delegate Lee made in his first speech at the second session were as follows:

At the first session yesterday, our two sides expressed in our respective greetings and keynote speeches the fresh determination to work to reunite the families and relatives dispersed in the South and the North at an early date and, in such a way, foster an atmosphere for national reconciliation between the two sides and contribute ultimately to the peaceful unification of the homeland.

And we put forth concrete ideas as to the question of the discussion of agenda topics and ways to implement the project. The ideas we have produced are not without differences. Still, I am satisfied to discover that we have many points in common regarding certain issues.

I believe that not only the dispersed families but all our brethren in the South and the North must have been satisfied with the progress of the meeting.

The items the two sides suggested in common through the keynote speeches and separate suggestions included:

First, as for the method of discussing the five agenda topics, our two sides neared an accord on the discussion and resolution of relevant projects on a package basis. We hope that the two sides will discuss the agenda topics freely

without any formality and restrictions so that all projects can be resolved before National Liberation Day, August 15.

Second, we believe that there is no objection to the point that the wishes of individuals must be respected to the most possible extent in all family search projects and that dispersed families must be assured personal safety and conveniences in the course of implementing the projects.

Third, we understand that our two sides reached the understanding that all family search projects should be carried out under the auspices of the South and North Korean Red cross societies in their respective areas and that, when cooperation is needed from the governments of both sides, proper steps shall be taken by way of the Red Cross of the two sides.

Next, as to the question of free visits your side advocates, it is an issue that has been discussed from the time of the preliminary Red Cross meetings in the early 1970s. In the course of preparing the five agenda topics through sincere discussions over a long period of time, the views of each side regarding this question have been duly incorporated in the topics.

Thus came about Topic No. 2, "The question of realizing free visits and free reunions between dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North."

As your side, too, well knows, the fact that Topic No. 2 has been adopted indicates in effect that the Red Cross societies of the South and the North have pledged to guarantee the free visits of dispersed families and relatives of the South and the North if and when they hope to make free visits or reunions. Therefore, guarantees of free travel back and forth by the families and relatives dispersed in the two sides have already been agreed on and do not need to be emphasized again.

But, what attracts our attention in your proposition is the assertion that the question of "free visits" is commonly linked to all other topics and is most preferential and central to easing the suffering of dispersed families. This demand

by your side reminds us of your contention made at the third full-dress meeting that the "improvement of statutory conditions and social improvement" in the South is prerequisite to the discussion of the agenda topics.

We believe that this issue can be agreed on at any time if this idea of free visits is not motivated by a desire to pose political prerequisites or to dispute our internal matters in this humanitarian project as your side did in the past.

I would like to know where your side stands on this question.

Lastly, I discussed at the first session yesterday our side's position that the methods for implementing the five agenda topics should be discussed and resolved at an early date so that the dispersed family search campaign could be launched by August 15 this year at the latest. I then proposed that the first dispersed family hometown visitors groups be exchanged mutually on August 15 this year.

Our proposal for the mutual exchange of groups of dispersed families for hometown visits is meant to expedite the dispersed family search project by translating part of the campaign into practice even before the method of implementing the five agenda topics is agreed on.

Your side, on the other hand, suggested at yesterday's first session that an art troupe of about 100 members led by the president of its side's Red Cross visit the other side in August this year to stage celebratory performances. Concerning the five agenda topics, your side asserted that "once free visits were implemented, other humanitarian issues would be resolved by themselves."

In consideration of your proposal, I believe it would be desirable to exchange art troupes together with groups of dispersed families of hometown visits our side has suggested.

In addition, I think it would be good for an appropriate number of press members to accompany the visiting groups. To discuss these matters, I propose that a working-level contact be held at P'anmunjom on this coming July 15.

Meanwhile, NKRC Chief Delegate Li Jong-ryul insisted that the five agenda topics should be discussed on a package basis in order to ease the pains of dispersed families and relatives as soon as possible. He repeatedly called for an agreement on “free visits,” contending that such “free visits” are commonly related to the five agenda topics and are most preferential and pivotal to alleviating the pains of separated families and relatives.

In response, ROKNRC Chief Delegate Lee said that though free visits are obviously of a spirit that can be universally applied to the realization of the projects of the five agenda topics, free visits alone cannot be a preferential and pivotal condition to resolving the humanitarian project. The ROKNRC Chief Delegate made it clear, however, that there can be no objection to the issue of free visits if the North does not exploit it for political purposes.

Recalling that the discussion of agenda topics hit a deadlock and the full-dress meeting was suspended for 12 years after the North argued that the South’s statutory conditions and social environment stood in the way of free visits, the ROKNRC delegation expressed the hope that the past insincere attitude of the North, by which they shunned the humanitarian project with the excuse of some internal issues of the South, would not be repeated again. The North Korean side insisted that there still is no change in their position that it was reasonable for them to raise the issue in the early 1970s.

As to the ROKNRC proposal for an exchange of both hometown visiting groups and art troupes, the NKRC at first insisted that art troupes are one thing and hometown visiting groups another and that once “free visits” are implemented, the issue of hometown visiting would be resolved of itself and thus rejected the offer. A while later, however, they abruptly

made an aboutface. Agreeing to the ROKNRC proposal, they suggested that a working-level delegates' contact be held within the day to discuss the issue.

Here, the ROKNRC delegation, seeing no chance for constructive talks of the five agenda topics in view of the NKRC attitude, decided to shelve the agenda issue until the 9th full-dress meeting and instead discuss procedural matters related to the question of the exchange of both hometown visiting groups and art troupes at a separate working-level meeting. The two sessions of the eighth full-dress South-North Red Cross meeting thus came to a close. The two sides agreed to hold the ninth full-dress meeting on August 27, 1985 in P'yongyang.

(3) Working-Level Contact

As agreed at the second session of the eighth full-dress meeting, the two sides held two rounds of working-level contacts on the evening of May 29 and the following morning.

At the contacts, which were held behind closed doors with the participation of two delegates from each side, the two sides agreed to exchange groups of dispersed families for hometown visit and art troupes between the two sides around August 15, 1985. To discuss concrete procedural matters, they decided to hold a working-level delegates' contact at P'anmunjom on July 15. Agreed matters reached at the May 29-30 contact as announced by ROKNRC Spokesman Song Yong-dae were as follows:

- 1) *The two sides agreed to promote an exchange of hometown visiting groups and art troupes around the time of the 40th anniversary of national liberation on August 15, 1985. To discuss concrete matters such as procedures, the*

size of visiting groups and the period of stay, a working-level delegates' contact will be held at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at 10 a.m. July 15.

2) The working-level contact shall be attended by three delegates and three attendants from each side.

3) The time of the 10th full-dress meeting of the South-North Red Cross Conference will also be discussed at the working-level contact.

4) The workig-level contact shall be held behind the closed doors.

c. Achievements

Resumption of Talks after a 12-year Suspension

The eighth full-dress Red Cross meeting held in Seoul May 27-30, 1985 was highly significant in that the talks were resumed after a 12-year suspension following the seventh full-dress meeting held in P'yongyang in July 1973.

The talks, which, transcending the differences in thought, ideologies and systems, are designed to ease the suffering of the 10 million family members dispersed in the South and the North, constituted one of the first steps toward overcoming the state of division and confrontation and promoting national trust and reconciliation.

Resumption of Exchanges

Since last year, North Korea has agreed to a series of contacts at P'anmunjom, which included a sports meeting, a Red Cross working-level contact on the delivery and receipt of materials for flood victims, economic meetings and

a preliminary contact for the resumption of full-dress talks. The resumption of the full-dress meeting, held with 84 delegates and press members traveling back and forth between Seoul and P'yongyang, itself was a sort of limited personnel exchange.

**Agreement on Exchange
of Home-Town Visiting
Groups and Art
Troupes**

The South had proposed the exchange of visitors, the prior realization of reunions between aged parents and their children, etc. in the past as a practical means to promote the dispersed family search project. But, the South newly proposed an exchange of larger groups of separated families for hometown visits around August 15, 1985 as the resumption of the full-dress Red Cross meeting after a 12-year suspension attracted the fresh expectations of separated families.

North Korea responded to the offer with their own idea of an exchange of art troupes which, in fact, had nothing to do with the dispersed family search project. Still, the South, accommodating the North Korean offer, suggested the simultaneous exchange of both hometown visiting groups and art troupes. The North agreed to the suggestion and the way was thus paved for hometown visits by separated families for the first time in the 40 years of national division.

But, it would be premature to hope for a hasty solution of the dispersed family issue in view of the experience of the past dialogue. The Red Cross talks have barely begun and any success of the meeting hinges on the attitude of the North Koreans.

d. Reactions at Home and Abroad

Commenting on the full-dress Red Cross meeting resumed after a 12-year suspension, all newspapers in Korea editorially expressed the hope that the meeting would be successful so as to pave the way to reunions between suffering dispersed families. The editorials stressed that the talks should be carried out sincerely based on humanitarianism and the Red Cross spirits, taking into account the acuteness of the dispersed family question.

But, as the two-day meeting ended without any tangible achievement due to the North's insincerity, the newspapers did not conceal their disappointment, charging that the North Koreans seemed to be trying to seek only "showcase" and "propaganda" gains out of the Red Cross meeting. They noted that whereas the ROKNRC sought a phased, realistic and practical approach, the NKRC insisted on a radical, package deal.

As to the final agreement on the exchange of hometown visiting groups and art troupes around August 15, 1985, the newspapers welcomed it as a "big stride," "important impetus to restoring national homogeneity" and "a golden agreement." They expressed the view that the agreement may well serve to expedite the overall progress of the Red Cross talks.

Saying, however, that "we are not in a position to be overly optimistic," the press said the projected exchange programs should be pursued with a solemn sense of mission and careful and practical follow-up measures instead of being allowed to end with "empty slogans" or "an orgie of name calling."

Major foreign newspapers commented that the visit of the North Korean delegates to Seoul was an epochal event,

describing the eighth full-dress Red Cross meeting as a “meaningful thaw in a period of protracted tension and confrontation.” As to the mutual distrust that has been cited as one of the biggest obstacles to the progress of the inter-Korean dialogue, the foreign press observed that the “quagmire of distrust” is really deep, and that Korea’s nationalism won’t be swayed by the differences in ideologies and political systems.

Touching on North Korea’s attitude toward dialogue, the foreign newspapers, noting that the North put forth questionable ideas, said the North Koreans appeared to be trying more to exploit the meeting for the betterment of their external image and for pushing through their idea of a parliamentarians meeting than to resolve the question of dispersed families. Noting that the agreement on the exchange of visiting groups around August 15 was the biggest achievement of the recent Red Cross meeting, the newspapers also pointed out that whether the meeting would progress smoothly in the days ahead would depend entirely on the attitude of North Korea.

3. Developments Over Parliamentarians Talks

a. Developments

<p>The North’s Proposal</p>

On April 9, 1985, when the second Inter-Korean Economic Meeting and the eighth full-dress Red Cross meeting were around the corner, North Korea suddenly proposed an inter-Korean parliamentarians meeting.

North Korea said in the proposal that legislators of the two sides should meet to discuss the issue of making a “joint declaration concerning non-aggression” between the South and the North, suggesting that a preliminary contact be held at P’anmunjom in early May.

The proposal was contained in a letter delivered to Chae Mun-shik, then speaker of the National Assembly, via P’anmunjom on the afternoon of April 9. The “Letter to the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea” was allegedly adopted at the fourth session of the Seventh Supreme People’s Assembly of North Korea. North Korea asked that copies of the letter be sent to the presidents of the three major political parties — the Democratic Justice Party, the New Korea Democratic Party and the National Party.

North Korea insisted in the letter that “inasmuch as a tripartite meeting has not been realized, parliamentarians talks are a means to take practical steps to dispel the danger of war and ease tension.” It asserted that the ongoing Red Cross and economic talks would not be able to resolve such basic issues as the alleviation of tension and that the parliamentarians talks, if held, would have an encouraging effect on the Red Cross and economic meetings.

The gist of the North Korean letter was as follows:

So as not to prolong the 40-year-long split and confrontation any further, we proposed a tripartite meeting to South Korea and the United States last year. But, it hasn't been realized to date.

We propose an inter-Korean parliamentarians meeting as a means to take practical steps to dispel the danger of war in the country and ease the state of tension.

The parliamentarians talks shall discuss the question of

announcing a joint declaration on non-aggression.

If the parliamentarians meeting could be held smoothly, it would serve to foster conditions for a high-level political meeting.

The form of the parliamentarians meeting should be either a joint session of the two sides' legislatures or a meeting between delegates of the two legislatures.

In case the meeting takes the form of a delegates' meeting, it would be most reasonable for the delegations to be headed by the speakers or vice speakers of the legislatures and comprise an adequate number of legislators from various political parties.

For the advance discussion of matters related to the parliamentarians meeting, it is hoped that working-level delegates appointed by the speakers of both sides will have a preliminary contact at P'anmunjom in early May.

We expect that the new National Assembly will discuss this carefully and give us an affirmative response.

Subsequent Developments

On receipt of the North Korean letter, Speaker Chae Mun-shik called the heads of the three major parties to his office on April 10 and handed them copies of the letter. They studied the offer carefully and reviewed preliminary ways to cope with it. The political leaders Speaker Chae met with were Roh Tae-woo, chairman of the Democratic Justice Party; Lee Min-woo, president of the New Korea Democratic Party; and Lee Man-sop, president of the Korea National Party. The political leaders made the following statement at the end of their meeting.

— *We have reached the understanding that in order to cope unitedly and effectively with the issue of inter-Korean*

dialogue, all political parties should positively contribute to advancing the time of peaceful unification by closely consulting with one another beyond any partisan interests in dealing with the dialogue issue.

— In keeping with our policy that the two sides should approach the alleviation of tension and peaceful unification through a sincere inter-Korean dialogue, we have decided through consultations between the National Assembly and the political parties, to send a sincere reply to the North at an early date. We have also shared the view on the need to create a system at the National Assembly to cope with the question.

— We have agreed that the National Assembly and political parties should closely cooperate with the unification offices of the government in order to clearly define the subject in a way consistent with the implementation of the inter-Korean dialogue and also to increase the effectiveness of the dialogue.

— Until the inauguration of the new Assembly, the National Assembly Secretary General shall be charged with such duties as liaison between the National Assembly and political parties, arrangement of meetings, and the issuance of announcements on matters related to the recent proposal for an inter-Korean parliamentarians conference.

In the meantime, the North sent a telephone message on April 30 to the South, expressing the hope that even if a preliminary contact could not be held in early May, as they originally suggested, because of a delay in the inauguration of the National Assembly in the South, a preliminary contact could be held at the soonest possible time.

In response, Lee Jin-woo, Secretary General of the National Assembly, sent a message to Kim Bong-ju, chief

secretary of the Standing Council of the North's Supreme People's Assembly on May 8, telling him that as soon as the new National Assembly opened, the North Korean offer would be discussed and a reply sent to the North at an early date.

Upon the opening of the 12th National Assembly, a joint meeting of the speaker, vice speakers and the floor leaders of the three major parties was held on May 16 to discuss the North Korean proposal. The legislative leaders agreed to have the Steering Committee of the National Assembly prepare and introduce to the Assembly a resolution containing a reply to the North.

Acting on the decision, the Steering Committee formed an ad hoc committee to draft a resolution which, after being formally adopted by the Committee, was introduced to the National Assembly plenary session on June 1. The 15th plenary meeting of the 125th extraordinary National Assembly session unanimously adopted the resolution. It was subsequently delivered to the North.

<p>Contents of Reply</p>

In a message delivered to Yang Hyung-sop, chairman of the Standing Council of the North's Supreme People's Assembly on June 3, Speaker Lee Chae-hyung of the National Assembly welcomed the holding of an inter-Korean parliamentarians conference to discuss various issues related to the creation of an inter-Korean consultative organization to discuss and formulate a unified constitution, and also to discuss matters necessary for the laying of a foundation for unification. The Speaker proposed that a preliminary contact attended by five legislators from each side be held at P'anmunjom within the month of July to discuss various issues on the opening of parliamentarians talks.

Pointing out that reducing tension and securing peace on the Korean peninsula are problems that should be solved exigently through consultations between the responsible authorities of the two sides, Speaker Lee stressed in the message that it would be reasonable for the question of a declaration on non-aggression to be discussed at a meeting of the two sides' top leaders as they are the ones with the power and responsibility to practically execute such a declaration.

The Speaker said that the inherent function of a legislature is to legislate a constitution and various other laws and to approve or otherwise act on matters of war and peace concluded by government authorities. He then stressed that "the most important national task the legislative bodies of the two sides should carry out at the moment is to discuss the issue of legislating a constitution of a unified state for peaceful unification of the homeland."

The text of the message the Republic of Korea National Assembly sent to North Korea was as follows:

The Republic of Korea National Assembly has received a message from your Supreme People's Assembly and hereby send a reply as adopted in a resolution made at a plenary session following full consultations among various political parties and sincere debates by legislators.

We believe that this year, which happens to mark the 40th the anniversary of national liberation, must become a historic turning point at which the South and the North, transcending differences in ideologies and systems, lay a basis for peace and unification for the construction of a great homeland by overcoming the pains of national division, easing tension and promoting national trust and reconciliation.

The past 40 years were a period of unutterable ordeals

and agonies so far as the Korean people are concerned, and, at the same time, a historic chapter studded with mutual distrust and confrontation.

Mutual distrust is the biggest obstacle to the efforts of the people, who are of the same blood, to terminate the history of division and realize peaceful unification in a show of brotherly love as the whole brethren wish. And, such mutual distrust is attributed to a lack of dialogue and exchanges.

Herein lies the very reason we wish to have a dialogue through as many channels as possible. We, therefore, were truly pleased to see inter-Korean contacts resumed last year, especially the progress of the Inter-Korean Economic Meeting and the South-North Red Cross Conference. We hope that the suspended South-North sports meeting can also be resumed early.

Today, our brethren ardently wish that the inter-Korean economic and Red Cross meetings will be carried out successfully so that material exchanges and economic cooperation can be realized and dispersed families and relatives can be allowed to freely visit their hometowns and meet their blood relatives. They also expect that these would serve as a milestone in alleviating tension and realizing reconciliation between the South and the North.

Since long ago, we have emphasized that the alleviation of tension between the South and the North and the consolidation of peace constitute an immediate task that should be resolved promptly through discussions between the responsible authorities of the two sides. We have made multi-pronged efforts to have your side accept such meetings.

We have proposed to your side a meeting between the top leaders of South and North Korea, suggesting that such a meeting could discuss the question of taking effective

steps to ease tension and forestall the recurrence of war. We also proposed the conclusion of a Provisional Agreement on Basic Relations between South and North Korea as a practical device for the alleviation of tension and national reconciliation.

We believe it would be reasonable for the two sides to discuss the issue of a declaration on non-aggression at a meeting between the top government officials having the power and responsibility to practically execute such a declaration.

We believe, therefore, that for your side to sincerely discuss with our side the issue of a declaration of non-aggression and other issues related to easing tension and guaranteeing peace, thus contributing to national unification, it would be more effective for your Supreme People's Assembly to first urge your relevant authorities to agree to a top leaders meeting and other talks between government authorities as our side has suggested.

As your side, also, well knows, the inherent function of a legislature is to legislate a constitution and various other laws and to approve or otherwise act on matters of war and peace concluded by government authorities.

We believe that the most important national task the legislative bodies of the two sides should carry out at the moment is to discuss the issue of legislating a constitution of a unified state for the peaceful unification of the homeland. We think that this task embodies the invariable wish of the whole people and, at the same time, constitutes the most pressing expectation they pin on the legislatures of the South and the North.

The legislatures of the South and the North, therefore, should exert all available efforts to accomplish this national task, and should have sincere dialogue and discussions to this end.

The business of legislating a unified constitution for peaceful unification of the homeland cannot be accomplished through the efforts of only one side. It should be accomplished through full discussions at a council formed with delegates representing the residents of both sides and through a consensus of the whole people.

The legislatures of the South and North should not hesitate to promote the legislation of such a unified constitution. We must note this is a historic mission entrusted to us.

Accordingly, we welcome the holding of an inter-Korean parliamentarians conference in order to discuss with your Supreme People's Assembly various issues related to the formation of an inter-Korean consultative body for the legislation of a unified constitution and other issues necessary for the laying of a foundation for unification.

We believe that the inter-Korean parliamentarians talks would contribute much to easing tension and restoring trust between the South and the North, and further to promoting the base of peaceful unification of the homeland.

In this line, the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea hereby proposes that a preliminary contact between five legislators from each side be held at P'anmunjom within the month of July to discuss various matters related to holding an inter-Korean parliamentarians conference.

We look forward to a reply from your Supreme People's Assembly to this proposal by our side.

Meanwhile, North Korea said through a direct telephone call on June 14 that they agreed to the South's proposal and would send a five-man delegation of the Supreme People's Assembly to the conference room of the Neutral Nations

Supervisory Commission at P'anmunjom at 10 a.m. July 9, 1985.

b. Inter-Korean Parliamentarians Talks and the South's Position

Since long ago, the government of the Republic of Korea has exerted steady and multi-pronged efforts to lay the groundwork for the consolidation of peace and the peaceful unification of the homeland. The government has proposed to the North the creation of a systematic device to ease tension and prevent the recurrence of war, as well as contacts between people of various walks of life such as politics, economy, culture and sports.

North Korea has turned a deaf ear to these efforts of the South. Recently, however, it suddenly proposed an inter-Korean parliamentarians meeting to discuss the issue of "a declaration of non-aggression." The offer came at a time when the economic and Red Cross talks, arranged as a result of the South's consistent efforts to promote dialogue, were around the corner.

Strong suspicions were raised against the North Korean proposal in terms of the objective of the meeting, timing of the proposal and the topic of the proposed talks. Nonetheless, the South sent an affirmative response to the North in the conviction that dialogue should be promoted between politicians in order to promote relations between the two sides and advance the time of national reconciliation and unification.

The South's position with respect to the proposed parliamentarians conference is as follows.

Creation of Consultative Body to Legislate a Unified Constitution

The inherent function of a legislature is to legislate various laws including a constitution and act on treaties and agreements including those on peace and declarations of war which a government concludes.

Therefore, the most important task an inter-Korean parliamentarians meeting should tackle at the moment, is to formulate a consultative organization to legislate a constitution of a unified state and discuss various matter conducive to the laying of the groundworks for unification.

In the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification announced on January 22, 1982, the South proposed the creation of a Consultative Conference for National Reunification, composed of delegates from both sides representing the views of their respective people, charged with the duty of preparing a draft constitution of a unified state. The draft, once prepared, is to be referred to national referendums for adoption if so chosen by the 60 million people of Korea.

It was in this line that the National Assembly proposed to have talks with the North Korean side on the question of formulating a consultative body among the representatives of the residents of the two sides, an organization entrusted with the duty of drafting a unified constitution.

**Question of Easing
Tension and Con-
solidating Peace
Should be Discussed
and Resolved between
Government
Authorities**

The South's position is that since the issue of non-aggression and those of easing tension and bringing about a durable peace fall basically under the realm of the government authorities, they must be settled through dialogue between the government authorities.

In fact, the South has emphasized since long ago that the easing of tension and the consolidation of peace are pressing tasks that must be resolved urgently between the responsible authorities of the two sides, and has thus exerted continuous efforts to urge North Korea to agree to such a discussion.

In the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification announced on January 22, 1982, the South proposed the conclusion of a Provisional Agreement on Basic Relations between South and North Korea. Again on January 18, 1983, the South set forth the "question of taking effective steps to ease tension and prevent the recurrence of war between South and North Korea" as one of the four pressing tasks to discuss and solve at an inter-Korean summit meeting. The "20 inter-Korean pilot projects" the South proposed to the North on February 1, 1982, also offered a device to ease tension and build up mutual trust.

Therefore, if the North's Supreme People's Assembly is truly interested in the question of easing tension and ensuring peace between the South and the North of Korea and if it wishes to contribute to national unification, it should urge the North Korean authorities to agree to inter-governmental talks as the South has called for.

**Promotion of
Exchanges
and Cooperation
between
Politicians**

Mutual distrust stands to be the biggest obstacle to achieving peaceful unification. Such distrust stems from a lack of dialogue and exchanges. The South's basic stand, therefore, is that wide-ranging contacts and exchanges between the two sides would serve to foster mutual trust and contribute to improving inter-Korean relations and promoting national reconciliation.

In this context, the South, while positively promoting the mutual opening of the two societies, has time and again urged the North to agree not only to economic, Red Cross and sports talks but also to contacts and exchanges between the politicians and artists of the South and the North.

**Successful
Progress of
Economic and
Red Cross
Talks, and
Call for Re-
sumption of
Sports Meetings**

Economic and Red Cross talks have recently been going on between the two sides of Korea. However, since their proposal of an inter-Korean parliamentarians meeting on April 9, 1985, North Korea has insisted that parliamentarians talks are the only way to resolve the pending inter-Korean problems, arguing that the direction of the economic and Red Cross could be influenced by the progress of the legislators meeting.

At the South-North Red Cross Conference held in Seoul May 27-30 after a 12-year suspension to discuss the question of realizing reunions between dispersed families, the two sides agreed to exchange hometown visiting groups and art troupes, paving the way to personnel exchanges between the same brethren for the first time since national division 40 years ago.

At the economic meeting as well, there were many ideas the two sides advanced in common, though the talks were not without differences. If only North Korea shows sincerity, trade of materials, if not other economic cooperation, could be realized easily between the two sides.

North Korea should be sincere toward the two-channeled dialogue so as to realize personnel and material exchanges between the South and the North at an early date in conformity with the wishes and expectations of the people.

In the past, three rounds of sports talks were held between the two sides before they were suspended unilaterally by North Korea. The Asian Games takes place in Seoul next year and the summer Olympics in 1988. The athletes and sports officials of the South and the North should promote exchanges and goodwill and take part in these international events together to demonstrate national unity before the world. To this end, the sports officials of the two sides should have a dialogue to discuss sports exchange and the formation of single teams for these and other international games.

c. Reactions at Home

Commenting on the North Korean proposal for an inter-Korean parliamentarians conference, major press media in the South observed that the offer was of the same type as the overtures P'yongyang has advanced for political talks no fewer than five times since the South-North political conference held in P'yongyang in 1948. The press then questioned the real intent of the North Koreans, suspecting that the offer might well be a scheme to "drive a wedge between the ruling and opposition parties and fan political and social unrest in the South."

They also expressed the view that the P'yongyang proposal could be part of their machination to find excuses to put off the ongoing Red Cross and economic meetings.

Pointing out that the random offering of proposals does not contribute to solving problems, the media challenged the North to first help to productively advance the economic and Red Cross meetings and thereby contribute to building up mutual trust if they are genuinely interested in easing tension.

Turning to the South's counterproposal that an inter-Korean legislators meeting be held to discuss the formulation of a consultative body to draft a constitution for a unified state, the press media observed that the National Assembly of the South suggested the best thing the two legislatures could do to contribute to resolving the Korean question. They stressed that the issuing of a declaration of non-aggression should be left to the heads of the two governments directly responsible for guaranteeing such non-aggression. The media added that in view of the legislative function of the legislatures, the proposed inter-Korean parliamentarians conference should naturally take up the issue of preparing a unified constitution.

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South-North Dialogue in Korea

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Part I

Reiteration of Consistent Determination to Realize Peaceful Unification

1. President Chun's Liberation Day Address

— Emphasis on Respect for, and Will Power to Implement, Agreed Matters —

On August 15, 1985, President Chun Doo Hwan, stressing that respect for, and will power to carry out, agreed matters between South and North Korea are essential to laying a firm foundation for peaceful unification, urged North Korea to promptly agree to a top leaders' meeting and other measures to normalize inter-Korean relations.

In an address delivered at a Sejong Cultural Center ceremony marking the 40th anniversary of national liberation, President Chun pointed out that one thing that has not changed in the four decades since liberation is the sad reality of the division of the nation. Deploring national division as the root cause of all the trials and tribulations that have wasted national energies and threatened the national welfare, the President, in a renewed show of his determination to achieve peaceful unification, stressed, "we must bring about lasting peace and unification as soon as possible by committing the division to history and unfolding a new epoch of trust and reconciliation."

Stating that a way must be found to achieve peace and unification as soon as possible, President Chun said that the unwavering position of the Republic is for the government authorities of the two sides to discuss and resolve the question of nonaggression and other measures necessary for establishing normal relations between South and North Korea at an early date.

Regarding the recent north Korean assertion that a declaration of nonaggression would resolve all issues pending between

South and North Korea, the President said that the question of nonaggression is of course the paramount task which the 60 million Korean people cannot neglect for even a moment. However, he was quick to add that what should be emphasized is that the adoption of a written agreement, whether it be between South and North Korea or between any other two parties, is, of course, a necessary procedure in and of itself, but what is of even greater importance is whether there exists a determination backed by action to respect and abide by agreement.

“If North Korea is truly interested in reducing tensions and bringing about lasting peace on the Korean peninsula, they should take steps to assure the world that they will faithfully abide by and implement any agreement or declaration that has been adopted,” the President said.

Again urging North Korea to agree to the top leaders' meeting he proposed in 1981, President Chun expressed the hope that in this year, which happens to be the 40th anniversary of liberation, inter-Korean relations will enter a new phase so that the era of division and schism can be ended and the foundation for a new century of unification and reconciliation can be laid.

The full text of President Chun's Liberation Day address was as follows:

On this significant 40th anniversary of national liberation which we observe today, we are more fervently determined than ever before to forge a new epoch of national unification. The true meaning of liberation, which united us in overwhelming excitement and joy 40 years ago today, lay in the supreme dictate to construct a united, prosperous and independent country on

this peninsula and thereby to carry on our 5,000-year-old traditions and heritage and contribute to the great cause of world peace and the common prosperity of all mankind.

To embody the true meaning of liberation, we have kept alive the excitement and enthusiasm of that day and have relentlessly sought national development against all odds, especially the artificial partitioning of our land. As a result, we have succeeded in building a solid foundation of freedom, democracy and prosperity on the ashes left by the invasion of the North Korean Communists.

With the launching of the Fifth Republic, we Koreans have demonstrated our intrinsic capabilities even more actively. We have achieved sustained stability and growth, reinforcing the base from which we will leapfrog into the ranks of the developed nations. We have taken the lead in inter-Korean dialogues. Furthermore, we have reached the point from which we can contribute to the progress of all mankind by, for instance, hosting the 1988 Summer Olympics, the world's most prestigious festival.

Now that the nation's fortunes are rising and its capabilities growing dynamically, we can look forward with great expectations to the full blossoming of the ideals of liberations: independence, unification and prosperity. I wish to take this occasion to express my profound respect to all my fellow countrymen for having achieved such illustrious results by overcoming all manner of the trials and challenges with an indomitable determination and courage. I join you all in firmly pledging to work even more vigorously and proudly to create a century of the Korean people.

One thing that has not changed in the four decades since liberation is the sad reality of the division of the nation into South and North. Because of the division, we suffered a fratricidal war begun by the aggression of the North Korean Communists on June 25, 1950, and we are now in a state of

military confrontation even though we should be living as one people on one land in one nation.

National division is the root cause of all the trials and tribulations that have wasted national energies and threatened the national welfare. To ensure the survival of our nation and its prosperity and to contribute to the betterment of mankind, we must bring about lasting peace and unification as soon as possible by committing the division to history and unfolding a new epoch of trust and reconciliation.

Thanks to our initiatives, dialogues have gotten under way between South and North Korea on the question of dispersed families, in the area of the economy and between the legislatures of both sides. Still, constructive efforts must be made to make these dialogues the genuine beginning of a new relationship between the South and the North.

A way must be found to achieve peace as soon as possible and establish a relationship with North Korea that can lead to unification. It can be found if South and North Korea firmly promise not to invade each other, take concrete steps to enforce it and, at the same time, agree on the principle of exchanges and cooperation.

In this context, the question of nonaggression becomes the paramount task which our 60 million people cannot neglect for even a moment. The Republic has consistently pursued this goal, and our determination and practical efforts have been proven by deeds over a long period of time. The preamble of the Republic's Constitution expressly calls for peaceful unification and renounces aggression, thus proclaiming before the nation and the world that nonaggression is a supreme national intent.

I proposed in 1982 the conclusion of a Provisional Agreement on Basic Relations between South and North Korea as a modus vivendi pending unification. The proposed agreement contained seven articles calling, among other things, for a ban on the use of any form of armed force or violence, the peaceful solution to

disputes and the non-interference in each other's internal affairs. It has been the unwavering position of my government that the authorities of South and North Korea should discuss and resolve the issue of nonaggression and other matters essential to establishing normal inter-Korean relations at an early date.

Lately North Korea has been talking as if a declaration of nonaggression between South and North Korea would resolve all pending issues. What I would like to emphasize here is that the adoption of a written agreement, whether it be between South and North Korea or between any other two parties, is, of course, a necessary procedure in and of itself, but what is of even greater importance is whether there exists a determination backed by action to respect and abide by agreements.

So long as North Korea does not renounce its strategy of communizing all of Korea — a strategy that they have vigorously pursued over the past 40 years — the declaration of nonaggression they talk about is nothing more than an empty, deceptive slogan.

In the history of the world, there have been numerous instances — the German-USSR Nonaggression Treaty is just one example — of the unilateral abrogation of nonaggression agreements, which have reduced them to scrap paper. It should also be recalled how frequently and brazenly North Korea flouted the Armistice Agreement and how this has increased international, as well as our own, mistrust of the North Korean regime. This is eloquent testimony to the importance of a willingness to abide by agreements.

I therefore believe that if North Korea is truly interested in reducing tensions and bringing about lasting peace on the Korean peninsula, they should take steps to assure the world that they will faithfully abide by and implement any agreement or declaration that has been adopted. One way for the North to demonstrate to the international community its determination to implement a mutual nonaggression agreement would be to take such

positive steps as announcing the end of the needless diplomatic competition and confrontation in favor of cooperation with South Korea in the international arena.

In addition, I believe that if agreements between South and North Korea are to be effectively abided by, the concern and understanding of the surrounding nations which have a stake in the peninsula must be cultivated so that they can contribute positively and constructively to the peace and stability of the peninsula.

I would like to take this opportunity to urge North Korea to demonstrate a constructive attitude so that South-North relations can be basically improved and cooperate sincerely with us to make the on-going South-North talks successful. I also urge North Korea again to respond positively to the idea of a meeting between the top leaders of the South and the North that I initially proposed in 1981. I look forward to the realization of such a meeting.

Now that we have reached the significant 40th anniversary of liberation, I join the rest of the nation in the hope that inter-Korean relations will enter a new phase so that this era of division and schism can be ended and the foundation for a new century of unification and reconciliation can be laid.

In addition to the 40th anniversary of liberation, we also mark today the 37th birthday of a democratic government in this land. We are now living in an age in which a whole generation of government leaders are unwaveringly determined to make genuine democracy take root and are all making all-out efforts to that end. We must further nourish our historic continuity by ending the confused and uncertain quest for democracy and by making decided progress by accomplishing the 37-year-old task of bringing truly democratic institutions into full blossom in keeping with the times and the desire of the present generation.

This is not the time to engage in futile debate over democracy but the time to make it work. It must be realized that the vicious

cycle of instability and confusion will not only set our efforts back but could even destroy the very foundation of liberal democracy. It goes without saying that the foundation for democratic advancement is strengthened stability and harmony.

At this critical moment from which we can look forward to the fruition of our endeavors up to now, it behooves us to act with even more determination, courage and conviction to extend the horizon of Korea's democracy.

Achieving a democratic, prosperous and unified country would be the best way to requite our patriotic forebears and a glorious legacy to pass on to our posterity. No matter what difficulties and advertise may lie ahead, we will not fail to create a new era of advancement and unification before the present century is out, if we simply remain united in the enthusiasm of liberation that has enabled us to triumph over the darkness that gripped the nation for the previous 30 years and more.

I hope that this 40th anniversary of liberation will be an occasion to renew our pledge to move unflinchingly forward toward that goal. I ask all citizens to redouble their efforts.

In a word, President Chun reiterated the consistent policy of the government to pursue the alleviation of tension and lasting peace; emphasized the importance of respecting and implementing inter-Korean agreement; and called on North Korea to renounce their scheme to communize the South.

Reiteration of Consistent Government Policy to Seek the Alleviation of Tension and Lasting Peace

Since long ago, the government of the Republic has stressed that the immediate task facing the two sides of Korea is for their responsible authorities to resolve the question of non-aggression and other matters essential to easing tension and

bringing lasting peace to the Korean peninsula. The South has accordingly made multi-faceted efforts to enable the North to attempt them.

On January 18, 1974, for instance, the South proposed to the North the conclusion of a South-North nonaggression agreement, which called, among other things, for:

- Mutual renouncement of the use of arms or violence as a means of unification;
- Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs; and
- Preservation of the existing Armistice Agreement.

On January 22, 1982, the South proposed, under the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification, a Provisional Agreement on Basic Relations between South and North Korea as a concrete step to promote the easing of tension and national reconciliation. The proposed provisional agreement, too, stipulated in part that:

- The two sides should abandon all forms of armed force and violence, as well as the threat thereof, in settling issues between them and seek peaceful solutions to all problems through dialogue and negotiation (Article 2); and
- The two sides should maintain the existing regime of armistice while working out measures to end the arms race and military confrontation in order to ease tension and prevent war on the Korean peninsula (Article 4).

On January 18, 1983, the South produced as one of the four pressing tasks to be discussed and resolved at the proposed top leaders' meeting the "question of taking effective steps

to ease tension and preventing the recurrence of war between South and North Korea.”

However, North Korea has turned a deaf ear to this series of efforts by the South to implement a systematic apparatus to forestall the recurrence of war through the conclusion of a nonaggression agreement or to pledge not to use arms or violence.

In the Liberation Day address, President Chun reiterated the consistent policy of the government with regard to the issue of nonaggression when, pointing out that there should be no recurrence of the tragedy of the Korean War, he stressed that the “question of nonaggression becomes the paramount task which our 60 million people cannot neglect for even a moment.”

Importance of Respecting and Implementing Inter-Korean Agreements

President Chun’s statement, “the adoption of a written agreement, is, of course, a necessary procedure in itself, but what is of greater importance is whether there exists a determination backed by action to respect and abide by agreements,” was to strongly stress that the lack of any will to abide by an agreement by either party reduces such an agreement to a mere scrap of paper. The President’s remarks can also be interpreted as encouraging North Korea to show through sincere deeds instead of words or documents, how interested it is in peace on the Korean peninsula, if it is indeed interested.

It is historical fact that the Locarno Pact signed in October 1925, the Germany-USSR Nonaggression Agreement (August

1939) and the Vietnam Peace Agreement (January 1973) all provided for a ban on the use of arms among their signatories, but were all scrapped due to violation by some of the parties.

The North Koreans are talking as if a declaration of non-aggression would resolve all pending issues. But, the fact that they have violated the Armistice Agreement no fewer than 80,747 times since its signing in 1953 well shows that their contention is only fictitious.

Call on North Korea to Renounce Scheme to Communize the South

North Korea has steadfastly pursued a policy to communize the South through a violent revolution, as can be clearly seen in the Platform of the Workers' (Communist) Party. The preamble of the platform adopted at the Party's sixth convention on October 13, 1980 says that the ultimate objective of the party is "to accomplish people's democratic revolutionary programs" and the "construction of a Communist society" on the whole Korean peninsula.

It goes without saying that this revolutionary strategy against the South is the very source of the threat to national reconciliation and peace in Korea. Therefore, if North Korea is truly interested in nonaggression and other measures to ease tension and ensure lasting peace on the Korean peninsula, they should first take a practical step by renouncing their policy to communize the South.

2. Domestic Reactions

Attaching much significance to President Chun's reiteration of the continued pursuit of peaceful unification and his call for respect for, and the implementation of, bilateral agreements, the domestic media invariably stressed that both South and North Korea should strive harder to foster an atmosphere for national reconciliation and democratic unification without even a moment's neglect of the importance of unification.

The press, pointing out that the continuous confrontation leads to a tremendous waste of national energies and stands in the way to a bright future for the nation, urged the government to continue to take the initiative in removing such an obstacle and bringing about a durable peace on the Korean peninsula.

Part II
Progress of
Inter-Korean Dialogue

1. Ninth Full-Dress Red Cross Meeting

a. Progress

(1) First Session

The first session of the 9th full-dress meeting of the South-North Red Cross Conference was opened at the People's Cultural Palace in Pyongyang at 10 a.m. August 27, 1985 with all 14 delegates of both sides attending. The meeting, opened to the press, lasted for about two hours.

The meeting was begun with an opening statement and greetings by Li Jong-ryul, chief delegate of the North Korean Red Cross (NKRC). Greetings by Lee Yung-duk, chief delegate of the Republic of Korean National Red Cross (ROKNRC), and congratulatory remarks by Cho Dok-song, a ROKNRC consultant, and Kang Sok-sung, an NKRC consultant, followed in that order.

Prior to making keynote speeches, both sides confirmed an agreement made at the third working-level contact of the 8th full-dress Red Cross meeting on August 22, 1985 on the exchange of hometown visitors and art troupes.

In his keynote speech, ROKNRC Chief Delegate Lee recalled that at the 8th full-dress meeting, the two sides agreed to discuss the five agenda topics on a package basis and also arrived at an agreement in principle on free visits between dispersed families and relatives as a means of implementing the projects envisaged in the five topics.

The ROKNRC chief delegate then produced a set of comprehensive draft agreements, expressing the hope that the inter-Korean Red Cross talks that had dragged on for 15 years would be concluded at an early date and the family reunion project would begin to be translated into action in this year, which hap-

pens to be the 40th anniversary of national liberation.

The draft agreements put forth were an Agreement Regarding the Implementation of Projects Envisaged in the Five Topics, an Agreement on Procedures for Free Travel between Dispersed Families and Relatives in the South and the North and an Agreement on the Formation and Operation of a South-North Red Cross Joint Committee and a South-North Red Cross Joint Panmunjom Project Office.

In addition, the South proposed the establishment of permanent Red Cross mission in Seoul and Pyongyang with a view to smoothly carrying out Red Cross projects, promoting close cooperation between the two Red Cross societies and carrying out cooperation and liaison for each side's personnel staying in the other side's area.

The texts of the three draft agreements put forth by the South at the first session are as follows:

Agreement Regarding the Implementation of Projects Envisaged in the Five Topics (Draft)

At the ninth full-dress South-North Red Cross meeting, the Republic of Korea National Red Cross and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Red Cross, with a humanitarian spirit and a desire to pave the way for early reunions between the families and relatives dispersed in the South and the North, agreed as follows:

First, the two sides shall implement the projects envisaged in the five topics via the following methods and procedures under the auspices and cooperation of the two Red Cross societies.

1. The project to ascertain, and notify thereof, the where-

abouts and fate of the dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North shall be implemented either through an exchange of letters of inquiry and letters of reply or as free travel made with the cooperation of the two Red Cross societies according to the free will of the dispersed families involved. Methods and procedures including the format for letters of inquiry for dispersed families and letters of reply shall be as suggested by the Republic of Korea National Red Cross at the third full-dress meeting.

2. The project to facilitate mutual visits and meetings among the dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North shall be implemented through free travel back and forth.

As for meetings, the families and relatives shall be allowed to have meetings according to their wishes at a meeting center to be created at Panmunjom or elsewhere. The South-North Red Cross Joint Panmunjom Project Office shall be responsible for the establishment and operation of a Panmunjom meeting center.

3. Correspondence between the families and relatives dispersed in the South and the North shall be made in sealed letters or postcards at their convenience. They shall be allowed to make use of such communications means as telephones and telegraphs. The exchange of correspondence shall be entrusted to the South-North Red Cross Joint Panmunjom Project Office.

4. With respect to reunions between dispersed families in the South and the North, means shall be explored to facilitate their permanent reunion at places of their own choosing. Working-level matters regarding reunions shall be discussed and determined by the South-North Red Cross Joint Committee.

5. Other humanitarian projects to be settled should be introduced to and settled by the South-North Red Cross Joint Committee.

Second, procedures for free travel back and forth by dispersed families and relatives, which are necessary for the implementation of these projects, shall be determined separately.

Third, to guarantee the implementation of matters agreed on

by the South-North Red Cross Conference, the two sides shall inaugurate early the South-North Red Cross Joint Committee and the South-North Red Cross Joint Panmunjom Project Office, the creation of which was agreed on at the fourth full-dress Red Cross meeting. Agreed matters concerning the formation and operation of the South-North Red Cross Joint Committee and the South-North Joint Panmunjom Project Office shall be determined separately.

Fourth, Red Cross missions shall be established and operated in Seoul and Pyongyang, with a view to smoothly implementing Red Cross projects for dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North, promoting close cooperation between the Red Cross organizations of the two sides, and carrying out such business as cooperation and liaison for personnel staying in the other's area.

Fifth, this agreement may be revised or supplemented through mutual agreement.

Sixth, this agreement shall go into force from the time the two sides affix their signatures and exchange signed copies, and shall continue to remain in force unless it is repealed through mutual agreement.

, , 1985

On Behalf of the Republic
of Korea National
Red Cross

Lee Yung-Duk
Chief Delegate
Republic of Korea National
Red Cross Delegation

On Behalf of the Democratic
People's Republic of Korea
Red Cross

Li Jong-Ryul
Chief Delegate
Democratic People's Republic of
Korea Red Cross Delegation

Agreement on the Formation and Operation of a South-North Red Cross Joint Committee and a South-North Red Cross Joint Panmunjom Project Office (Draft)

1. Purport

For the purpose of effectively carrying out various projects agreed on at the South-North Red Cross Conference, a South-North Red Cross Joint Committee (hereinafter referred to as Joint Committee) and a South-North Red Cross Joint Panmunjom Project Office (hereinafter referred to as Joint Project Office) shall be established and operated.

2. Joint Committee

a. Function

(1) To guarantee the faithful implementation of matters agreed on between the two sides at the South-North Red Cross Conference, and to adjust and resolve all problems that occur in the course of implementing agreed matters.

(2) To discuss all humanitarian problems that arise in connection with the project for reunions between dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North and make decisions about them.

b. Formation

The Joint Committee shall be composed of five members from each side, and the co-chairmen shall be of vice Red Cross president (vice chairman) level.

c. Operation

(1) Meetings of the Joint Committee shall in principle be held at Panmunjom. However, they may be held in Seoul or Pyongyang through mutual agreement.

(2) The Joint Committee shall have a regular meeting every three months and may have extraordinary meetings upon the request of either side.

(3) Meetings of the Joint Committee shall be held behind closed doors. However, they may be opened to the public through mutual agreement.

(4) Matters of agreement reached at the Joint Committee shall be referred to the Joint Project Office for implementation.

3. Joint Project Office

a. Function

(1) To perform the business of exchanging letters of inquiry regarding the whereabouts and fate of the dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North and the letters of reply.

(2) To perform the business of exchanging letters between the dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North.

(3) To perform the business of maintaining the meeting site at Panmunjom for dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North who wish to meet there.

(4) To perform various business related to the passage through Panmunjom of the dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North.

(5) To perform general clerical work related to the operation of the Joint Committee, and carry out humanitarian projects referred to it by the Joint Committee.

b. Formation

The Joint Project Office shall be formed with a head of department-chief level from the central Red Cross organizations of each side and necessary clerical workers from each side. The organization and the number of clerical workers shall be determined separately through discussion.

c. Operation

(1) The two sides shall jointly construct and use the office building of the Joint Project Office at Panmunjom. However, pending the completion of the office building of the Joint Project Office, the Republic of Korea National Red Cross and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Red Cross shall establish and operate the Joint Project Office at the Peace House and Panmungak, respectively.

(2) The two heads (one from each side) of the Joint Project Office shall regularly hold a closed-door meeting once a week. A meeting may be held at any time at the request of either side.

(3) The two sides shall establish and begin to operate the Joint Project Office within one month after affixing their signatures on and exchanging this Agreement.

(4) Details about the construction of the office building of the Joint Project Office and about the operation of the Joint Project Office shall be discussed and determined by the Joint Committee.

4. This Agreement shall go into force from the time the two sides affix their signatures to it and exchange signed copies of it, and shall continue to remain in force unless it is repealed through mutual agreement.

, , 1985

On Behalf of the Republic
of Korea National
Red Cross

Lee Yung-Duk
Chief Delegate
Republic of Korea National
Red Cross Delegation

On Behalf of the Democratic
People's Republic of Korea
Red Cross

Li Jong-Ryul
Chief Delegate
Democratic People's Republic of
Korea Red Cross Delegation

**Agreement on Procedures for Free Travel
between Dispersed Families and
Relatives in the South and the North (Draft)**

1. The families to travel between the South and the North shall include those who were family members of the time of separation and their children born thereafter, and relatives shall include up to third cousins in collateral relations and first cousins on the wife's and mother's side.

2. The purpose of travel between the South and the North by families and relatives shall be to ascertain the whereabouts and fate of family members and relatives, and to have visits or reunions with them. If and when they wish to travel freely for other purposes, it shall be discussed and decided on by the South-North Red Cross Joint Committee.

3. The families and relatives traveling back and forth shall carry travel certificates issued by the Red Cross of his side. The certificates shall indicate the purpose of travel, destination, period of stay and other necessary information.

4. Each Red Cross shall notify the other of the families and relatives set to travel between the South and the North and their destinations one month before they are to depart.

5. The destination of those traveling back and forth between the South and the North shall be their hometowns, the place where they resided at the time of separation or the place where their family members or relatives now reside. If necessary, such destination may be changed with cooperation from the other side's Red Cross.

6. The period of stay in the other side's area for the families and relatives traveling between the South and the North shall be less than one month. If necessary, the period may be extended with the cooperation of the Red Cross of the other side.

7. The point of passage through the Military Demarcation

Line by the families and relatives traveling between the South and the North shall be Panmunjom. Additional points of passage may be established through mutual agreement.

8. The provision of various conveniences such as lodging, boarding, transportation and communications for the families and relatives traveling back and forth between the South and the North shall be the responsibility of the other side's Red Cross.

9. In the event there is a need for emergency relief or medical care for the families and relatives traveling between the South and the North, it shall be offered free of charge by the other side's Red Cross.

10. As for the issue of security of the families and relatives traveling between the South and the North, the government authorities of both sides, through the good offices of both Red Cross societies, shall guarantee and be responsible for the safe return of all them.

11. This Agreement shall go into force from the time the two sides affix their signatures on it and exchange signed copies, and shall continue to remain in force unless it is repealed through mutual agreement.

, , 1985

On Behalf of the
Republic of Korea
National Red Cross

Lee Yung-Duk
Chief Delegate
Republic of Korea
National Red Cross
Delegation

On Behalf of the Democratic
People's Republic of Korea
Red Cross

Li Jong-Ryul
Chief Delegate
Democratic People's
Republic of Korea
Delegation

These three draft agreements offered by the South covered all the implementation methods of resolving the five topics on a package basis, and fully incorporated even the ideas and demands North Korea voiced at the 8th full-dress meeting.

Meanwhile, the chief NKRC delegate argued in his first speech that at the 8th full-dress meeting the two sides “reached an agreement on the package discussion of the five topics and on the question of allowing free visits as a comprehensive means of realizing the free visits.” He then demanded that the “agreement” be formally adopted in written form.

The North Korean Red Cross insisted that an agreement on free visits should be signed prior to a discussion of the project methods and procedures. In other words, the North Koreans, contrary to the principle of package discussion and solution agreed on between the two sides at the 8th full-dress meeting, were now demanding a phased resolution of the dispersed family issue. Their idea was to adopt an agreement on “free travels” at the first stage, discuss and resolve other means than “free travels” at the second stage, and then discuss procedural matters related to the concrete implementation of the topics.

Moreover, by setting the deadline for the discussion of procedures for the dispersed family question at September 1986, North Korea let it be known that they do not want any speedy resolution of the pressing family issue.

With only the presentation of the conflicting positions of the two sides, the first session ended without any substantial debate. Before closing, the two sides agreed to hold the second session behind closed doors.

(2) Second Session

The second session of the 9th full-dress Red Cross meeting began at 10 a.m. August 28 at the People’s Cultural Palace.

Originally the second session was to discuss what both sides had suggested during the first session. But, the second session ended one hour and 55 minutes later without any fullfledged debate because the North Koreans side, making an issue of the incidence that occurred at the Moranbong Stadium on the afternoon of August 27, shunned any discussion of business.

Under the original itinerary, the members of the ROKNRC delegation were to observe "youth gymnastics" at the Students-Children Palace in Pyongyang on the afternoon of August 27 after the first session was over. However, the ROKNRC delegates were instead taken to the Moranbong Stadium where they were shown highly propagandistic, mock battle-like gymnastics. Unable to stand the provocative show, the ROKNRC delegates walked out of the stadium half way through it.

It was dubiousness that motivated the propaganda gymnastics staged by mobilizing 50,000 youths and 100,000 spectators. Since the North refused to explain the contents of the gymnastics beforehand to the ROKNRC delegation, it was an apparent attempt to exploit the Red Cross talks for political gains. Besides, the showing at the Moranbong Stadium was in express violation of the mutual agreement not to display any political events to the other side.

Nonetheless, North Korea, as is the case with a thief accusing his own victim, created a tense atmosphere from the very start of the second session by accusing the ROKNRC delegation of walking out and demanding that the ROKNRC make an apology. The North Koreans made the argument openly in breach of the agreement reached at the first session that the second meeting would be held behind closed doors.

In a bid to smoothly carry on the Red Cross talks, ROKNRC Chief Delegate Lee Yung-duk exercised self-restraint

before the insensible maneuvering of the North Korean delegates while urging the North to enter into substantial debates.

Despite such efforts of the ROKNRC delegation, the North Koreans held fast to their demand concerning the Moranbong incident and refused to discuss Red Cross business. The second session thus broke up without any progress. Only an agreement to hold the 10th full-dress meeting in Seoul on November 26, 1985 was reached.

b. Reactions at Home and Abroad

Commenting on the scheduled 9th full-dress Red Cross meeting set to be held in Pyongyang on the heels of the 8th full-dress meeting held in May 1985 after a 12-year suspension, the South's media expressed the invariable hope that there would be substantial progress this time. The various media editorially said they join the rest of the nation in praying that the 9th full-dress meeting would end in a bounteous success.

Noting, in particular, that the 9th full-dress meeting would take place before the exchange of hometown visitors and art troupes slated for late September, press comments said the Pyongyang meeting should agree on a continuous exchanges of hometown visitors instead of making the coming exchange a one-shot business only. The press also said they look forward to a substantial progress in the discussion of the five topics of full-dress meetings.

Noting that at the first Pyongyang session, the ROKNRC delegation produced three draft agreements based on what had been agreed on between the two sides earlier and proposed the creation of permanent Red Cross missions in Seoul and Pyong-

yang whereas the NKRC offered only a draft agreement on "free visits" and suggested the discussion of procedural matters later, the media stressed that "this is a time to go into the practical projects envisaged in the five topics." They also commented that the proposed creation of permanent Red Cross missions in each other's area is an "offer highly helpful to the development of the inter-Korean relations." They urged North Korea to respond to the idea affirmatively.

Also commenting on the fact that the second session failed to enter into any business discussion due to the unreasonable dispute North Korea raised over the incident at the Moranbong Stadium, the press denounced the North Korean attitude in commentaries headlined, "the South and the North Drift Farther Apart Due to War Games," "the North's Political Maneuver" and "North Korea's Bayonet Drill." They observed that the incident seemed to have been deliberately planned by the North in a move to impede any progress in the Red Cross talks, charging North Korea with trying to use the Red Cross talks for international propaganda.

The press said that such behavior by North Korea constitutes a "national disgrace" externally, and internally an anti-national and crude act serving only to jeopardize the Red Cross talks. The media stressed that the Red Cross meeting should under no circumstances be used as a tool of political propaganda.

One thing fortunate was that thanks to the persevering efforts of the ROKNRC delegation, the Red Cross meeting escaped total abandonment and the planned exchange of hometown visitors and art troupes was spared from cancellation. They also noted with a sigh of relief that the two sides managed to agree on the time of the 10th full-dress meeting.

Meanwhile, the major foreign news media commented that

the three draft agreements offered by the ROKNRC served to make more concrete the substance which had been discussed before, and that they have much chance to be adopted as they extensively reflect even those ideas advanced by North Korea.

Regarding the ROKNRC proposal for the creation of permanent Red Cross missions in Seoul and Pyongyang, the foreign press said that the offer, if realized, could be a breakthrough in the multi-channeled talks now going on between the two sides of Korea. The foreign media also observed that the North Korean offer to set the deadline for the discussion of procedural matters related to the implementation of projects envisaged in the topics at September 1986, highly disappointed the dispersed families who were looking forward to speedy progress in the Red Cross talks.

Touching on the conclusion of the 9th full-dress meeting without any constructive results due to a controversy over the incident at the Moranbong Stadium, the foreign press said that no achievement had resulted from the Pyongyang meeting because North Korea conducted political propaganda in breach of a promise not to organize events of a political nature for visiting delegates. They said that the incident had added to the impression that the on-going inter-Korean dialogue would not see smooth sailing because of the mutual distrust accumulated over the 40-year period of national division. The press then likened the incident at the stadium to spitting at a dinner for one's guests. The future of the talks is not necessarily bright as it hinges on whether the planned exchange of hometown visitors can be realized as agreed on, the foreign press said.

2. Fourth Economic Meeting

a. Progress

The fourth Inter-Korean Economic Meeting was held for one hour and 55 minutes beginning 10 a.m. September 18, 1985 at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission. The meeting, held behind closed doors, was attended by all the seven delegates from each side.

The two sides produced their respective versions of an Agreement on the Promotion of Material Exchanges and Economic Cooperation and on the Establishment of Joint Economic Cooperation Committee, as agreed at the previous third economic meeting. But, the fourth meeting failed to register any substantial progress because of the North Korean refusal to study both versions.

Kim Kihwan, chief delegate of the Republic of Korea, put forth in his first speech a draft Agreement on the Implementation of Trade and Economic Cooperation and the Establishment of the South-North Joint Economic Cooperation Committee, and reminded the North Korean delegates that the adoption of such an agreement at the fourth meeting had been agreed on at the third meeting.

The Republic of Korea delegation then suggested that during the meetings, the two sides narrow their differences on major items through an overall discussion and that the minor issues could then be ironed out by a working-level meeting to be formed with not more than seven delegates from each side including three delegates to the economic meeting and experts in relevant areas. The working-level meeting could be convened within a month, it said.

The southern side also expressed the hope that to meet the

high expectations at home and abroad and to manifest both sides' determination to promote economic exchanges, its offer to purchase 300,000 tons of North Korean anthracite coal and the linking of the Seoul-Shinuiju Railroad Line, on which both sides had already agreed in principle, could begin to be undertaken within the year, which happens to be the 40th year of national division. The Republic of Korea delegation asked the North to show an affirmative response toward the issues.

The South's opinion on the review of NKRC ideas and a draft agreement the southern delegation made at the fourth meeting were as follows:

Commodity Trade

With respect to commodity trade, the first stage must be to choose the items for trade as soon as possible. Both parties have already proposed various items they are interested in purchasing and selling, and there are many items in common. Therefore, it would be appropriate to have these common items indicated in the agreement and, furthermore, to stipulate that commodity trade could be expanded to other items in the future, if agreed upon.

There have been some difference regarding the volume of trade, customs clearance and inspection procedures. However, I believe that through discussion and compromise there should be little difficulty in reaching an agreement on these matters.

As for the method of trade and the bank procedures for handling transactions, my delegation accepts in principle your proposal for open accounts and direct settlement. However, until an agreement is concluded between our banks for an open account, commodity trade should be conducted temporarily by means of letters of credit issued from third country banks. In this way, we can begin to implement commodity trade at the earliest

possible date.

Finally, regarding the agencies designated to conduct trade, prices, currencies for settlement, and the means of transport, both parties are basically in agreement. Thus, the details can be finalized at a working level meeting.

Economic Cooperation

Turning to economic cooperation, there are several points to consider. First, I am happy to note that during the first and second meetings, we reached accord on establishing joint fishing areas and the joint development of natural resources. These two areas should, therefore, be indicated in the general agreement and, in addition, the agreement should stipulate that economic cooperation may be expanded into other areas in the future, if agreed upon.

Regarding the scale, method and form of economic cooperation, these issues should in principle be discussed and determined by the agencies designated by each side to participate in economic cooperation.

One issue that we will need to discuss is favorable tax treatment. Because of the differences in our respective tax systems, there may be some difficulties in establishing uniform criteria for taxation. However, if an agreement can be reached on this matter, both parties may extend exemption of income tax, corporate tax, property tax, and other taxes.

Another point to be considered is utility charges for such things as land and resources. From our point of view, these matters are related to individual property rights, and thus should be determined through consultations of the designated agencies concerned.

The Joint Committee

The third major issue to be taken up at today's talks is the establishment of the Joint South-North Economic Cooperation Committee. In this regard, I am pleased to note that since we have already agreed to establish such a committee at the Deputy Prime Minister-level, I do not find any significant difference of opinion on this matter.

As for the function and operation of the Joint Committee, we can easily come to an agreement since both our proposals are already very similar. I would like to stress, however, that the Joint Committee, once established, must faithfully implement the Agreement.

A related issue here has to do with the establishment of sub-committees under the Joint Committee. I hope that a sub-committee for commodity trade and a sub-committee for economic cooperation will be established as we proposed. Furthermore, if necessary, other ad-hoc sub-committees or small sub-committees should be established to support the Joint Committee.

Although our proposals are somewhat different with respect to the establishment of a joint secretariat, I am sure you will agree that a permanent administrative organization will be needed to prepare for future expansion of commodity trade and economic cooperation.

With these points in mind, I would now like to present to you the following revised draft agreement, which we prepared based on the draft agreements proposed by both parties during the third meeting.

**Revised Draft Agreement Between the Government of
The Republic of Korea and the Government of
The Democratic People's Republic of Korea
on
The Implementation of Trade and Economic Cooperation
and the Establishment of the South-North
Joint Economic Cooperation Committee**

The Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (hereinafter referred to as "the Contracting Parties"),

Desiring to implement direct trade and economic cooperation on the basis of mutual benefit, mutual respect, and equality,

Recognizing that the implementation of direct trade and economic cooperation will contribute to the prosperity and welfare of our peoples, the restoration of economic relations, and the peaceful reunification of our nations,

Being assured that trade and economic cooperation shall be implemented in good faith and with sincerity,

Have agreed as follows on the implementation of trade and economic cooperation and the establishment of the South-North Joint Economic Cooperation Committee (hereinafter referred to as "the Joint Committee"):

Article 1

The Contracting Parties shall take all necessary and appropriate measures to implement and expand trade and economic cooperation effectively between the Contracting Parties.

Article 2

The Contracting Parties shall designate, for each commodity and project, competent agencies (hereinafter referred to as "the

designated agencies concerned'') to participate in commodity trade and economic cooperation projects.

Article 3

Trade between the Contracting Parties shall be implemented according to the following guidelines except in cases where the Contracting Parties agree on a different procedure.

1. The Contracting Parties shall start trade with the commodities specified below and will expand trade to other commodities based on mutual complementarity.

a) Commodities to be sold by the South: iron products, textiles, salt, tangerines, and such South sea marine products as green seaweed, brown seaweed, oyster, and anchovy.

b) Commodities to be sold by the North: anthracite coal, iron ore, magnesia clinker, pollack, and corn.

2. The amount and volume of trade for each item shall be decided through consultations of the designated agencies concerned, after the Joint Committee makes the annual adjustment of amounts and volumes considering the supply and demand of commodities.

3. The price of the commodity shall be decided by the designated agencies concerned, considering international market prices.

4. The Contracting Parties shall conduct trade through open accounts at their respective banks. However, until an agreement is concluded between the banks of the Contracting Parties, the Contracting Parties shall conduct trade by means of Letters of Credit issued from third country banks.

5. The banks of the Contracting Parties shall settle the accounts directly. However, until an agreement is concluded between the banks of the Contracting Parties, a third country bank at which the Contracting Parties have an account in common shall

settle the account.

6. The currency for settlement shall be the Swiss Franc.

7. The Contracting Parties may not impose customers or similar charges which they impose on imports from other countries, on the commodities they purchase from each other.

8. As for customs procedures, inspections, dispute settlement, etc. in connection with commodity trade between the Contracting Parties, the Contracting Parties shall apply the same regulations which they use for normal external trade.

Article 4

The mode of transportation for commodities shall be determined through consultations of the designated agencies concerned, considering the character, weight, etc., of the commodities involved and the costs of transport. The Contracting Parties shall use trains, ships, or motor vehicles as appropriate when transporting commodities.

In cases of marine transport, the Contracting Parties shall guarantee to extend the most favorable treatment to the transport ships of the other Contracting Party regarding entry, anchoring, unloading and loading, departure, etc., and to handle all procedures promptly.

Article 5

The Contracting Parties shall implement joint economic projects to promote the common prosperity of our peoples.

The Contracting Parties shall start joint economic projects in the areas specified below and expand projects into other areas by common consent.

- a) The establishment of joint fishing areas.
- b) The joint development of natural resources.

Article 6

The scale, method, conditions, timing, etc. for the im-

plementation of the joint projects shall be determined through consultations of the designated agencies concerned.

Article 7

The Contracting Parties may, if agreed upon, extend exemption of income tax, corporate tax, property tax, customs, and other taxes for the designated agencies concerned of the other Contracting Party when the designated agencies concerned are operating in their territories.

Article 8

The Contracting Parties shall provide administrative assistance for the designated agencies concerned of the other Contracting Party, when materials, equipment, and other operational goods are brought into their territories, after confirming that the items are necessary for a joint project.

Article 9

The Contracting Parties shall reconnect the Kyong-Ui Railway to facilitate transport for commodity trade and joint economic projects.

Article 10

The Contracting Parties shall open the ports of Incheon and Pohang in the South, and Nampo and Wonsan in the North in order to facilitate marine transport for commodity trade and joint economic projects. In addition, as trade and cooperation continue to expand, other ports may be opened on mutual agreement.

Article 11

The Contracting Parties shall establish communication facilities necessary for trade and joint economic projects, and these facilities may be expanded on mutual agreement.

Article 12

The Contracting Parties shall permit the designated agencies concerned of the other Contracting Party to visit their territories or territorial waters in order to conduct advance inspections for commodity trade, feasibility studies for joint projects, and related activities.

Article 13

The Contracting Parties shall guarantee the visits and safety of the persons concerned with trade and economic cooperation (hereinafter referred to as “the persons concerned”) of the other Contracting Party and assist them as much as possible with traffic, communications, lodging and boarding, medical care, etc.

Article 14

The Contracting Parties shall take prompt and effective relief measures for physical injuries incurred by the persons concerned of the other Contracting Party and notify the other Contracting Party without delay of the details of the situation.

Article 15

The Contracting Parties shall, within thirty days after the signing of this Agreement, establish and operate as a negotiation and implementation body, the South-North Joint Economic Cooperation Committee chaired by representatives at the Deputy Prime Minister level appointed by each Contracting Party. The Joint Committee shall meet to ensure the implementation of this Agreement and to restore economic relations by developing commodity trade and economic cooperation.

Article 16

The organization of the Joint Committee and supporting bodies shall be as follows:

1. The Joint Committee shall consist of seven members from

each Contracting Party: one Chairman at the Deputy Prime Minister level; one Vice Chairman at the Ministerial level; and five other members at the Ministerial or Vice Ministerial level appointed from the government or private sector.

2. To support the Joint Committee, the Contracting Parties shall establish two Sub-committees under the Joint Committee; the Sub-committee for Commodity Trade and the Sub-committee for Economic Cooperation (hereinafter referred to as "the Sub-committees"). The Contracting Parties may, however, set up other ad hoc Sub-committees by common consent when necessary. In addition, the Contracting Parties may set up small sub-committees for the efficient operation of the Joint Committee or the Sub-committees.

3. The Sub-committees shall consist of five members from each Contracting Party: one Chairman appointed by the respective Chairman of the Joint Committee from the Joint Committee members; and four other members at the Director General level appointed from the government or private sector.

4. The Contracting Parties shall establish the Joint Secretariat in order to provide the Joint Committee and the Sub-committees with administrative assistance. The Secretariat shall be located in Panmunjom. The respective Chairman of the Joint Committee shall each appoint one Secretary General from the members of the Joint Committee to head the Joint Secretariat. The Contracting Parties shall agree upon the number of officials or experts, to be appointed by each Contracting Party, who will serve in the Secretariat.

Article 17

The function of the Joint Committee shall be as follows:

1. The Joint Committee shall implement in good faith this Agreement on commodity trade and joint economic projects between the Contracting Parties.

2. The Joint Committee shall discuss and determine the basic

direction and methods for developing commodity trade and joint economic cooperation between the Contracting Parties.

3. The Joint Committee shall discuss and determine such overall plans related to commodity trade and economic cooperation between the Contracting Parties as the items and volume of trade, and the areas and scale of cooperation.

4. The Joint Committee shall discuss and coordinate disputes arising between the designated agencies concerned of the Contracting Parties.

5. The Joint Committee shall discuss and decide on other matters arising in the course of developing harmonious and balanced commodity trade and economic cooperation between the Contracting Parties, ensure the implementation of these decisions, and sign any necessary Agreements.

Article 18

The functions of the Sub-committees shall be as follows:

1. The Sub-committees shall discuss and determine concrete methods for the implementation of measures agreed to or mandated by the Joint Committee and insure their implementation.

2. The Sub-committees shall settle problems arising in their areas and submit any necessary draft Agreements to the Joint Committee.

Article 19

The function of the Joint Secretariat shall be as follows:

1. The Joint Secretariat shall provide all necessary administrative assistance to the Joint Committee and the Sub-committees in the form of arranging committee meetings, preparing the place and agendas for meetings, and recording proceedings.

2. The Joint Secretariat shall establish and manage the Joint Commodity Exchange and Communication Office for the exchange of samples, materials, and letters related to commodity

trade and joint economic projects.

3. The Joint Secretariat shall provide all communication services and administrative assistance related to the transport of commodities and the visit of the persons concerned.

4. The Secretary Generals of the Joint Secretariat shall meet at any time to discuss technical matters related to the operation of the Joint Committee and the Sub-committees.

Article 20

The Joint Committee and the Sub-committees shall operate as follows:

1. The meetings of the Joint Committee shall be held at Panmunjom, and may be held in Seoul and Pyongyang if agreed upon by the Chairmen.

2. The meetings of the Sub-committees shall be held at Panmunjom and may be held in Seoul and Pyongyang if agreed upon by the Chairmen.

3. The regular meetings of the Joint Committee shall be held every three months.

4. The meetings of the Sub-committees shall be held whenever deemed necessary by the Chairmen.

5. All the meetings of the Joint Committee and the Sub-committees in principle shall not be open to the public. Meetings, however, may be opened to the public when agreed to by the Chairmen.

6. The designated parties concerned and the members of the Joint Secretariat may observe the meetings of the Joint Committee and the Sub-committees.

7. Agreements and decisions of the Joint Committee and the Sub-committees shall be confirmed in writing and signed.

8. Other matters necessary for the operation of the Joint Committee shall be determined separately through consultations between the Contracting Parties.

Article 21

The Joint Secretariat shall be established and shall operate as follows:

1. The Contracting Parties shall establish the Joint Secretariat within thirty days after the signing of this agreement.

2. The Contracting Parties shall arrange for Freedom House and Panmungak respectively to be used temporarily by the Secretariat until construction of the Joint Secretariat building in Panmunjom is completed.

3. The Contracting Parties shall share the costs for the construction of the Secretariat building and the operation of the Secretariat on an equal basis.

Article 22

This Agreement may be amended or supplemented by common consent of the Contracting Parties.

Article 23

This Agreement shall be valid for a period of five years, from the date of its entering into force. Upon the expiration of the said period, its validity shall be automatically extended for a further period of five years, unless either of the Contracting Parties declares in writing its intention to terminate this Agreement one year prior to its expiration.

Article 24

This Agreement shall enter into force on the date when it is signed and authentic texts are exchanged.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned, duly authorized by the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, have signed and exchanged the present Agreement.

Done at Panmunjom on . . . , 1985, in duplicate in the Korean language, both texts being equally authentic.

For the Government of
the Republic of Korea

For the Government of
the Democratic People's
Republic of Korea

/Sgd/ Kim Kihwan

/Sgd/ Lee Sung Rok

Meanwhile, the North Koreans side produced a single draft agreement incorporating the separate ideas they advanced at the third meeting, which included an Agreement on the Establishment and Operation of a South-North Economic Cooperation Joint Committee, a 16-point proposal for inter-Korean economic collaboration and exchanges, and a plan for the formation of a South-North Commodity Exchange Committee.

Despite the fact that some major issues remained to be resolved, such as the method of transaction and settlement and the number of joint committees and subcommittees to be set up, the northern delegation shunned a debate of these matters at the fourth meeting, demanding that the draft agreements of both sides be referred directly to a working-level meeting.

The southern side, pointing out that a working-level meeting could only progress smoothly when basic matters were fully discussed at the economic meeting, insisted that the two sides should have a substantial discussion of major issues embodied in both sides' draft agreements.

Despite the South's repeated calls, the North Korean side refused to enter into an overall debate, insisting that any difference that were found could be presented at the following

meeting.

As to the southern offer to purchase anthracite coal and link the Seoul-Shinuiju Railroad Line within the year, the North Koreans made it clear that they would not discuss the issues any further by asserting that the issues could be taken up by a South-North Joint Committee when an overall agreement is adopted and such a committee formed.

The two sides decided to hold the fifth meeting on November 20, 1985 at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at Panmunjom.

Comparison of the Two Draft Agreements

Classification	South	North
Description of Principles	Limit to pure economic principles	Inclusion of three principles for national unification
Exchangeable Items	<p>Items found exchangeable at the 1st and 2nd meetings be described in agreement, and exchange be begun with agreed-on items.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Items sellable by the South: steel goods, textiles, salt, tangerines, fishery products along the south coast (laver, seaweed, oysters, anchovies, etc.) — Items sellable by the North: anthracite coal, iron ore, magnesia clinker, pollacks, corn. 	<p>A Joint Committee shall discuss and determine exchangeable items in consideration of the items suggested by both sides at the 1st meeting.</p>

Method of trans-action	In principle, open ac-counts and direct settlement. On a tentative basis, the method of letters of credit issued from third country banks.	Open accounts and direct settlement.
Banks for settlement	The banks in South and North Korea as designated by both sides. On a tentative basis, a third country bank.	Banks in South and North Korea as designated by both sides.
Size, method and timing of coopera-tive projects	To be determined by project parties.	To be determined by a Joint Committee.
Number of sub-committees	Two subcommittees on material exchanges and economic cooperation * If necessary, special sub-committees and ad hoc committees.	Six subcommittees on resources development, industry-technology, agriculture-fishery, commodity exchange, trans-shipment-communication, monetary-finance.

b. Reactions at Home and Abroad

Commenting on the results of the 4th Inter-Korean Economic Meeting, the media in Korea expressed disappointment at the fact that, despite the lack of significant differences, no progress could be registered due to trivial procedural matters.

Observing that North Korea appeared to be trying to stage perfunctory economic talks without allowing any progress, the

press stressed that the inter-Korean dialogue should be carried on with patience and without being swayed by momentary sentiments.

The media said that to expedite inter-Korean economic exchanges and cooperation, the southern side's proposal for the purchase of North Korean anthracite coal and the linking of the Seoul-Shinuiju Railroad Line should be carried out in the first place. They expressed the hope that there will be substantial progress at the 5th meeting.

Meanwhile, the foreign press, saying that they cannot but question the intent of the North Koreans, observed that it was due to the North's "evasion tactic" that the fourth economic meeting failed to adopt an agreement although the respective draft versions contained a lot of points in common.

3. Preliminary Contacts for Parliamentarians Conference

a. Initiation

In response to the North Korean proposal to convene an inter-Korean parliamentarians conference to discuss the "question of declaring nonaggression," National Assembly Speaker Lee Chae-hyung sent a letter to Yang Hyong-sop, president of the North Korean Supreme People's Assembly, on June 3, 1985. The letter contained a message adopted by the Republic of Korea National Assembly on June 1 calling for inter-Korean parliamentarians talks to discuss the formation of a South-North consultative conference designed to draft a constitution

for a unified state and other matters necessary for the creation of a foundation for unification.

In the message adopted unanimously at the 125th extraordinary session, the Assembly made it clear that the question of nonaggression ought to be discussed at a meeting of South and North Korean government authorities empowered with the competence and authority to execute such an agreement. The message reminded the North Koreans that the government of the Republic, stressing that the easing of tension and consolidation of peace are a pressing task that has to be resolved promptly through consultations between the responsible authorities of the two sides, has made multi-pronged efforts to urge the North to agree to such talks.

Stating that “the inherent function of a legislature is to legislate a constitution and other laws and act on those agreements government authorities conclude with others with respect to the issues of war and peace,” the message stressed that “the most important national task the legislatures of the South and the North should undertake at the moment is to discuss the question of legislating a constitution for a unified state for the sake of peaceful national unification.

The message, while stressing that the legislatures of the two sides should exert all available efforts to accomplish such a national task, proposed that a preliminary contact attended by five legislators from each side be held at Panmunjom before the close of July to discuss various matters necessary for the opening of a parliamentarians conference.

North Korea agreed to the South’s suggestion on July 5, and the first preliminary contact took place at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at Panmunjom on July 23, 1985 to discuss the proposed inter-Korean parliamentarians talks.

The delegates to the first contact were as follows:

**Delegation of the Republic of Korea
National Assembly**

Chief delegate: Kwon Chong-dal, Democratic Justice Party

Delegate: Chong Si-chaе, Democratic Justice Party

Delegate: Shin Sun-bom, New Korea Democratic Party

Delegate: Park Kwan-yong, New Korea Democratic Party

Delegate: Kang Kyong-sik, Korea National Party

**Delegation of the North Korean Supreme
People's Assembly**

Chief Delegate: Chon Kum-chol, Korean Workers' Party

Deputy chief delegate: Chu Chang-jun, Korean Workers' Party

Delegate: Choe Jang-ryong, Korean Workers' Party

Delegate: Ryom Kuk-ryol, Korean Social Democratic Party

Delegate: Wu Dal-ho, Chondo-kyo Chongwu Party

b. Progress

(1) First Contact

The first preliminary contact to discuss various matters related to the convening of the proposed inter-Korean parliamentarians conference was held from 10 a.m. to 12:12 p.m. July 23, 1985 at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at Panmunjom. Five delegates from each side attended the contact, which was opened to the press.

At the contact, the two sides reached an accord on most of

the procedural matters. But, they failed to reach any agreement on the most important issue of topics.

In his first speech, the chief Republic of Korea delegate, Kwon Chong-dal, pointed out the unreasonableness of the North Korean insistence on the discussion and resolution of the question of declaring nonaggression through parliamentarians talks. Kwon emphasized that the legislators conference should instead discuss the legislation of a constitution of a unified state and the formation of a consultative conference to draft such a constitution.

Stressing that the issue of nonaggression should naturally be negotiated between the government authorities, Kwon noted that the government of the Republic has since long ago proposed to hold a top leaders' meeting between the two sides of Korea to discuss the alleviation of tension and the prevention of the recurrence of war. He also reminded the North Koreans that the South urged the North to conclude a Provisional Agreement on Basic Relations between South and North Korea, which provided for a cessation of the use of arms and violence of all types, mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and an end to the arms race and the state of military confrontation.

The chief southern delegates said that if the North Korean legislature is truly interested in adopting a nonaggression declaration for the alleviation of tension and the consolidation of peace, they had better urge their authorities to affirmatively respond to the South's offer.

Pointing out that no joint objective or charter has been prepared to regiment national efforts for peaceful unification in the 40 years since national division, Kwon emphasized that a constitution for a unified state should be legislated if only to present a blueprint of a unified homeland and set forth the

direction and path of the future of the nation.

He also said that since a constitution for a unified country cannot be written through the efforts of one side only, a consultative organization representing the residents of both sides should be formed at the inter-Korean parliamentarians talks, where the question of a unified constitution could be discussed concretely.

The southern delegation then presented the following suggestions concerning the holding of a parliamentarians conference:

First, the two sides shall hold inter-Korean parliamentarians talks at an early date in conformity with the Korean people's aspiration for unification. The definite date should be discussed and decided at the final stage of the preliminary contacts.

Second, the two sides shall hold the inter-Korean parliamentarians talks in Seoul and Pyongyang by turn.

Third, each delegation to the talks shall be composed of eleven members. The chief delegates of both sides shall be appointed by their respective speakers.

Fourth, the agenda of the inter-Korean parliamentarians conference shall be the "question of organizing a Consultative Conference for National Reunification to draft a constitution of a unified state and related matters necessary for the laying of a groundwork for unification."

Fifth, to facilitate communications for the promotion of the inter-Korean parliamentarians conference, a direct telephone line shall be installed and operated between the two sides.

Sixth, other procedural matters related to the proceeding of the inter-Korean parliamentarians talks shall be determined through mutual consultation.

On the other hand, the north Korean side demanded that the “question of the joint declaration of nonaggression,” which they first raised when they proposed legislators talks on April 9, 1985, be discussed on a priority basis. The North Koreans argued that they were not diametrically opposed to the South’s idea of “legislating a constitution for a unified state and discussing other related matters.” But, they were adamant to the prior discussion of the idea of “declaring nonaggression.”

While insisting on the prior handling of their idea at the legislators conference, North Korea asserted that the parliamentarians conference could “recognize the necessity and significance of nonaggression,” whereas the “question of adopting a concrete nonaggression declaration with a binding power” could be left to the government authorities of the two sides, thus making it questionable as to what their genuine intent is.

On procedural matters, however, both sides’ ideas were similar, and an accord was thus reached on most of the procedural issues except for the rank of chief delegates to the parliamentarians conference and the place of the first meeting.

The items agreed on at the first contact were as follows:

- Form of Conference;
Meeting of delegates of both legislatures.
- Size of Delegation;
Eleven members for each side.
- Place of Conference;
Seoul and Pyongyang by turn.
- Time;
First meeting within one month after the end of preli-

- minary contacts.
- Reporting and Recording;
In a way convenient to each side.
- Traveling Procedures and Assurance of Conveniences for Visiting Delegates;
The practice in use for other channels of inter-Korean dialogue shall be applied.

The two sides agreed to hold their second contact at 10 a.m. September 25. They decided to determine whether to have their first contact at Panmunjom or at Seoul or Pyongyang as North Korea suggested through later negotiations over the telephone.

The gist of the suggestions North Korea made at the first contact was as follows:

- Form of Conference
Either joint South and North Korean parliamentary session or a conference of parliamentary delegates.
- Formation of Delegations
 - Joint session; About 100 legislators shall attend the plenary session of the other side's legislature.
 - Delegates meeting; 9 to 11 members for each side.
 - Chief delegates; Speakers or vice speakers.
- Place of Conference
Seoul and Pyongyang
- Agenda of Conference
 - The question of a joint declaration on nonaggression.
 - The question of legislating constitution for a unified state.
- Time of Conference
Within one month after the conclusion of preliminary

contacts.

— Direct Telephone Line

A direct telephone shall be linked between Seoul and Pyongyang for the exclusive use in parliamentarians talks.

(2) Second Contact

In accordance with the agreement made at the first contact to determine the place of the second contact through telephone negotiations, Chief Delegate Kwon Chong-dal of the South proposed in a telephone message on September 10 that the second preliminary contact also be held at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission as in the first contact.

North Korea agreed to the southern suggestion on September 21, and the second contact for inter-Korean parliamentarians talks was thus opened at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at 10 a.m. September 25, 1985.

The second contact, attended by all five delegates from each side, lasted for two hours and two minutes, but failed to register any progress. Both sides could only reaffirm their respective stands showed at the first contact.

In his first speech, Kwon Chong-dal, chief delegate of the South, suggested that at the second meeting both sides reaffirm what was substantially agreed on at the first contact, such as the form of parliamentarians talks, the formation of delegations, the conference site and the issue of reporting, and then discuss and resolve the issues including those of agenda, rank of chief delegates and the place of the first parliamentarians meeting.

With respect to the question of agenda, Kwon reiterated

that the topic suggested by the South, that is, the “question of organizing a Consultative Conference for National Reunification to draft a constitution of a unified state and related matters necessary for the laying of a groundwork for unification,” is very fitting for the parliamentarians talks. At the same time, he said that it is unnecessary and rather inappropriate to put the issue of a “a nonaggression declaration” on the agenda of the talks.

Pointing out that the question of war and peace is the customary purview of the Executive Branch where the actual power and responsibility belong, the chief southern delegate stressed that the question of nonaggression between the South and the North of Korea, which must be backed up by a series of concrete measures to be effective, should also be discussed and resolved between the government authorities entrusted and empowered to do so.

Kwon also reminded the North Koreans that the South has proposed since long ago a top leaders’ meeting to discuss and resolve pressing issues pending between the two sides of Korea such as the alleviation of tension and the prevention of the recurrence of war. He then challenged the North that if they truly wanted to declare nonaggression to reduce tension and consolidate peace, it would be more reasonable for them to urge their government to promptly agree to the talks proposed by the South instead of going through the complicated route of attempting to take up this issue at inter-Korean parliamentarians talks.

The southern delegation further said that given the reality of the inter-Korean relations, the easing of tension, including nonaggression, and the building of trust, should not end as a mere declaration but must be backed up by concrete measures for reconciliation, exchanges and cooperation in all areas of

inter-Korean relations.

It then stressed that the North should, for example, agree to the 20 pilot projects the government of the South proposed in 1982 so as to enable both sides to open their societies to each other and promote multi-faceted exchanges and cooperation.

On the other hand, the North Korean side, again insisting on the prior discussion of the "question of a joint declaration of nonaggression," set forth a draft agreement containing the substance of their suggestion and those procedural matters on which the two sides neared an agreement during the first contact.

The North Koreans argued that "since the question of nonaggression is so important as to be related to national survival and destiny, it should be handled by an authoritative organization like a legislature." They thus insisted that "the nonaggression business is compatible with the function of legislature."

The southern delegation, retorting the North Korean assertion, reasoned that even if a nonaggression declaration was adopted through parliamentarians talks, it would be no better than a declaration without any binding force, and added that the question of nonaggression should thus be tackled directly by government authorities empowered to keep such a declaration in force.

As the North Korean side found it impossible to insist on putting the "nonaggression issue" on the agenda any longer, they suggested that the agenda should concern "the alleviation of tension between the South and the North, and the acceleration of national unification."

Here, Chief Delegate Kwon of the South said that the new North Korean offer was so broad in definition that it lacked any concreteness and was thus not an agenda at all. Kwon then

suggested that the two sides study the agenda issue more carefully.

As to the issues of the rank of chief delegates and the place of the first parliamentarians meeting, the southern delegation proposed that chief delegates be appointed by respective speakers from among the legislators with the rank of the chairman of a standing committee or higher, and that the first meeting be held in Seoul. On the other hand, the North Koreans insisted that the chief delegates should be either speakers or vice speakers and that Pyongyang should be the venue of the first meeting. Thus, the issues of agenda, the rank of chief delegates and the place of the first parliamentarians meeting remained unsettled at the second contact.

The two sides agreed to determine the place and time of the third contact later over the direct telephone line.

c. Domestic Reactions

Commenting on the opening of the preliminary contacts to prepare for inter-Korean parliamentarians talks, the major press media in Korea observed that the beginning of the contacts served to elevate the on-going inter-Korean dialogue a step higher. The press attached much significance to the contacts, remarking that "it constitutes a significant milestone in the history of Korea's politics that the first political conference of residents' representatives has begun to get underway."

The media, however, expressed the guarded concern that "in view of the attitude shown by the North Koreans at the two rounds of preliminary contacts, it is rather premature to expect that the parliamentarians talks could necessarily provide a turning point in the inter-Korean relations."

Pointing out that the conclusion and execution of a non-aggression agreement falls under the inherent function of a government whereas the duty of a legislature is to review and ratify it, the press said that if any side attempts to confuse or distort the limit of such function, the rare political talks can only have a gloomy future.

Part III

Exchange of Hometown Visitors and Art Troupes

1. Background

a. First Working-Level Contact

The working-level delegates to the South-North Red Cross Conference of both sides had their first contact behind closed doors on July 15, 1985 at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at Panmunjom to discuss concrete methods and procedures for conducting the exchange of hometown visitors and art troupes agreed on at the 8th full-dress Red Cross meeting.

The first contact, which lasted from 10 a.m. through 12:22 p.m., was attended by three delegates from each side. Representing the Republic of Korea National Red Cross (ROKNRC) were Chief Delegate Song Yong-dae and delegates Lee Jun-hi and Lee Byong-wung and representing the North Korean Red Cross (NKRC) were delegates Pak Yong-su, Kim Wan-su and Pak Dong-chun.

In his first speech, ROKNRC Chief Delegate Song expressed the hope that the exchange of hometown visitors and art troupes would be realized at an early date, and set forth the following concrete matters for its implementation.

1. Name of Visiting Groups

The name of the visiting groups shall be "South-North Hometown Visitors and Art Troupes."

2. Composition and Size of Visiting Groups

a. Each group, headed by the highest official of each central Red Cross organization (the president of the Republic of Korea National Red Cross or the chairman of the Central Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Red Cross),

shall be comprised of hometown visitors, an art troupe, press members, guides and support personnel.

b. The size of a hometown visiting group shall be 300, and an art troupe 100 including production staff and performers such as chorus members, dancers, musicians and other members.

c. The number of press members shall be around 100.

d. Guides and support personnel shall be 50 to 60 including the head of a group.

3. Exchange Method

Visiting groups shall be exchanged simultaneously.

4. Period of Visiting

The visiting period shall be September 20-26, 1985 (six nights and seven days).

5. Places and Method of Visits

The members of the hometown visiting groups shall be teamed by special cities, direct-controlled cities and provinces depending on the places to be visited, and shall be grouped into teams of appropriate numbers for direct visits to their hometowns. They shall be accompanied by press members.

6. Scope of Meeting

The meetings shall be with the direct ascendants and descendants of a family at the time of separation and any children they may have, up to third cousins on the father's side and first cousins on the mother's and wife's side. Depending on the visitor's wishes, other relatives whose fate and whereabouts have been confirmed may be included.

7. Place and Frequency of Performances of Art Troupes

a. Places of mutual convenience shall be provided for performances.

b. The performances shall be once a day and shall total two to three.

8. The Nature of Performances

a. Performances shall be of an artistic nature with emphasis on national traditions, and without any ideological and political elements.

b. Stage sets, props and music of a nature praising specific persons, political propaganda or demagoguery shall not be used.

c. There shall be no moderator's exposition at the time of the performances.

9. Exchange of Scripts and Advance Check of Performance Sites

a. Scripts shall be exchanged eight days before the visits.

b. To check in advance the preparations for the performances, compositions, sets and sound and lighting effects, technical personnel including producers, stage directors and setting, lighting and sound technicians shall inspect the performance sites.

10. Duration of Performances

The performances shall be about 120 minutes in accordance with international practices.

In addition to these matters related to basic issues, the ROKNRC side put forth concrete offers concerning other administrative and procedural matters such as the guarantee of personal safety, transportation and communications, press coverage and transit procedures.

On the other hand, the NKRC, contrary to the agreement reached at the eighth full-dress meeting and the wishes of

dispersed families for direct visits to their hometown, insisted that the places to be visited be restricted to Seoul and Pyongyang. Contrary to their offer at the eighth meeting that the members of an art troupe should be 100, they asserted that an art troupe should be composed of 300 persons, reasoning that the number of art troupe members should be equal to that of a hometown visiting group.

Whereas the ROKNRC suggested that political elements that could irritate the other side and praise of specific individuals should be eliminated from the performances, the NKRC asserted that the contents of the performances should not be controlled while demanding that the performances be televised live, and posters and other things used to advertise the performances. The North Koreans thus made it questionable as to what they were after through such performances.

But, the two sides, recognizing the need to make an advance check of performance sites, agreed in principle to implement the proposed exchange during the month of September instead of August as they had agreed earlier.

With respect to the issues of the places to be visited and the size of visiting groups, the areas where the two sides showed a wide discrepancy, the two delegations decided to discuss them further at the second contact. They agreed to have the NKRC further study the question of the places to be visited and the ROKNRC the issue of the size of visiting groups. The two sides agreed to hold the second working-level delegates' contact on July 19, 1985.

The substance of the proposals advanced by the NKRC at the first contact was as follows:

— Name: Red Cross Art Troupe and Hometown Visiting Group.

- Method of Visits: Alternate visits.
- Size of Visiting Group: 700 in all including 300 members for a hometown visiting group, 300 art troupe members, 50 press members and 50 working-level officials.
- Places to be Visited and Method of Visits: Reunion with families in Seoul and Pyongyang.
- Contents of Performances: Contents shall be determined at each side's convenience.
- Informing about Contents of Performances: Televising live, and use of performance posters.

b. Second Working-Level Contact

The second working-level delegates' contact was held for one hour and 37 minutes beginning at 10 a.m. July 19, 1985 at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at Panmunjom.

In his first speech, the chief NKRC delegate asserted that the proposals they made at the first contact were all realistic and reasonable, whereas the ideas of the ROKNRC "lacked justification." They insisted that the places to be visited should be restricted to Seoul and Pyongyang.

In response, the ROKNRC, reminding the North Koreans that the NKRC was to review the question of the places to be visited, suggested that if hometown visitors could directly visit their hometowns, the size of both hometown visiting groups and art troupes could be fixed without much difficulty.

Nevertheless, the North Koreans kept arguing unfoundedly that the two sides had in effect agreed at the eighth full-dress meeting to restrict the places to be visited to Seoul and Pyongyang. They asserted that the ROKNRC insistence on direct hometown visits only stood in the way of the progress of

the working-level contacts.

The ROKNRC delegation made it clear that at no time did the two sides agree during the eighth full-dress meeting to limit the places to be visited to Seoul and Pyongyang. It pointed out that the words "hometown visiting" implied direct hometown visits. The ROKNRC suggested that the issue of visiting places and other matters be discussed and resolved one by one. But the NKRC delegation only insisted that the ROKNRC side should agree to their idea.

To find a breakthrough, the ROKNRC delegation proposed that one delegate each meet separately 30 minutes after the end of the working-level contact. But the NKRC rejected the offer, asserting that a separate meeting like that would not work either.

Unperturbed, the ROKNRC side again offered to hold the third working-level contact on July 25 after both sides further reviewed each other's suggestion. The North Koreans even turned down this proposal, contending that even if it were held no affirmative results could be expected since the basic stands of the two sides were diametrically different from each other. The NKRC demanded that the ROKNRC notify them over the direct telephone only when the South could agree to their insistence.

Because of North Korea's argument that they would proceed with the hometown visiting project only when the ROKNRC unconditionally agreed to their stand, the second working-level contact ended without any progress, not even an agreement on the time of the third contact.

c. Third Working-Level Contact

The third working-level delegates contact was held behind closed doors from 10 a.m. to 4:36 p.m. August 22, 1985 at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission at Panmunjom.

The time of the third contact was agreed on during an unofficial contact held between working-level officials of the two Red Cross societies at Panmunjom on August 19, when the two sides exchanged preliminary views on various matters related to the proposed exchange of hometown visitors and art troupes.

The third contact saw the two sides adjust the wording of their respective versions of a prepared agreement based on what was discussed at the earlier unofficial contact.

At the contact which lasted for no shorter than six hours and 36 minutes, the two sides reached a complete agreement on concrete methods and procedural matters regarding the exchange of hometown visitors and art troupes. They agreed to a simultaneously exchange for four days, September 20-23, 1985. They decided to fix the number of each visiting group at 151, including group leader who should be the head of the central organization of each Red Cross, 50 hometown visitors, 50 art troupe members, 30 press members and 20 support personnel. The two sides also decided to make Seoul and Pyongyang the only places to be visited.

The text of the agreement reached at the third contact was as follows:

Agreement Regarding the Exchange of Groups of South-North Hometown Visitors and Art Troupes

At the third working-level delegates contact of the eighth full-dress Red Cross meeting, August 22, 1985, the two sides agreed to carry out the exchange of hometown visitors and art troupes as follows in observance of the 40th anniversary of national liberation.

1. Name of Visiting Groups

The name of the visiting groups shall be determined at each side's convenience. The Republic of Korea National Red Cross shall call them "Groups of South-North Hometown Visitors and Art Troupes."

2. Composition and Size of Visiting Groups

a. Each group, headed by the highest official of each central Red Cross organization (the president of the Republic of Korea National Red Cross and the chairman of the Central Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Red Cross), shall be comprised of hometown visitors, an art troupe, press members and support personnel.

b. The size of a visiting group shall be 151 in all, including the highest official of each central Red Cross organization, and shall include:

- (1) Fifty hometown visitors, mostly those hailing from Seoul and Pyongyang.
- (2) Fifty art troupe members (production staff and performers).
- (3) Thirty press members.
- (4) Twenty support personnel.

3. Exchanged Method

Visiting groups shall be exchanged simultaneously.

4. Period of Visiting

The visiting period shall be September 20-23 (three nights and four days).

5. Places of Visits

The places to be visited shall be Seoul and Pyongyang.

6. Arrangement and Scope of Meeting

a. The two sides, in accordance with the humanitarian principles of the Red Cross, shall assist hometown visitors in conveniently locating their families and relatives and in facilitating their meetings.

b. The meetings shall be with direct ascendants and descendants of a family at the time of separation and any children they may have. The relatives shall include up to third cousins on the father's side and first cousins on the mother's and wife's side. Depending on the visitor's wishes, other relatives whose fate and whereabouts have been confirmed may be included.

7. Place and Frequency of Performances of Art Troupes

a. The performance place shall be theaters, with complete facilities, which the inviting side offers with good faith.

b. There shall be two performances for each side.

8. The Nature of Performances

a. Performances shall be of an artistic nature with emphasis on the nation's traditional songs and dances, and shall not slander, defame or irritate the other side.

b. During performances, moderators may introduce repertoires that are free of political elements and that do not slander

or irritate the other side.

9. Exchange of Scripts and Advance Check of Performance Sites

a. Scripts shall be provided the other side three days before the visits.

b. In order to check in advance matters necessary for the preparation of the performances such as the issues of compositions, change of sets, sound, lighting and other effects, two Red Cross officials and three stage technicians shall visit the other side's performance site September 10-12, 1985.

10. Duration of Performances

The performances shall be about 120 minutes.

11. Guarantee of Personal Safety

A statement by the relevant authorities guaranteeing the personal safety of the group members, shall be made public seven days before the visits, and the original copy of it shall be delivered to the other side.

12. Transportation and Communications

a. Members of the visiting groups, equipment and other necessary items entering the inviting side's area by way of Panmunjom shall be transported by the inviting side's vehicles.

b. During the visits, pouches shall be operated between Seoul and Pyongyang twice a day.

c. For liaison and press purposes during the visits, the 20 existing direct South-North telephone circuits shall be used and, if necessary, additional circuits shall be installed through mutual agreement.

13. Press Coverage

The inviting side shall guarantee press coverage by the press

members of the visiting side at the scene of family reunions, and provide various convenience for press coverage.

14. Place of Passage and Passage Procedures

The place of passage shall be Panmunjom, and the passage procedures shall be in accordance with the practice of the South-North Red Cross Conference.

15. Time of Notification of Visitor's List

a. The lists of hometown visitors shall be notified to the other side 10 days before the visits.

b. The lists of the members of art troupes, press members and support personnel shall be notified to the other side three days before the visits.

16. Format of Lists of Hometown Visitors

a. In the lists of hometown visitors, the section for hometown visitors shall be itemized with columns for the name, sex, age, hometown address, relationship with the persons to be visited, and a picture of each visitor.

b. In the lists of hometown visitors, the section for the persons to be visited shall be itemized with columns for the name, sex, age, hometown address, the time of separation, and other information that could be of help in locating the person.

17. Format of Lists of Art Troupe Members, Press Members, and Support Personnel

The lists for the visiting group members other than hometown visitors shall be itemized with columns for the name, sex, position, area of participation and a picture of each member.

18. Insignia and Identification Cards for Visitors

a. Members of hometown visiting groups, art troupes and support personnel shall wear a Red Cross insignia marked with

the side to which the wearer belongs.

b. Press members shall wear armbands in addition to the insignia of visiting groups. Other matters shall be in accordance with the practices of the South-North Red Cross Conference.

c. Each visitor shall carry an identification card issued by the president (chairman) of the Red Cross of his side.

19. Itineraries for the Visits

The itineraries for the visits shall be delivered to the other side seven days before the visits, which shall then be determined through discussion.

20. Others

a. Visitors shall follow the rules and regulations of the side they are visiting.

b. Lodging, boarding, communications and other conveniences shall be provided by the inviting side.

c. The inviting side shall make provisions so that the visiting troupe can rehearse at the performance site prior to the formal presentations.

d. Auxiliary workers for setting up the stages, ordinary lighting equipment and other needs related to the performances shall be provided by the inviting side.

e. Performance program shall be prepared, transported and distributed by the side presenting the performance.

d. Developments after Working-Level Contacts

Upon agreeing to exchange groups of hometown visitors and art troupes in September 20-23, 1985, the two Red Cross societies had four rounds of preliminary liaison contacts on September 8, 10, 17 and 19 to discuss overall matters related to the exchange. They also exchanged the lists of the 151 visitors

and also the lists of those families and relatives the hometown visitors wished to meet.

The government authorities of both sides announced that they would guarantee the personal safety of the 151 visitors during their travel and stay in their respective areas, and exchanged original copies of the announcement on September 13.

Regarding the exchange of art troupes, each side, based on an agreement reached at the working-level contacts, sent a five-man advance team to the other's area to inspect the performance sites in advance.

The stage was thus set for the first hometown visits and consequent reunions between dispersed families and relatives in the 40-year history of national division.

2. Realization of the Exchange of Visits

The groups of South-North hometown visitors and art troupes were exchanged at 9:30 a.m. September 20, 1985, the first visits ever by dispersed families to the other side for direct meetings with their missing families and relatives.

The 151-member visiting groups, headed by their respective Red Cross society president, arrived in Seoul and Pyongyang by way of Panmunjom to begin their four-day visits.

Of the 100 hometown visitors of the South and the North, 65 people were joyfully reunited with 92 of their family members and relatives. Thirty five visitors from the South met 41 of their relatives, and 30 North Korean visitors met 51 of their relatives.

Meanwhile, the visiting art troupes presented two perfor-

mances on September 21 and 22: the art troupe from Seoul performing at the Grand Pyongyang Theater and the Pyongyang troupe at the National Theater in Seoul.

Of course it is difficult to make an overall comparative appraisal of the arts of South and North Korea from only a couple of performances presented for the first time in a long period of division. However, the Seoul troupe's performances, especially folk dances, drew quite affirmative responses from the North Korean spectators.

But the reaction of many of the viewers of the performances presented by the North Korean troupe was that they reminded them of military-like collective gymnastics. The viewers said they felt the Pyongyang performances were far from the traditional arts of Korea and contained many Chinese and Soviet traits.

The exchange of hometown visitors and art troupes, initially suggested by the ROKNRC as a pilot project to commemorate the 40th anniversary of national liberation, ended when the 151-member visiting groups returned to their respective areas by way of Panmunjom at noon of September 23, 1985.

The hometown visits were significant though they were limited in terms of size and nature and there were some unsatisfactory elements in the course of the implementation.

The First Reunion of Dispersed Families in 40-Year Division

The 40-year-long sufferings of the dispersed families, caused by division, are worse than any other pains or disadvantages resulting from the differences in the political and social systems of the two sides or from the total discontinuation of relations

between the two divided parts.

The recent exchange of hometown visitors, therefore, was significant in that it set a precedent for travel back and forth between the two sides and reunions between dispersed families, even though the visits were limited in the number of persons involved and in the places of visits.

In the past, there were a number of personnel exchanges between the South and the North. But, this was the first time for dispersed families to personally visit the other side to meet their missing family members and relatives.

Promotion of Climate for Family Reunion Project

The exchange of hometown visitors and art troupes served to provide a breakthrough in the efforts to resolve the question of dispersed families, the most exigent and acute issue of the various problems pending between the two sides of Korea. The exchange is expected to have a favorable impact on the ongoing inter-Korean Red Cross talks.

Contribution to Inter-Korean Dialogue

The recent exchange was the first fruit of the many-channeled inter-Korean talks begun in the early 1970s. Therefore, the inter-Korean agreement reached in the exchange project should help promote a favorable atmosphere for inter-Korean talks in other areas as well, and thereby contribute to the substantial progress of the dialogue.

3. The South's Efforts to Resolve the Dispersed Family Issue

South Korea has exerted nationwide efforts to resolve the question of the 10 million dispersed family members as the priority task to settle in the inter-Korean relations. All sectors of the society have joined in the efforts initiated by the Republic of Korea National Red Cross with positive backing from the government authorities.

The ROKNRC unfolded the era of fullfledged talks for the settlement of the dispersed family issue by proposing to the NKRC on August 12, 1971 to have inter-Korean Red Cross talks to dispel the pains of the separated families and arrange reunions for them. But, the initial rounds of the talks resulted in no progress due to the intransigency of the North Koreans who insisted on the prior settlement of political issues.

In an effort to provide a breakthrough in the deadlocked Red Cross talks, the ROKNRC proposed such pilot projects as an exchange of tomb visitors on Chusok, a traditional holiday, at the seventh full-dress meeting and again at the 13th working-level meeting, and a project to find out the fates and whereabouts of aged parents and their children and arrange their reunions on a priority basis at the 1st, 6th, 7th and 8th working-level meetings. Also, at every available opportunity, the ROKNRC urged the North Koreans to return to the dialogue table, reminding them of the seriousness and exigence of the dispersed family issue.

Since the birth of the Fifth Republic, in particular, more positive governmental efforts were made to seek a settlement of the pressing issue.

In the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification he pronounced on January 22, 1982, President Chun Doo Hwan proposed to the North the conclusion of a Provisional Agreement on Basic Relations between South and North Korea as a measure to normalize relations pending unification, while pointing out that the "question of arranging humanitarian reunions between dispersed families" represents the top priority task to be resolved between the two sides of Korea.

On February 1 of the same year, Minister of National Unification Sohn Jae-shik proposed to the North 20 inter-Korean pilot projects. The projects, all aimed at easing tension and facilitating the opening of the two societies to each other, included the realization of reunions and postal exchanges between dispersed families to alleviate their pains, if only a little bit.

Again in his Liberation Day speech on August 15, 1982, President Chun, while stressing the importance of the mutual opening of the societies, declared that the South would be the first to open its society to all Korean compatriots residing in Communist-bloc countries including North Korea. The President stated that any Korean compatriot will be able to freely and safely travel to and from the Republic of Korea and the government of the Republic will expressly guarantee it.

In particular, the receipt by the ROKNRC of the materials offered by North Korea for flood victims in the South and the subsequent ROKNRC offer for the resumption of the Red Cross talks on the dispersed family question, served as a fresh breakthrough in the 12-year-long deadlock of the Red Cross conference. Moreover, at the eighth full-dress Red Cross meeting held in Seoul May 27-30, 1985, the ROKNRC showed a positive yet tolerant posture, thus providing a decisive

momentum to facilitating the exchange of hometown visitors and art troupes.

Parallel with these efforts of the government and ROKNRC, some of the press media of the South had steadily staged daily search drives, which included the "Campaign for Locating 100,000 Parents" and the "Campaign for Searching for 10 Million Dispersed Family Members." In particular, the television family reunion campaign launched by the KBS-TV on June 30, 1983, served to present anew the tragedy and seriousness of the dispersed family issue, attracting much concern even from abroad.

At the same time, the dispersed families, rather than passively awaiting the time of reunion, have themselves begun to wage a positive drive to systematically find a way to realize family reunions.

Rallying around the Committee for the Promotion of the Reunions of 10 Million Dispersed Family Members inaugurated on February 9, 1983, the dispersed families recommend matters related to the separated family issue to the government, conduct research programs on the question, cooperate with relevant international organizations, and carry out other projects aimed at expediting family reunions. Moreover, they have set August 12 as the "Day of Dispersed Families" to renew their determination to continue to strive for the realization of family reunions and they also operate as a joint project the "Square of Reunions" near the Korea Broadcasting System (KBS) in Seoul.

4. Reactions at Home and Abroad

Commenting on the exchange of the Groups of Hometown Visitors and Art Troupes, press media in the South observed that the exchange represented an epochal milestone in the history of national division. Newspapers editorialized that “the occasion has not only unfolded a new chapter in our national history but also served to display the homogeneity of the Koreans as well as their aspiration for unification and peace before the whole world.”

Also remarking that the exchange amounted to removing, via humanitarianism, part of the strong barrier of ideology, the press stressed that such reunions should not end as a one-shot project but should be carried out continuously, and that dispersed families should henceforth be allowed to visit their hometowns directly and stay in each other’s areas for a longer period. The press added that once dispersed families are reunited, they should be allowed to contact each other at any time by telephone and mail.

The media added, however, that one heartbreaking thing was that in the course of the exchange of visitors, the high barrier existing between the two sides was felt anew. They cautioned the public not to expect too much from the family reunin project nor to allow themselves to be swayed by the emotions accompanying the reunions and to be aware of the stark reality of the inter-Korean relations.

The press stressed that this is a time for the people to sweep away the tears of emotion and rationally consider what they can best do to contribute to improving the situation, adding that it is important to widen the small hole in the barrier the re-

cent exchange created and thereby try to dispel heterogeneity between the two sides.

Meanwhile, the major foreign media, welcoming the exchange of hometown visitors and art troupes as “an astonishing and epochal progress” in inter-Korean relations, observed that the exchange was a “concrete and dramatic result of the efforts to thaw the strained inter-Korean relations.” They expressed the view that there will be more exchanges of hometown visitors and such exchanges will spread to other areas as well.

The foreign press said that the recent exchange made people feel anew the thick wall between the two sides and also noted that the future of inter-Korean relations is not necessarily optimistic and should be viewed with prudence and patience.

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South-North Dialogue in Korea

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Part I

Continuous Efforts to Improve Inter-Korean Relations and Resolve the Question of Unification

1. President Chun's 1986 Policy Statement

— Emphasis on Dispelling the Fear of War —

In his nationally televised policy statement on January 16, 1986, President Chun Doo Hwan discussed the pressing tasks the nation is faced with and set forth a direction for national development. The President, describing the second half of the 1980s as a “period of historical turning” for the nation, said, “this coming period will be a truly momentous turning point that will determine the successes or failures of our generation as well as the destiny of the Korean people.”

In the statement, President Chun stressed that whether to carry out successfully three important national events in the next three years would determine the current chapter of national history. He explained that the three tasks are to implement the first peaceful power change in the history of the Republic upon the expiration of the single term of the President, to stage the 1986 Asiad and the 1988 Olympics successfully, and to expel the fear of war in inter-Korean relations.

The President again displayed his unswerving attachment for the peaceful unification of the homeland by vowing to “exercise all my authority and powers in, and concentrate the strong determination of the Republic on, realizing the principles of national reconciliation and democratic unification.”

President Chun stressed that to improve inter-Korean relations and realize peaceful unification, the two sides should carry on their current dialogue, ban the use of violence and force of arms, and open their societies to each other.

These goals of the President stem from his firm determination to realize peace in the historical conviction that “inasmuch as division was made during our generation, unification has to

be achieved by our own generation.”

There has been no substantial improvement registered in the relations between South and North Korea due to the insincere attitude of the North Koreans. But, consistent efforts by the President to bring about peaceful unification are certain to lead to a further consolidation of national unity internally and exaltation of the nation's commitment for peaceful unification externally.

Following is the part of President Chun's policy statement related to the question of unification and the inter-Korean dialogue:

In September last year, we observed the moving sight of relatives from the South and North embracing each other in tearful reunions after traveling hundreds of miles both ways between Seoul and P'yongyang. Considering the proverb, "Even a journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step," and in view of our deep desire to see our land and people unified once again, this development is very meaningful.

Remembering the labor and patience that all our citizens exerted over the past five years to open a new chapter in inter-Korean relations, I solemnly vow to exercise all the authority and powers invested in me and concentrate the strong determination of the Republic on ensuring that the paramount principles of national reconciliation leading to democratic unification are pursued to a successful end.

It is by no means easy to arrive at substantive accords between two different sets of ideologies and political systems. And yet, since the territorial division has taken place during our generation, unification should also be achieved during our generation. With such a sense of responsibility, I will not only strive to sustain the existing channels of dialogue but will gladly

keep opening new forums for dialogue in any field, as long as there is an assurance of good faith on the part of North Korea.

In addition to carrying on talks, I want to urge both the South and the North to ban the use of violence and force of arms and to open their societies to each other. Experience has taught us the lesson that war and violence do not solve any issue and instead make matters worse. All possible means and methods must be employed to prevent any further unfortunate catastrophes, especially as we are of one ethnic stock. No matter what sacrifices may be required, we must prevent any development through which this peaceful and beautiful land would be once again stained by blood, all the fruits of our sweat and labor would be reduced to heaps of ashes overnight and our children who are now happily romping around would have to roam about in rags and in hunger through war's debris.

We must bear in mind that should our war deterrence be insufficient and our determination to defend ourselves infirm our desire for peace would become a weakness to be taken advantage of by the other side and the lofty cause of unification would be used as an excuse to attempt unification through communization. This is exactly why our defense capabilities must be maximized while sincere dialogue is promoted.

2. Minister of National Unification Park Calls on North Korea to be Sincere toward Dialogue

— Address at Seminar on 4th Anniversary of Announcement of Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification —

Minister of National Unification Park Tong-jin, in an address at a seminar January 30, 1986, urged North Korea to be

more sincere toward inter-Korean dialogue. The seminar, sponsored by the National Unification Board, was to commemorate the 4th anniversary of the announcement on January 22, 1982 of the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification and also to review the second-stage of dialogue.

In the speech, Minister Park said that North Korea's suspension of dialogue using the excuse of the "Team Spirit '86" military exercise makes it highly dubious if they are really interested in resolving problems pending between the two sides of Korea through dialogue with the South. The Minister then let it be known that the Republic of Korea government's unchanging policy is to continue to promote talks with the North in all sectors if the North Koreans return to a sincere attitude toward dialogue.

Minister Park stressed that from a realistic point of view, military exercises and other issues pending between the two sides may all be subject to discussion but cannot be prerequisites toward continuing dialogue under any circumstances. He said that the North Korean act of suspending talks unilaterally simply because of some difference in opinions, indicates that they are not sincere in resolving problems peacefully through talks.

The Minister said that the tension and mutual distrust now existing between South and North Korea are attributable not to military exercises but to the aggressive policy of North Korea to communize the Korean peninsula. "We therefore must have talks to eliminate the basic cause that has made defensive military exercises unavoidable and other issues related thereto," he said.

The full text of Minister Park's address is as follows:

Theme presenters, debaters and distinguished guests,

I thank you for being here despite your busy schedules. As you well know, President Chun Doo Hwan announced the Formula for National Reconciliation and Democratic Unification on January 22, 1982, and our Board had since sponsored two seminars to commemorate this historic occasion by providing opportunities for experts from various walks of life to actively discuss the question of national unification.

But, I believe that the third of such seminars here today can be a very important event that gives us yet another meaning because of its timing. For, the nation is paying a keener interest in inter-Korean relations and the question of unification than at any other time in the past as we have just seen 40 years of national division pass and are entering the stage of a fresh inter-Korean dialogue.

Various ideological struggles have been staged at an international level since Marx and Engels provided groundwork for the development of Communist ideology by announcing the Communist Manifesto in 1848. Contrary to Marx's prediction, however, we now see communism on the decline throughout the world. The national strength of Korea keeps growing and the Korean people, who would stage the Seoul Olympics two years from now, have come to watch the development of the inter-Korean relations and unification issue from a more matured position and a more promising point of view.

And, we see that not a few positive factors appear in the international environment and the development of surrounding countries, factors contributory to the peaceful development of inter-Korean relations.

It is against this backdrop that our government intends to exert positive efforts to bring about more practical progress in the dialogue this year based on the achievements made so far, which include the mutual exchange of dispersed family hometown visitors last year.

Notwithstanding, the latest attitude of North Korea makes it highly dubious if they are really interested in resolving matters pending between South and North Korea through a dialogue with us.

As already reported, North Korea, as they did last year, has unfoundedly made an issue of our annual military exercise, notifying us onesidedly that they won't hold meetings at times already agreed on between the two sides. They have thus once more disappointed people at home and abroad.

It is totally unreasonable for the North Koreans to reject the economic, Red Cross and preliminary parliamentarians' meetings which they had already agreed on while ridiculously arguing as if our routine military exercise had deliberately stood in the way of the dialogue.

The tension and distrust existing between the South and the North are deep-rooted ones formed over the long period of 40 years. Historically seen, this is due entirely to the aggressive policy of North Korea in which they seek to communize the South.

North Korea continues to pursue a hostile policy against South Korea. They hold secret military exercises and redeploy their heavily armed troops in areas closer to the Demilitarized Zone. Besides, inter-Korean relations are yet to be improved systematically. Under the circumstances, it is more than natural for the South to display a resolute determination and take proper self-defense measures to forestall any unfortunate eventuality and safeguard our survival. Nobody can dispute this.

We earnestly hope that genuine and durable peace will take root so that the two sides can trust each other eventually rendering any military exercises meaningless.

In his 1986 policy statement made last January 16, President Chun, discussing inter-Korean relations, stated that "I will not only strive to sustain the existing channels of dialogue but will gladly keep opening new forums for dialogue in any field, as long

as there is an assurance of good faith on the part of North Korea."

I believe, therefore, that seen from a realistic point of view, military exercises and other issues pending between the two sides can all be subject to negotiations but can never be prerequisites to a dialogue under any circumstance.

The tension and mutual distrust between South and North Korea are attributable not to military exercises but to other reasons such as North Korea's aggressive and provocative policy against the South. Since our military exercises are necessitated to prepare against such belligerency, what we need in the first place is to eliminate such a basic cause and related issues that have made defensive military exercises unavoidable. I am convinced that inter-Korean dialogue should be fully utilized as a peaceful means of serving this purpose.

Thus seen, it is utterly regrettable that this latest attitude of North Korea amounts to deliberately fogging the ripening atmosphere of dialogue, thus fermenting fresh tension and distrust.

I believe that North Korea should reflect deeply on themselves in the face of the magnanimousness and sincerity with which we, despite the shocking Rangoon incident of 1983, have provided the opportunity of a new dialogue in compliance with the ardent wish of our entire people for peace.

From the time the Communists proposed truce talks in the Korean War until the Armistice Agreement was finally signed on July 27, 1953, some 500 rounds of talks were held while fierce battles raged along the front line until a few days before the signing. As can be seen here, the act of ignoring already agreed on matters and boycotting meetings in a one-sided manner indicates that they have no sincerity toward resolving problems through dialogue. I believe that their intransigency, as could be seen in their suspension of the economic, Red Cross and preliminary parliamentarians' meetings slated for this spring, ought to be rectified at an early date.

I, therefore, would like to take this occasion to urge North Korea not to repeat their act of laying unnecessary obstacles before our dialogue any further as they did in the 1970s, come to the dialogue table on agreed-on dates, and show a more sincere posture toward the dialogue.

Before concluding, I hope that this seminar will determine the realistic standing of inter-Korean relations and the unification issue based on the accurate evaluation of the recent subjective and objective situations so that they might prove helpful to policy studies of our Board and further contribute to the coherence of national opinion in a successful manner. I look forward to your positive participation and cooperation.

Thank you.

Part II

Progress in Inter-Korean Dialogue

1. Course of Inter-Korean Dialogue

a. Fifth Economic Meeting

(1) Progress

The fifth Inter-Korean Economic Meeting was held behind closed doors at the conference room of the Neutral Nations' Supervisory Commission at Panmunjom on November 20, 1985. The meeting, which lasted two hours and 45 minutes from 10 a.m., was attended by seven delegates each from South and North Korea.

At the meeting, the two sides centered their discussion on three items: the question of determining the title of an agreement to be adopted, the question of the principles of inter-Korean projects, and the listing of exchangeable items agreed on between the two sides. The three items were among the nine points of differences shown in the two sides' versions of an Agreement on the Implementation of Trade and Economic Cooperation and the Establishment of the South-North Joint Economic Cooperation Committee, which were produced at the earlier fourth meeting. But, the fifth meeting ended without any progress due to the conflicting positions of the two sides.

At the fourth meeting, the two sides agreed that in order to hold the meeting more effectively, they would discuss chiefly their draft versions and hold a separate working-level meeting to adjust wording after they reached an accord on the major substance of the proposed agreement.

In his first speech, Kim Kihwan, Republic of Korea chief delegate, said that the two versions contained a number of points in common or similarity, and expressed the view that some items of difference could be resolved easily if only the

two sides exert endeavors to this end. He then presented the results of his delegation's review of seven items — the question of the title of the proposed agreement, principles of the projects to be undertaken, the issue of whether to list the items exchangeable, method of transactions and the question of selecting a bank or banks for settlement, the issue of whether to list the economic projects subject to cooperation, the function of a joint committee, and the number of sub-committees.

Noting that the two sides in effect agreed already a year before on the early implementation of the exchange of materials and on the mutual purchase and sale of items such as briquette coal and steel goods which either of the two sides needs, the southern side proposed to carry out, on a pilot-basis, a barter trade of goods in conformity of the public expectation pinned on the inter-Korean economic talks. The items to be exchanged here could include the 300,000 tons of briquette coal which the South had earlier offered to purchase from the North.

The opinions presented by the southern delegation on the review of the two sides' draft versions were as follows:

The first concerns the title of the Agreement. I don't believe there are any differences here apart from minor ones in the wording. In accordance with what was decided at the third round of talks, we believe the title should read: "An Agreement on the Implementation of Commodity Trade and Economic Cooperation and the Establishment of a Joint South-North Economic Cooperation Committee under the chairmanship at the Deputy Prime Minister level".

My second point concerns the article in your draft which reiterates the basic aims of cooperation between our parties already specified in the preambles of both our drafts: the restora-

tion of economic relations, increased prosperity for our people, peaceful reunification, and so forth. We believe that this article is redundant because the basic aim of economic exchange and cooperation between the South and North is very adequately covered in the preamble, and only minor changes in the wording are required in the preamble to incorporate your concerns.

The third issue deals with the items to be traded between us. We believe that the Agreement should identify all the commodities which both parties agreed upon during the first and second rounds of talks: first, because it is our understanding that the Agreement should incorporate all the points of agreement already reached between us, and second, because the implementation of these points of agreement should be given top priority.

My fourth point concerns the payment mechanism for economic exchange. Again, there seem to be some differences of opinion here but no major problems. My delegation believes that the system of open accounts and direct settlement should be introduced between a bank in the South and a bank in the North. However, until our agreement is concluded, trade should be conducted through letters of credit issued by foreign banks.

The fifth point concerns the implementation of projects for economic cooperation already agreed upon. At the first and second meetings, both parties agreed to carry out such projects as the establishment of joint fishing areas and the joint development of natural resources. My delegation therefore feels strongly that such projects should be specified in the Agreement, even if the Joint South-North Economic Cooperation Committee are to consider other projects later on.

As regards the size, scope, modality, conditions and timing of the projects, we have suggested that these details should be determined by the competent agencies designated for each project by both parties. Your delegation, however, has proposed that such matters should be determined by the Joint Committee. We believe our proposal to be more efficient; even if basic

parameters for projects are to be decided on by the Joint Committee, as you suggest, they would require extensive fine-tuning afterwards in any case by the competent agencies before the projects can be carried out.

My sixth point concerns the functions of the Joint Committee. My delegation believes that the Agreement should clearly spell out the role of the Joint Committee in carrying out the proposals agreed upon at the first two rounds of talks. We demonstrated the logic and rationality of the suggestion at the last meeting; we believe you will be receptive to it.

As for seventh point, we understand that our two parties differ on the number of Sub-committee to be established under the Joint Committee. We have advocated beginning with one sub committee for commodity trade, and another for economic cooperation. We can decide to establish other ad hoc or small sub committees later if deemed necessary.

Meanwhile, the North Korean side raised seven points as needing further studies. They included four that overlapped with the seven items raised by the southern side — the title of a proposed agreement, principles of inter-Korean projects, the question of listing items subject to exchange and the number of sub-committees, plus the question of whether to put “with authority delegated from the highest official” to the signature line of the proposed agreement and whether to use the title of each country on the signature line. The two sides agreed to discuss the nine points raised by both sides one by one.

As to the issue of the title of an agreement, the southern delegation, recalling that at the third meeting the two sides in effect agreed to make the title “Agreement on the Implementation of Material Exchanges and Economic Cooperation and the

Establishment of the South-North Joint Economic Cooperation Committee Headed by Vice Prime Minister Level Officials," urged the North Koreans to accept it by reaffirming the earlier agreement.

However, the North Korean side insisted that the title should be "Agreement on the Realization of Economic Cooperation and Commodity Exchanges and the Establishment of the South-North Joint Economic Cooperation Committee." Despite the fact that the southern delegation, accommodating part of the North Korean argument, suggested that "material exchanges" may be changed to "commodity exchanges," North Korea stuck to their own position with regard to the order of the phrases of "commodity exchanges" and "economic cooperation" as well as to the name of the proposed committee. In a show of utter insincerity, the North Korean delegation went so far as to shelve further debates of the matters, thus in effect scrapping the de facto agreement reached between the two sides at the third meeting.

Regarding the question of the principles of project implementation, the southern side noted that the preambles of both sides' draft versions, though there is some difference in expression, generally provide for the basic spirit and objectives the economic meeting pursues, such as the principles of the restoration of the economic bond of South and North Korea, national prosperity and peaceful unification. The southern side also said that the principles of national unification may be included in the preamble as suggested by the norther side. The delegation from the South, however, said that there shouldn't be any overlapping provisions of principles.

The North Korean side, on the other hand, kept insisting that the principles of projects should be prescribed in an independent article. The question of principles thus failed to be

ironed out.

Meanwhile, concerning the question of listing in an agreement those tradable items agreed on between the two sides at the first and second meetings, the southern side suggested that the listing of such items be included in an agreement as a gesture to conclude the year-long economic talks early and emphasize the importance of the sincere implementation of agreed-on projects.

But, the North Korean delegation rejected even this suggestion, arguing that the inclusion of the listing in an agreement is prone to limit exchangeable items. They also shunned any response to the offer by the South that 300,000 tons of North Korean anthracite coal be bartered with steel goods on a parity basis.

As no agreement was seen at the meeting, the two sides shared the view that more talks would be needed to adjust differences, and agreed to hold the sixth economic meeting on January 22, 1986.

(2) Domestic Reaction

As the fifth Inter-Korean Economic Meeting ended without any substantial progress, domestic press media invariably commented that "it is utterly regrettable that no single exchange of materials could have materialized even after more than one year since the two sides reached an agreement in principle on the exchange of materials." The press stressed that "now that the two sides have sounded out each other's positions through five rounds of talks, the time has come for them to move toward a substantial agreement."

The press also suggested that a "pilot project" be undertaken as a breakthrough in the deadlock, as was the case with the exchange of hometown visitors in the Red Cross con-

ference.

Looking back over the 1985 inter-Korean dialogue, the press charged the North Koreans with employing delaying tactics throughout the year, calling upon them to be more sincere toward the talks and thus contribute to fostering trust between the two sides of Korea.

b. Tenth Full-Dress Red Cross Meeting

(1) Progress

First-Day Meeting

The first-day meeting of the tenth full-dress meeting of the South-North Red Cross Conference was held on the morning of December 3, 1985 at the Convention Center of the Seoul Sheraton Hotel. The closed-door meeting, attended by 14 delegates and consultants from each side, lasted for one hour and 40 minutes from 10 a.m.

The tenth meeting was originally scheduled to be held beginning November 27, 1985. But, it was postponed until December 3 at the request of the North Korean side.

Begun with ROKNRC Chief Delegate Lee Yung-duk's opening declaration and greetings, the meeting first heard Lee deliver his keynote speech. It was followed by NKRC Chief Delegate Li Jong-ryul's speech.

In his keynote speech, the ROKNRC chief delegate once again explained the purport and contents of the three draft agreements his delegation proposed at the ninth full-dress meeting, the three being an Agreement Regarding the Implementation of Projects Envisaged in the Five Topics, an Agreement on Procedures for Free Travel between Dispersed

Families and Relatives in the South and the North, and an Agreement on the Formation and Operation of a South-North Red Cross Joint Committee and a South-North Red Cross Joint Panmunjom Project Office. He then suggested that these draft versions be discussed on a package basis so as to adopt an integrated agreement. Lee said the two sides could thus wind up the Red Cross talks at an early date and go into the stage of project implementation.

Chief Delegate Lee noted that the draft versions the two sides produced at the ninth meeting had many points in common, such as those that dispersed family projects be undertaken in utmost deference to the free opinions of the families involved and that the five agenda topics be discussed as soon as possible and its results be adopted in an agreement. On the other hand, Lee said, there were many differences as to the method of the debate of the topics.

Lee discussed his delegation's position regarding such differences as follows:

First, we believe that inasmuch as our two sides have already agreed to discuss and resolve the five topics on a package basis without regard to their order, methods for an item-by-item implementation of the five topics should naturally be considered for their comprehensive discussion and solution.

However, your side in effect shuns a package solution of the five topics. While demanding a package discussion of the five topics, your side insists that the issue of free travel should be tackled first and that the methods and procedural matters on issues other than free travel should be discussed and determined after an agreement was adopted on the question of free travel.

I believe that we should respect the package discussion of the five agenda topics since it is a matter agreed on between the two

sides at the eighth full-dress meeting and since it is a method necessary even for effective progress in the discussion of agenda topics.

Second, as to the contents of the agreements, our side produced comprehensive ideas containing concrete contents regarding the implementation of projects envisaged in the five agenda topics, procedures for free travels and the formation and operation of organizations necessary for the implementation of projects. Your versions, however, lacked any comprehensive contents.

Moreover, your side failed to produce any concrete ideas regarding items other than free travel and procedural matters related to the actual realization of topics, saying only that they would be discussed.

I believe that the shortcut to resolving the question of dispersed families is for our two sides to discuss and solve comprehensive and concrete contents of all related problems in order to wind up the South-North Red Cross talks that have lasted for no fewer than 14 years and to translate agreed-on projects into action at an early date. Even though the two sides show differences, we would be able to conclude the full-dress talks successfully at an early date if only we display the spirit of mutual understanding and reciprocity since we both are meant to resolve the question of separated families.

In this respect, I expect that your side would produce a comprehensive idea commensurate with our side's version and that the two sides' versions would be discussed at today's meeting. I believe that, otherwise, we could reach an agreement easily if we make discussions chiefly on our side's version since our side's draft version fully reflects even the contents your side suggested.

Chief Delegate Lee then proposed that to expand and develop the good results of the hometown visiting program even before full-fledged visits and reunions are realized,

hometown visiting groups of dispersed families be exchanged again on the occasion of lunar New Year's Day, one of Korea's traditional holidays.

Also proposing that those who met their missing families in Seoul and Pyongyang and had to be separated again in September 1985 be allowed to exchange correspondence freely, Lee said that if the North Korean side agreed, a working-level meeting could be held separately to discuss concrete matters related thereto.

The text of the three draft agreements presented to the first-day meeting of the tenth full-dress Red Cross talks was as follows:

Agreement Regarding the Implementation of Projects Envisaged in the Five Topics (Draft)

The Republic of Korea National Red Cross and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Red Cross, with a humanitarian spirit and a desire to pave the way for early reunions between the families and relatives dispersed in the South and the North, agree as follows:

First, the two sides shall implement the projects envisaged in the five topics via the following methods and procedures under the auspices and cooperation of the two Red Cross societies.

1. The project to ascertain, and notify thereof, the whereabouts and fate of the dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North shall be implemented either through an exchange of letters of inquiry and letters of reply or as free travel made with the cooperation of the two Red Cross societies according to the free will of the dispersed families involved. Methods and procedures including the format for letters of inquiry for dispersed families and letter of reply shall be as suggested by the

Republic of Korea National Red Cross at the third full-dress meeting.

2. The project to facilitate mutual visits and meetings among the dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North shall be implemented through free travel back and forth.

As for meetings, the families and relatives shall be allowed to have meetings according to their wishes at a meeting center to be created at Panmunjom or elsewhere. The South-North Red Cross Joint Panmunjom Project Office shall be responsible for the establishment and operation of a Panmunjom meeting center.

3. Correspondence between the families and relatives dispersed in the South and the North shall be made in sealed letters or postcards at their convenience. They shall be allowed to make use of such communications means as telephones and telegraphs. The exchange of correspondence shall be entrusted to the South-North Red Cross Joint Panmunjom Project Office.

4. Reunions between dispersed families in the South and the North shall be realized by arranging the way for them to live at places of their own free choosing. Working-level matters regarding reunions shall be discussed and determined by the South-North Red Cross Joint Committee.

5. Other humanitarian projects to be settled should be introduced to and settled by the South-North Red Cross Joint Committee.

Second, procedures for free travel back and forth by dispersed families and relatives, which are necessary for the implementation of these projects, shall be determined separately.

Third, to guarantee the implementation of matters agreed on by the South-North Red Cross Conference, the two sides shall inaugurate early the South-North Red Cross Joint Committee and the South-North Red Cross Joint Panmunjom Project Office, the creation of which was agreed on at the fourth full-dress Red Cross meeting. Agreed matters concerning the formation and operation of the South-North Red Cross Joint Committee and

the South-North Joint Panmunjom Project Office shall be determined separately.

Fourth, Red Cross missions shall be established and operated in Seoul and Pyongyang, with a view to smoothly implementing Red Cross projects for dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North, promoting close cooperation between the Red Cross organizations of the two sides, and carrying out such business as cooperation and liaison for personnel staying in the other's area.

Fifth, this agreement shall go into force from the time the two sides affix their signatures and exchange signed copies, and shall continue to remain in force unless it is repealed through mutual agreement.

, , 1985

On Behalf of the Republic
of Korea National
Red Cross

On Behalf of the Democratic
People's Republic of Korea
Red Cross

Lee Yung-Duk
Chief Delegate
Republic of Korea National
Red Cross Delegation

Li Jong-Ryul
Chief Delegate
Democratic People's Republic of
Korea Red Cross Delegation

**Agreement on Procedures for Free Travel
between Dispersed Families and
Relatives in the South and the North (Draft)**

An agreement is hereby reached as follows on the procedures for free travel between the families and relatives dispersed in the South and the North, pursuant to the Agreement Regarding the Implementation of Projects Envisaged in the Five Topics.

1. The families to travel between the South and the North shall include those who were family members at the time of

separation and their descendants born thereafter, and relatives shall include up to third cousins in collateral relations and first cousins on the wife's and mother's side.

2. The purpose of travel between the South and the North by families and relatives shall be to ascertain the whereabouts and fate of family members and relatives, and to have visits or reunions with them. If and when they wish to travel freely for other purposes, it shall be discussed and decided on by the South-North Red Cross Joint Committee.

3. The families and relatives traveling back and forth shall carry travel certificates issued by the Red Cross of his side. The certificates shall indicate the purpose of travel, destination, period of stay and other necessary information.

4. Regarding the families and relatives traveling back and forth between the South and the North, the relevant Red Cross shall notify the other Red Cross of the list of such travelers, purpose of travels, destinations, duration of their stay in the other side's area and other necessary matters one month before their departures.

5. The destination of those traveling back and forth between the South and the North shall be their hometowns, the place where they resided at the time of separation or the place where their family members or relatives now reside. If necessary, such destination may be changed with cooperation from the other side's Red Cross.

6. The period of stay in the other side's area for the families and relatives traveling between the South and the North shall be less than one month.

7. The point of passage through the Military Demarcation Line by the families and relatives traveling between the South and the North shall be Panmunjom. Additional points of passage may be established through mutual agreement.

8. The provision of various conveniences such as lodging, boarding, transportation and communications for the families

and relatives traveling back and forth between the South and the North shall be the responsibility of the other side's Red Cross.

9. In the event there is a need for emergency relief or medical care for the families and relatives traveling between the South and the North, it shall be offered free of charge by the other side's Red Cross.

10. As for the issue of security of the families and relatives traveling between the South and the North, the government authorities of both sides, through the good offices of both Red Cross societies, shall guarantee and be responsible for the safe return of all of them.

11. This Agreement shall go into force from the time the two sides affix their signatures on it and exchange signed copies, and shall continue to remain in force unless it is repealed through mutual agreement.

, , 1985

On Behalf of the
Republic of Korea
National Red Cross

On Behalf of the Democratic
People's Republic of Korea
Red Cross

Lee Yung-Duk
Chief Delegate
Republic of Korea
National Red Cross
Delegation

Li Jong-Ryul
Chief Delegate
Democratic People's
Republic of Korea
Delegation

**Agreement on the Formation and Operation of a
South-North Red Cross Joint Committee and a South-North
Red Cross Joint Panmunjom Project Office (Draft)**

An agreement is hereby reached as follows on the formation and operation of a South-North Red Cross Joint Committee and

a South-North Red Cross Joint Panmunjom Project Office, pursuant to the Agreement Regarding the Implementation of Projects Envisaged in the Five Topics.

1. Purport

For the purpose of effectively carrying out various projects agreed on at the South-North Red Cross Conference, a South-North Red Cross Joint Committee (hereinafter referred to as Joint Committee) and a South-North Red Cross Joint Panmunjom Project Office (hereinafter referred to as Joint Project Office) shall be established and operated.

2. Joint Committee

a. Function

(1) To guarantee the faithful implementation of matters agreed on between the two sides at the South-North Red Cross Conference, and to adjust and resolve all problems that occur in the course of implementing agreed matters.

(2) To discuss all humanitarian problems that arise in connection with the project for reunions between dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North and make decisions about them.

b. Formation

The Joint Committee shall be composed of five members from each side, and the co-chairmen shall be of vice Red Cross president (vice chairman) level.

c. Operation

(1) Meetings of the Joint Committee shall in principle be held at Panmunjom. However, they may be held in Seoul or Pyongyang through mutual agreement.

(2) The Joint Committee shall have a regular meeting every three months and may have extraordinary meetings upon the request of either side.

(3) Meetings of the Joint Committee shall be held behind closed doors. However, they may be opened to the public through mutual agreement.

(4) Matters of agreement reached at the Joint Committee shall be referred to the Joint Project Office for implementation.

3. Joint Project Office

a. Function

(1) To perform the business of exchanging letters of inquiry regarding the whereabouts and fate of the dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North and the letters of reply.

(2) To perform the business of exchanging letters between the dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North.

(3) To perform the business of maintaining the meeting site at Panmunjom for dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North who wish to meet there.

(4) To perform various business related to the passage through Panmunjom of the dispersed families and relatives in the South and the North.

(5) To perform general clerical work related to the operation of the Joint Committee, and carry out humanitarian projects referred to it by the Joint Committee.

b. Formation

The Joint Project Office shall be formed with a head of department-chief level from the central Red Cross organizations of each side and necessary clerical workers from each side. The organization and the number of clerical workers shall be determined separately through discussion.

c. Operation

(1) The two sides shall jointly construct and use the office building of the Joint Project Office at Panmunjom. However, pending the completion of the office building of the Joint Project Office, the Republic of Korea National Red Cross and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Red Cross shall establish and operate the Joint Project Office at the Peace House and Panmungak, respectively.

(2) The two heads (one from each side) of the Joint Project Office shall regularly hold a closed-door meeting once a week. A meeting may be held at any time at the request of either side.

(3) The two sides shall establish and begin to operate the Joint Project Office within one month after affixing their signatures on and exchanging this Agreement.

(4) Details about the construction of the office building of the Joint Project Office and about the operation of the Joint Project Office shall be discussed and determined by the Joint Committee.

4. This Agreement shall go into force from the time and two sides affix their signatures to it and exchange signed copies of it, and shall continue to remain in force unless it is repealed through mutual agreement.

, , 1985

On Behalf of the Republic
of Korea National
Red Cross

On Behalf of the Democratic
People's Republic of Korea
Red Cross

Lee Yung-Duk
Chief Delegate
Republic of Korea National
Red Cross Delegation

Li Jong-Ryul
Chief Delegate
Democratic People's Republic of
Korea Red Cross Delegation

In the meantime, the NKRC side, arguing that the two sides agreed at the eighth full-dress meeting to make free travels the most pivotal and comprehensive method of resolving the five agenda items, demanded that their draft agreement on free travel, which they first produced at the ninth meeting and later supplemented, be adopted in the first place.

In addition, aware that the ROKNRC's draft versions covered methods other than free travel as well as matters about project offices, the NKRC delegation set forth a Proposal on Methods Other than Free Travels for those among dispersed families and relatives who cannot make free travels due to age, physical limitations and other reasons.

The gist of the North Korean offer was as follows:

Method of Free Travels

(1) Principles of Free Travels

- Maximum respect for the personality of the dispersed families and relatives involved.
- Prohibition of any intervention or control that impedes in the humanitarian activities of travelers.
- Prohibition of any physical constraints of travelers.

(2) Scope of Free Travelers

- Families at the time of separation and their descendents.
- Third cousins on collateral relations and the first cousins on the wife's and mother's sides.
- Other relatives whom the two side specifically recommend.

(3) Procedures for Free Travels

- Would-be travelers shall file application with their

sides' Red Cross authorities.

- Travelers shall notify authorities concerned of the persons and places to be visited one month before their departure.
- The destinations of travelers shall be the places of residence of their families and relatives at the time of separation, the work places of their families and relatives, and other places of meeting.
- The duration of travelers' stay shall be approximately one month.

(4) Means of Travel and Points of Passage

- Transportation means for travelers shall be either automobiles, trains, ships or airplanes depending on the desire of travelers.
- The points of passage for travelers shall be Panmunjom and Cholwon for land; Wonsan, Pusan, Nampo and Inchon ports for sea; and the Sunan and Kimpo airports for air.

(5) Guarantee of Conveniences for Travelers

- Conveniences such as lodging, boarding, transportation, communication, etc. shall be provided by the other side's Red Cross organization.
- In case of the need of emergency relief and medical assistance, required services shall be provided by the other side's Red Cross organization free of charge.
- Details shall be discussed separately.

(6) Guarantee of Personal Safety of Travelers

- Steps to guarantee the personal safety of travelers shall be taken by the authorities of the two sides through the good offices of Red Cross organizations.
- Detailed matters regarding the guarantee of personal safety shall be discussed separately.

Methods Other Than Free Travel

(1) Method of Ascertaining, and Informing Thereof, the Whereabouts and Fates of Those Families and Relatives Who Cannot Make Free Travels

- Families and relatives dispersed in the South and the North shall request their sides' Red Cross organizations for such ascertainment.
- Families and relatives dispersed in the South and the North shall ascertain whereabouts and fates by sending their trusted representatives to the other sides' areas.
- Families and relatives dispersed in the South and the North shall ascertain whereabouts and fates through contacts with the other sides' organizations or individual persons.

(2) Method of Realizing Meeting between Those Families and Relatives Who Cannot Make Free Travels

- Meeting shall be made at Panmunjom, Cholwon and other places the persons involved want.
- Joint project offices shall be set up at Panmunjom, Cholwon and other places for the conveniences of such meetings.

(3) Method of Realizing Exchange of Correspondence between Those Families and Relatives Who Cannot Make Free Travels

- Exchange of such postal matters as letters and postcards.
- Use of communications means such as the telephone and telegraph.
- Procedures for the exchange of postal matters and the use of the telephone and telegraph shall be

discussed separately.

(4) Method of Realizing Reunions of Those Families and Relatives Who Cannot Make Free Travels

- Realization of reunions through the exchange of letters between the persons involved.
- Realization of reunions in an arrangement made through their relatives or trusted representatives.
- Realization of reunions through contacts with the Red Cross organizations of the two sides.

(5) Method of Resolving Other Humanitarian Projects

- A person may dispose of the articles left by the dead and transfer the remains of the dead through a trusted representative.
- A person may dispose of the articles left by the dead and transfer the remains of the dead through contacts with the Red Cross organizations of the two sides.
- The method of ascertaining, and informing thereof, the fate of friends, and of realizing free visits and the exchange of letters between them, shall be the same as the case with dispersed families and relatives.
- Other problems to be raised through mutual agreement may be further discussed.

Moreover, on the pretext of fostering an amicable atmosphere for the humanitarian talks and contributing much to the improvement of inter-Korean relations, the North Korean delegation suggested that the two delegations use airplanes when they travel back and forth between Seoul and Pyongyang, a question that had nothing to do with the substance of the Red Cross talks.

At the meeting, the ROKNRC side comprehensively produced three draft agreements in line with the agreement reached at the eighth full-dress meeting to “resolve the five agenda topics on a package basis,” whereas the North Koreans presented only a draft agreement on free travels, a partly redressed version of their draft first laid down at the earlier eighth and ninth meetings. By insisting on the priority adoption of their draft agreement, the NKRC simply repeated their argument made at the ninth full-dress meeting, a demand for the phased tackling of the dispersed family issue.

In particular, the North Korean idea that those families and relatives who cannot make free travels could ascertain the fates and whereabouts of their missing families and could exchange letters with them through Red Cross organizations or their representatives, contravened the ROKNRC position that such could be ascertained through the exchange of letters of inquiry and reply or through direct visits.

Besides, the North Korean version contained provisions on ascertaining the fates of friends, realizing their free visits and meeting, and the exchange of letters between them, thus attempting to include the “question of friends” in the scope of Red Cross projects. But, the two sides have already agreed not to include friends in the projects after the North Korean side withdrew the issue after they first raised it during the preliminary Red Cross meetings in the early 1970s.

The first-day meeting of the tenth full-dress meeting ended without any substantial discussion after hearing the two sides present their conflicting positions.

Second-Day Meeting

Second-Day Meeting of the tenth full-dress South-North

Red Cross talks was held from 10 a.m. to 12:50 p.m. December 4 at the same convention hall of the Sheraton Hotel.

At the meeting opened with ROKNRC Chief Delegate Lee's opening declaration, Lee reiterated the justness and reasonableness of the three comprehensive draft agreements his delegation laid down at the first-day meeting, and also made a brief comment on the suggestion North Korea made at the previous meeting. The two sides then entered a substantial discussion, but without any progress.

In his speech, the ROKNRC chief delegate stressed again that in order to respect the principles of "package discussion of agenda topics" and "free travels" agreed on at the eighth full-dress meeting and to resolve the issue of the five agenda topics at an early date, the North Korean side, too, should produce a comprehensive draft agreement covering not only the question of free travels but also the issue of forming and operating a joint Red Cross committee and a joint Panmunjom project office.

Chief Delegate Lee pointed to the unreasonableness of the NKRC position, saying that whereas the ROKNRC delegation produced a draft agreement on free travels along with the one on the implementation of projects envisaged in the five agenda topics, the North Korean side, in its version, mentioned only free travels without touching on the methods of other projects, and offered a separate proposal to regulate the scope of other project methods.

In the refutation, the ROKNRC chief delegate said in part:

I would like to point out several problematic points with regard to your side's proposal.

First of all, your new proposal is prone to give rise to confu-

sion and misunderstanding because it separately regulates the methods of the projects envisaged in the five agenda topics respectively for free travelers your side mentions and for those who cannot make free visits.

For example, your side's draft agreement on free travels says that as a method of resolving the project of Topic No. 3, information could be conveyed orally or by letter to one's families and relatives in the other side's area by way of free travelers. On the other hand, your side says in your proposals on other methods that postal matters such as letters and postcards and such communication means as the telephone and telegraph can be available only to those families and relatives who cannot make free travels.

This is apt to cause the misunderstanding that only those who cannot make free travels would be allowed to use postal matters and communications means while free travelers would be denied them.

A literal look at your side's offer shows much room for misunderstanding and confusion, as it gives the impression that the exchange of correspondence would be allowed not for free travelers but only for those who cannot make free travels.

Such misunderstanding and confusion derive purely from your side's unnecessary classification of those coverable in the family search program into free travelers and those who cannot make free travels.

We'd better forestall and eliminate the ground of such misunderstanding. I therefore believe that dispersed families should not be categorized into free travelers and non-free travelers. What should be distinguished instead should be project methods such as free travels or the exchange of letters. I think that all dispersed families should be allowed to choose these project methods according to their free will.

It was under this principle and spirit that my ROKNRC delegation produced a proposal centered on a basic agreement on

the implementation of the projects envisaged in the five agenda topics.

At the same time, your side's draft agreement on free travels and proposal on other methods enumerate the methods of settling projects envisaged in the five topics in duplicate. In other words, there are methods of resolving agenda projects with regard to free travels, while there are separate methods for the same agenda projects in a proposal for other methods. This amounts to putting the cart before the horse.

As your side, too, well knows, the basic mission our South-North Red Cross talks should accomplish is to resolve the projects envisaged in the five agenda topics. The rightful order, therefore, should be that the resolution of agenda topics remains the core of an agreement, while its methods or procedures must be secondary.

In the resolution of the project of Topic No. 1, for instance, your side suggests that free travelers will have no way to ascertain the fate and whereabouts of their missing families unless they directly travel to the other side's area, and that the method of finding out fate and whereabouts through Red Cross organizations is available only to non-free travelers.

Also in the question of reunions, Topic No. 2, your suggestions are that non-free travelers are to be met at specific places like Panmunjom and Cholwon, whereas free travelers "can meet at any places they like." Your side thus discriminates against non-free travelers, as pointed out earlier, in disregard of the free will hardly distinguishable in reality from the issue of visits.

In the issue of the exchange of correspondence, Topic No. 3, your side tries to set a distinction between free travelers and non-free travelers, as pointed out earlier, in disregard of the free will of the people involved. Further, in the question of reunions, Topic No. 4, your side unduly attempts to keep free travelers from contacting Red Cross organizations or exchanging letters, thus denying them any opportunity of reunion unless they "per-

sonally travel to the other side's area."

Also in the question of other humanitarian issues, Topic No. 5, covering the disposition of the remains of the dead or the articles left by the dead, your proposal, in a show of contradictions, blocks dispersed families from resolving the issue through Red Cross organizations unless they personally travel to the other side's areas.

I presume that this is the result of your side's negligence of the importance of other methods in your over-emphasis of free travels, as well as from your attitude of putting the cart before the horse, in which your side regards the solution of the five agenda topics as only secondary.

The basic mission of the full-dress South-North Red Cross talks is in every respect to resolve the projects envisaged in the five topics. If this basic duty were understood clearly, there would be no denying that the issue of free travel or other methods should naturally be put secondary to the solution of the projects of the five topics.

Moreover, in your proposal regarding other methods, your side from nowhere raised a new object of projects, that is, "friends," which has nothing to do at all with any of the other objectives.

The issue of "friends" is not related in any way to the families and relatives dispersed in the South and the North. As your side remembers, this was the issue which your side raised in the course of preliminary meetings in the early 1970s and which the two sides already agreed to eliminate from the list of topics.

I do not understand what has prompted your side to raise the issue of "friends" again, an issue which does not befit even the contents of your proposal and which the two sides have already agreed to exclude from the scope of discussion.

In addition, ROKNRC Chief Delegate Lee asked the North Koreans what was their reaction to the ROKNRC proposal for

the establishment of Red Cross missions in each other's area. He also urged the NKRC to show an affirmative response to his suggestions that another exchange of hometown visiting groups be made among dispersed families on the occasion of the lunar New Year's Day of 1986, and that those who were reunited in September 1985 be allowed to exchange correspondence.

Contrary to this, the NKRC side only indulged in reiterating the "justness" and "reasonability" of the proposals on free travels and other methods they produced at the first-day meeting. And, they rejected the ROKNRC proposal for the exchange of hometown visitors on lunar New Year's day and for the exchange of correspondence between those who met during the 1985 exchange of hometown visitors.

It was self-contradictory for the North Koreans to reject the furtherance of the hometown visiting program while they loudly claim that the "visiting program has given joy to the people aspiring for unification and has served to further heighten the air of unification among all the compatriots at home and abroad." They deserve to be censured for turning a deaf ear to the pathetic wish of the 10 million dispersed family members.

The second-day meeting, too, ended without any progress amidst the conflicting views of the two sides. As discussed above, the position of the ROKNRC delegation was to adopt a comprehensive agreement centered on the implementation of projects envisaged in the five topics and including the issues of free travels and the formation and operation of a joint Red Cross committee, whereas the North Korean stand was to prepare an agreement on agenda projects with emphasis on free travels.

The two sides agreed to hold the 11th full-dress Red Cross meeting in Pyongyang on February 26, 1986.

(2) Reactions at Home and Abroad

As the time of the tenth full-dress Red Cross was approaching on the heels of the exchange of hometown visitors for the first time since national division, press comments at home and abroad hoped that a substantial agreement would be made at the Seoul meeting on the projects stipulated in the five topics. The press expressed a particular concern about whether the North Korean Red Cross would display any “constructive approach” toward the practical ideas offered by the South.

The press comments also expressed the hope that the hometown visiting program would continue to be carried out, pointing out that the continued promotion of hometown visiting is a “sure way to bring about solid progress” in the Red Cross talks.

As the NKRC, while turning a deaf ear to the ROKNRC call for the adoption of a comprehensive agreement, insisted only on “free travels” and demanded that “friends” be included in the category of dispersed persons and airplanes be used in Red Cross delegations’ travels between Seoul and Pyongyang, the press denounced the North Korean attitude as an attempt to degrade the humanitarian nature inherent in Red Cross talks.

Commenting, in particular, on the North’s rejection of the ROKNRC offers for the exchange of hometown visiting groups again on lunar New Year’s day and the exchange of letters between those who were reunited in September 1985, the press observed that such a rejection makes it highly dubious if the North Koreans were really interested in implementing separated family projects. The North Korean attitude may be suggestive of their strategy that “they would carry on the talks but do not want any substantial progress,” the press said.

2. Suspension of Dialogue

a. Background

On January 20, 1986, barely two days before the sixth Inter-Korean Economic Meeting slated for January 22, North Korea one-sidedly announced the indefinite postponement of the on-going dialogue with the excuse of the "Team Spirit '86" military exercise set to be held in the South beginning February 10.

In an announcement made in the form of a "joint statement" by the North Korean delegations to the economic, Red Cross and preliminary parliamentarians meetings, North Korea, branding the "Team Spirit" exercise as a "nuclear war maneuver intended against North Korea," asserted that it will not have talks with the South during the period of the training exercise.

Reacting to the announcement, Republic of Korea delegations to the talks issued a joint statement on the afternoon of the same day to express regret over the undue suspension of the dialogue and to call on the North to carry out all the meetings as scheduled. The joint statement was signed by Kwon Jung-dal, chief delegate to the preliminary parliamentarians contacts; Kim Kihwan, chief delegate to the economic meeting; and Lee Yung-duk, chief delegate to the Red Cross talks.

Pointing out that "the North Korean boycott of the scheduled meetings with the excuse of routine military training cannot be justified and only amounts to posing an artificial barrier ahead of the dialogue," the statement stressed that "if the North is really interested in easing tension and achieving unification, they, instead of rejecting a dialogue on the grounds of a routine training exercise, should have dialogue

with sincerity and endeavor to build up trust between South and North Korea,”

The text of the joint statement of the southern chief delegates is as follows:

Today all the people in the South and the North earnestly hope that the multi-channeled inter-Korean dialogue under way for the past one year will come to successful fruition this year, thus unfolding a new chapter in easing tension on the Korean peninsula and improving inter-Korean relations.

In particular, dispersed families in the South and the North and the rest of the people, who still vividly remember the historic exchange of hometown visitors and art troupes, expect that the talks will progress well and result in many achievements in this year too.

They further hope that at the economic meeting an Agreement on the Implementation of Material Exchanges and Economic Cooperation Projects and on the formation of the Joint South-North Economic Cooperation Committee, which the two sides sincerely discussed in the past one year, will be adopted at an early date so that material exchanges and economic cooperation will be realized.

In the midst of such circumstances, North Korea issued a so-called joint statement of their delegations to the inter-Korean talks on January 20, in which they announced that they had unilaterally postponed indefinitely the sixth inter-Korean economic meeting slated for January 22, the third preliminary parliamentarians meeting set for February 18, and the 11th full-dress Red Cross meeting to be held on February 26, respectively, with the excuse of our side's routine military training exercise.

Together with all the people, our delegations cannot but be disappointed deeply at the undue suspension of the dialogue by the North Koreans.

As the whole world well knows, our “Team Spirit” exercise is peace-keeping training with a defensive purpose. The annual exercise, held continuously in the past ten years, was foreseen to be held this year too when the two sides agreed on the timing of the three-channeled talks.

As for military training, it is rather a matter of common sense that any country in the world that maintains armed forces takes it for granted that training exercises will be held. If there is any army that does not train, it would be extraordinarily abnormal.

The problem is whether such military exercises are held in secrecy or openly, whether they are offensive or defensive in nature, and whether they serve to strain the existing situation or threaten the other side.

That this training exercise of our side does not pose any threat to North Korea can be proven by the fact that our side formally notified North Korea of the contents and periods of such training many times in the past and even invited the North to send observers to the annual exercise in the South.

Last year alone, North Korea conducted regimental and division-level military exercises all along the Demilitarized Zone and large-scale field maneuvers participated in by all military branches across North Korea. But, North Korea has not openly announced such exercises nor has it notified our side thereof.

The very act of North Korea holding military exercises in secrecy and building up offensive weapons along the Demilitarized Zone has made it unavoidable for our side to hold defensive military exercises in preparation against any eventuality.

Thus seen, North Korea’s boycott of the scheduled meetings on the pretext of routine military exercises cannot be justified by any excuse. We cannot but believe that such an act is merely aimed at laying an artificial barrier ahead of the dialogue.

The South and the North held working-level contacts to prepare for a prime ministers meeting and many other talks when military exercises were under way on both sides. As recently as

early April 1984, for instance, an inter-Korean sports meeting was held while the "Team Spirit" exercise was going on. But, the North Koreans did not dispute the military exercise in connection with the sports talks.

If North Korea is truly interested in carrying out inter-Korean dialogue with sincerity, they should first respect what has been agreed on between the two sides rather than boycotting meetings with an unjustifiable excuse.

As is well known, this is not the first time the North Koreans unilaterally put off talks and violated agreed matters. Such is their stereotyped tactics that have been repeated many time in the past.

North Korea, which provoked a shooting spree at Panmunjom on November 23, 1984, tried to distort the fact and shift the blame to the South, putting off a planned inter-Korean economic meeting. Again early last year, they boycotted scheduled economic and Red Cross meetings in protest against our side's annual military training.

The tension existing between South and North Korea is not attributable to our side's military exercises as North Korea argues, but rather is the result of the mutual distrust and hostile relations that have been accumulated in the 40 years of national division.

The most important in the successful implementation of the inter-Korean dialogue is for the two sides to be faithful to each other and to build up mutual trust. This should begin with the maintenance of a posture wherein both sides faithfully carry out and respect what has been agreed upon between them.

If North Korea is genuinely interested in easing tension between the South and the North and realizing unification, they, instead of boycotting the talks with the excuse of the "Team Spirit" exercise, should come out for the talks with sincerity, contributing to the buildup of trust between the two sides.

In this context, we stress that all the meetings which both

sides have already agreed on and which we solemnly pledged to hold before the whole nation should be held as scheduled.

January 20, 1986

Kwon Jung-dal, chief delegate
Preliminary South-North Parliamentarians
Contacts

Kim Kihwan, chief delegate
Inter-Korean Economic Meeting

Lee Yung-duk, chief delegate
South-North Red Cross Conference

Notwithstanding the South's efforts to carry on the talks, North Korea on January 21 formally notified the South of their unilateral postponement of the 6th economic meeting in a message signed by the North's chief delegate Li Song-rok. The inter-Korean economic meeting was thus suspended again.

On January 22, 1986, when the sixth economic meeting was originally set to be held, Kim Kihwan, Republic of Korea chief delegate, made the following comments on the suspension of the talks, urging the North to return to the meeting at an early date.

I regret deeply that the sixth Inter-Korean Economic Meeting, which the two sides had agreed to hold at Panmunjom today, failed to be held due to North Korea's unilateral suspension.

Last January 20, North Korea announced through radio broadcasting a joint statement of their delegations to the inter-Korean dialogue, saying that they would unilaterally suspend the

dialogue on which all people pin their expectations. Again on January 21, they informed us in a telephone message that they would not attend the sixth inter-Korean economic meeting slated for 10 a.m. today.

In a joint statement of our chief delegates, our side on January 20 pointed out the unreasonableness of North Korea's suspension of the talks. In a telephone message to the North on January 21, we stressed that agreed matters reached between the two sides should be respected and carried out by all means, urging the North to return to the sixth economic meeting at an early date.

Today all the people hope that the inter-Korean economic talks will register progress as soon as possible so that material exchanges and economic cooperation can be realized leading to the laying of foundation for reconciliation and mutual trust.

In conformity with this national wish, North Korea should return to the table of dialogue at an early date in a modest and sincere posture.

Meanwhile, in separate telephone messages to the South on January 22, North Korea said they were suspending the 11th full-dress Red Cross meeting slated for February 25-28, 1986, in Pyongyang, and the third preliminary parliamentarians contact set to be held on February 18, 1986, respectively.

b. Unreasonableness of the North Korean Attitude

Another Boycott Tactics

This is not the first time North Korea unilaterally postponed agreed-on meetings and violated other agreed-upon matters. It is their stereotyped tactics that have been repeated many times in the past.

For instance, in the wake of the shooting incident which the North Koreans provoked at Panmunjom on November 23, 1984, North Korea boycotted a scheduled economic meeting while trying to shift the blame to the South. Again last year, North Korea suspended the dialogue for four months after they suspended the economic and Red Cross meetings slated for January 17 and January 22-25, 1985, respectively, using the excuse of the "Team Spirit" military exercise.

These series of acts torpedoing already agreed-on meetings with the unfounded excuse of routine military exercises make it highly dubious that the North Koreans are really interested in the progress of inter-Korean dialogue.

Routine Military Exercises Not Disputable

In any country it is taken for granted to conduct military exercises as part of their territorial defense programs. Moreover, the "Team Spirit" exercise is an open peace-keeping training mission held every year by the Republic of Korea and the United States since 1976 for defensive purposes. True to its peace-keeping nature, the South makes the exercise public at home and abroad and even invites North Korean military personnel to observe it.

North Korea holds offensive field maneuvers in secrecy under the simulated condition of invasion of the South every year, in which huge numbers of troops are mobilized. Last year alone when they suspended dialogue on the grounds of "Team Spirit '85," some 3,000 training exercises, small and large, were held along the Demilitarized Zone and all across North Korea. They included regimental and division-level exercises and countrywide maneuvers taken part in by whole

military branches. Nevertheless, the South has never taken issue with such North Korean military exercises in connection with inter-Korean dialogue.

North Korea unfoundedly argues as if the South's military exercises are the root source of tension on the Korean peninsula while mentioning nothing about their own training maneuvers. But, what casts uncertainty on the peninsula's situation and fuels tension is not the military exercises themselves but the secrecy and hostile nature in which the North Koreans conduct training exercises as well as their arms buildup.

Nevertheless, North Korea, as is the case with a thief accusing his own victim, disputes the South's defensive military exercises. Their act cannot but be taken as an attempt to provide an excuse to torpedo the dialogue.

Dialogue One Thing and Exercises Another

The tension between South and North Korea is not due to the military exercises of the South as the North Koreans assert, but rather is the product of the mutual distrust and hostile relations that have been accumulated over 40 years' national division.

Therefore, one way to ease tension and foster mutual trust under the present circumstances is for the two sides to faithfully implement what have been agreed on between them and carry on the dialogue in a sincere manner.

If the North is genuinely interested in easing tension and realizing unification, they should display more sincerity toward dialogue and fostering mutual trust instead of demanding a halt to the "Team Spirit" exercise as a prerequisite to the dialogue.

Abroad, the NATO and Warsaw Treaty Organization hold their annual exercises, respectively. Still, the two opposing camps hold arms limitation and other talks without regard to such exercises.

In the past, a dialogue had been held between the two sides of Korea, too, irrespective of the "Team Spirit" exercise. In 1984, in particular, sports talks were held after North Korea agreed to hold them in early April when the "Team Spirit '84" was under way.

**Inter-Korean Meetings Held during Periods
of "Team Spirit" Exercise**

Exercise Period	Meeting
March 1-27, 1979	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Table tennis meeting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Second meeting (March 5, '79) — Third meeting (March 9, '79) — Fourth meeting (March 12, '79) • Contacts between Coordinating Committee Seoul-side delegates and the North's "Front for Fatherland" delegates <ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Second contact (March 7, '79) — Third contact (March 14, '79)
March 1-April 20, 1980	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Working-level contacts for Prime Minister' meeting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Third contact (March 4, '80) — Fourth contact (March 18, '80) — Fifth contact (April 1, '80) — Sixth contact (April 18, '80)
February 1-mid-April, 1984	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First sports meeting (April 9, '84)

Moreover, considering the fact that "Team Spirit '86" was fully foreseen when the two sides agreed on the timing of the

sixth economic meeting and other talks, it was all the more unreasonable for North Korea to suspend the talks on the grounds of the exercise when the times of the meetings were just around the corner.

The North's Arms Buildup and Growing Defense Need

Presently North Korea maintains some 800,000 regular troops organized into about 70 combat divisions and brigades. Their military manpower and equipment both lead those of the South 1:3 and 2:3 respectively.

Besides, since 1982, North Korea has activated five mechanized corps and deployed their offensive forces in areas closer to the truce line. Three of the five new mechanized corps have been positioned in the forward area. They have further dug some 170 underground fortifications within 8 kilometers from the DMZ, which are capable of holding up to four to five divisions.

Lately, in particular, North Korea has introduced large numbers of various offensive weapons including MIG-23's and SA-3 missiles from the Soviet Union, and stepped up their cooperation with the Soviets in the area of military intelligence, posing an added threat to the South.

The "Team Spirit" and other military exercises are needed in the South only to cope effectively with such an offensive arms buildup in North Korea.

Ulterior Objectives

While crying for dialogue and peaceful unification in words, the North Koreans are so insincere toward the inter-Korean talks as to trample down even agreed-on matters and,

at the same time, keep building up their arms. These may well indicate that what they try to seek through dialogue is not the peaceful solution of the Korean question but ulterior political objectives.

One of their sinister goals is apparently to coin the impression in the world that "the U.S. forces in Korea and the 'Team Spirit' exercise are the root source of tension on the Korean peninsula" and thus to make plausible their pet idea of a so-called "tripartite meeting" aimed largely at having American troops withdrawn from Korea. More ultimately, their goals are centered on shaking the military equilibrium between the two sides of Korea in their favor to create conditions ripe for communization of the entire peninsula.

As the North's Kim Il-sung himself said in his New Year message that "there should be a rightful posture if the dialogue is to be carried out successfully," the North Koreans should be more sincere and at least respect what has been agreed on between the two sides instead of disputing the "Team Spirit" exercise that has nothing to do with the dialogue.

c. Reactions at Home and Abroad

As North Korea boycotted the agreed-on meetings of inter-Korean dialogue for the second consecutive year with the excuse of the "Team Spirit" exercise, domestic newspapers editorially denounced the unreasonable North Korean action.

Stressing that the training exercise was not a happenstance but an open and defensive exercise that was already foreseen when the two sides agreed on the meetings and that had nothing to do with the dialogue, the press observed that the boycott obviously stemmed from their scheme to use the

dialogue for ulterior political purposes.

The newspapers said that trust is essential to dialogue and this trust should begin with the implementation of mutual agreements, and urged the North Koreans to be sincere toward the dialogue if only to create a “good atmosphere” they themselves call for.

At the same time, major foreign press media also denounced the North Korean boycott as an “act going against the efforts to ease tension.” The foreign press observed that what lies underneath their unilateral action seems to be their “persistent political scheme” to prompt the U.S. forces to leave Korea.

Part III

IOC-Sponsored Inter-Korean Sports Meeting

1. Background

Ever since the International Olympic Committee (IOC) chose Seoul as the venue of the 24th Olympics in its meeting at Baden-Baden, West Germany, in September 1981, North Korea has employed all schemes and machinations to block Seoul from hosting the 1988 Olympics.

The North Koreans, playing up tension on the Korean peninsula, assert that “Seoul cannot be the proper site of the Olympics” because of the tension, and that the Olympics in Seoul would lead to perpetualizing the division of Korea, a result which they argue is “in contravention of the basic ideals of the Olympics.”

Against that backdrop, IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch suggested a sports meeting between South and North Korea under the IOC’s sponsorship. On February 1, 1985, the IOC Executive Committee formally proposed the talks to the South and North Korean national Olympic committees.

In a message to the president of the Republic of Korea Olympic Committee (KOC), the IOC suggested that a meeting between the representatives of the South and North Korean Olympic committees be held in Lausanne under the chair of the IOC president, and that the meeting be attended by six delegates from the IOC and six each from the South and North Korean Olympic committees. The IOC let it be known in the message that no political remarks would be allowed from either side during the meeting and that the topics would be 1) matters pertaining to sports between the two national Olympic committees and 2) the issue of the 24th Olympics in 1988.

In response, the KOC accepted the IOC offer on March 31, 1985 on the conditions that the IOC decision on the Seoul

Olympics should be respected under all circumstances.

On the other hand, North Korea, while reiterating their demand that the venue of the 24th Olympics should be changed, had turned a deaf ear to the IOC proposal until July 6, 1985, when they made a sudden about-face and now said they would attend the meeting.

Here, the IOC officially announced on July 24 that an inter-Korean sports meeting would be held in Lausanne under the sponsorship of the IOC. It then notified South and North Korea on August 1 that the first meeting would be held October 8-9, 1985. A stage was thus set for sports talks between the two sides of Korea for the first time in one and a half years since inter-Korean sports officials contacts were suspended in May 1984.

Meanwhile, the lists of the IOC and South and North Korean delegations to the Lausanne meeting were as follows:

International Olympic Committee (IOC) Delegation

Juan Antonio Samaranch, IOC president, Spanish
 Alexandru Siperco, IOC 1st vice-president, Romanian
 Ashwini Kumar, IOC 2nd vice-president, Indian
 Berthold Beitz, IOC 3rd vice-president, West German
 Sheik Fahad Al-Ahmad Al-Sabah, OCA president, Kuwait
 Raymond Gafner, IOC interim administrator, Swiss

Republic of Korea Olympic Committee (KOC) Delegation

Chief delegate: Kim Jong-ha, KOC president
 Deputy chief delegate: Chang Chung-shik, KOC vice-president

Delegate: Choe Man-rip, KOC vice-president
 Delegate: Lee Jong-ha, KOC standing member
 Delegate: Im Tae-sun, KOC member
 Delegate: Nam Jong-mun, KOC member

North Korean Olympic Committee (NKOC) Delegation

Chief delegate: Kim Yu-sun, NKOC president
 Deputy chief delegate: Chin Chung-kuk, NKOC vice-president
 Delegate: Han Chang-un, NKOC member
 Delegate: An Bok-man, NKOC member
 Delegate: Cho Myong-hwang, NKOC member
 Delegate: Chang Yung, NKOC deputy secretary general

2. Progress

a. First Meeting

The first IOC-hosted inter-Korean sports meeting was held October 8-9, 1985, in Lausanne, Switzerland, where the IOC has its main office. The meeting, presided over by IOC President Samaranch, included two rounds of joint tripartite talks among the IOC and South and North Korean Olympic committee delegates, two rounds of talks between IOC and KOC delegates, and another two rounds between IOC and NKOC delegates. But, the meeting failed to register any substantial progress because of the NKOC's insistence on the joint hosting of the 24th Olympics between South and North Korea.

(1) First-Day Meeting

The first-day meeting was held on October 8 chiefly with the IOC delegation, as a moderator, sounding out and trying to adjust the position of the KOC and the NKOC. After a joint meeting among the IOC and South and North Korean delegations from 10 to 10:40 a.m., the IOC had separate hour-long meetings first with the KOC delegation and then with the NKOC delegation in the afternoon.

The morning joint meeting, presided over by IOC President Samaranch, only heard the chief delegates from both sides of Korea deliver their respective keynote speeches.

In his speech, KOC chief delegate Kim Jong-ha said that the right to host the 24th Summer Olympics has been officially granted to the Republic of Korea Olympic Committee and the City of Seoul and this is an immovably established fact. He then made it express that his KOC would fulfill its responsibility under the right accorded by the International Olympic Committee.

Stressing that the Seoul Olympics has thrown its door wide open so that even North Korean athletes, like those from all other countries, could freely participate in it in accordance with the Olympic Charter, Kim Jong-ha said his delegation was willing to discuss the question of North Korea's participation in the Seoul Olympics, the great festival of mankind and a source of the glory of the Korean people. The KOC chief delegate also stressed that the Lausanne meeting should be carried out on the basis of respecting the Olympic Charter and the right given to the KOC to host the 24th Olympics.

Part of KOC chief delegate Kim Jong-ha's keynote speech was as follows:

The Olympics is a festival of mankind and the largest international sports event where youths and athletes around the world get together to train their minds and bodies through sound sports games and deepen their international trust and understanding through dialogue.

The basic ideal of the Olympics is to pursue world peace and international goodwill transcending political ideologies and difference in races, religions, customs, languages and cultures. This is why the athletes of all countries on the five oceans and six continents assemble at the Olympics freely on an equal footing.

It was in accordance with the ideals and spirit of the Olympic Movement that the International Olympic Committee has resolved to hold the 24th Olympics in Seoul in 1988.

In this historic decision, the International Olympic Committee has formally granted to the City of Seoul the right to organize the 24th Seoul Olympics under the provisions of the Olympic Charter.

Also under the provisions of the Olympic Charter, the International Olympic Committee, the Republic of Korea Olympic Committee and the host City of Seoul have duly signed a concrete contract on the staging of the 24th Seoul Olympics. Therefore, the right and responsibility given to us to host and organize the 24th Olympics have now become an irrevocably established fact.

The Republic of Korea Olympic Committee makes it express that we shall accomplish the responsibility under the right accorded by the International Olympic Committee.

For four years since Seoul was chosen as the venue of the 24th Olympics to date, a number of officials and delegates from the International Olympic Committee, International Sports Federation and National Olympic committees have been to Seoul to discover with their great satisfaction that Seoul is ideally suited to hosting the 24th Olympics in 1988 and all Olympic preparations have been going on most satisfactorily.

We already dedicated our Olympic main stadium in September last year, on the occasion of which we hosted a colorful international sports games with the participation of a number of sports officials and athletes from some 80 countries around the world. And, the various international sports events successfully held in Seoul in September and October this year were attended by a large number of athletes from member countries including China, the Soviet Union, East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Romania.

We would like to attach a particular significance to the "Mexico Declaration" which the general assembly of the Association of National Olympic Committees held in Mexico last year adopted to pledge its contribution to the successful staging of the 24th Seoul Olympics. In the declaration, all the national Olympic committees resolved that:

- They will respect the Olympic Charter and ideal;*
- They, recognizant of the importance of the Olympics, will contribute to the success of the 1988 Summer and Winter Olympics to be held in Seoul and Calgary, respectively, in accordance with a decision made at the International Olympic Committee meeting held in Baden-Baden in 1981; and*
- All athletes retain the right to take part in the Olympics and national Olympic committees have the basic obligation to guarantee that right.*

Again at the 89th meeting of the International Olympic Committee held in Lausanne in December last year, a resolution was adopted to the effect that all member countries should participate in the 24th Seoul Olympics.

At the 90th meeting of the International Olympic Committee held in East Berlin in June this year, all delegates were satisfied with a progress report on the preparation of the Seoul Olympics.

It is now certain that the 24th Seoul Olympics will become one of the most shining examples in Olympic history.

The door of the glorious Seoul Olympics has been thrown

wide open so that even North Korean sports officials and athletes can freely participate in it along with those from other countries.

At this meeting today arranged by the International Olympic Committee, we are prepared to have talks on the question of North Korea's participation in the 24th Seoul Olympics in cooperation with the International Olympic Committee and in accordance with the decision made at the Baden-Baden meeting of the International Olympic Committee in 1981 as well as the Olympic Charter.

We expect that North Korea will naturally take part in the 24th Olympics to be held in Seoul as decided by the International Olympic Committee in its Baden-Baden meeting of 1981. It is our hope that at this meeting called by the International Olympic Committee, the question of North Korea's participation will be discussed in a way that will respect the Olympic Charter and our right to host the Olympics.

On the other hand, the North Korean delegation, in its first speech, demanded that the 24th Olympics be held under the joint sponsorship between South and North Korea, a demand that runs counter to the IOC Charter and the basic Olympic spirit.

The North Korean chief delegate, Kim Yu-sun, argued that "unless an epochal measure is taken with regard to the venue of the 24th Olympics, a development that may be extremely hazardous to the Korean people's great task of unification and to the sound development of the Olympic movement, may occur." He said that in order to "save the 24th Olympics," the South and the North of Korea should host half of the 24th Summer Olympics each.

The details North Korea set forth for the "joint sponsorship" of the 24th Olympic Games were as follows in substance:

- Hosting of the Games

The Games shall be held under the joint sponsorship of South and North Korea, which shall field a single delegation to the Games.

- Title of the Games

The title of the Games shall be either “Korean Olympic Games” or “Korean Pyongyang-Seoul Olympic Games.”

- Allocation of Sports

The Games shall be equally divided between Pyongyang and Seoul.

- Opening & Closing Ceremonies

Opening and closing ceremonies shall be held in Pyongyang and Seoul for the sports allocated to each side.

- Question of Free Travels

— Athletes, sports officials, press members and tourists shall be allowed to freely travel back and forth between Pyongyang and Seoul by land and sea transportation means and by air.

— For free travels, roads and railroads will be linked between Pyongyang and Seoul, and a passenger route will be opened between the Nampo and Incheon ports.

— To ensure the maximum conveniences for travelers and ensure the swiftness of travels, only transit certificates will be issued at the points of transit without issuing separate visas.

- Television Rights and Distribution of Profits

Television rights shall be granted depending on contracts, and profits shall be divided reasonably through discussion.

- Permanent Organization for Joint Sponsorship

— To ensure the joint sponsorship effectively, a joint North-South permanent organization shall be established.

— The name of the organization shall be Korean Olympics Joint Organizing Committee or Korean Pyongyang-Seoul

Olympic Joint Organizing Committee.

Following the joint meeting in the morning, separate meetings between the IOC and KOC delegations and between the IOC and NKOC delegations were held at 3-4 p.m. and 5-6 p.m. in the afternoon, respectively.

During the meeting with the KOC delegation, IOC President Samaranch explained his IOC's basic position that it would respect the IOC's Baden-Baden decision to grant the right to host the 1988 Olympics to Seoul as well as the IOC Charter and the IOC contract with Korea regarding the Seoul Olympics. Samaranch then expressed the hope that the KOC would produce ideas, if any, that could enable North Korea to take part in the Seoul Olympics more significantly.

In response, KOC chief delegate Kim Chong-ha said the KOC was willing to consider allotting the preliminaries of a few sports including those of handball to the North Korean area, the matches whose schedules could be readjusted without causing much problem to the overall schedule now that the venues and schedule of the 24th Olympics have already been fixed concretely.

The KOC delegation said that various issues related thereto, such as those on travels back and forth by sports officials and athletes, transportation of items necessary for matches and guaranteeing of personal safety, would have to be concretely discussed and resolved.

In addition, the KOC delegation expressed its willingness to study the issue of possible passage of the man's group road cycling through the North Korean area as well as the question of simultaneous entry of both South and North Korean delegations into the opening and closing ceremonies. The KOC side also said it would welcome North Korea's participation in the

cultural events set to be held during the Olympic period.

On the other hand, in its exclusive meeting with the NKOC side, the IOC pointed out that Pyongyang's demand for joint sponsorship is something impracticable in view of the IOC charter. Asked about the North Korean view of the KOC's willingness to consider allotting the preliminaries of a few sports to the North, the NKOC delegation said they would show their reaction thereto at the second-day meeting. Thus, the first-day meeting ended without any new offers or debates.

(2) Second-Day Meeting

The second-day meeting was held on October 9. It was begun with the IOC's meeting with the NKOC, followed by a meeting between the IOC and the KOC, which lasted for about 40 minutes each in the morning. In the afternoon, a tripartite meeting among the IOC, KOC and NKOC delegations was held for 30 minutes.

At a separate meeting with the KOC delegation, IOC President Samaranch asked what was the KOC's stand toward the North Korean offer for the fielding of a single inter-Korean delegation to the Olympics and if the KOC was willing to allot any additional sports to the North Korean area.

KOC chief delegate Kim Chong-ha replied that the KOC is prepared to have talks with North Korea at Panmunjom at any time to discuss the questions of inter-Korean sports exchanges and forming single Korean teams for international games. Kim said that inter-Korean contacts were held several times in the past at Panmunjom to discuss the issue of forming single teams for international games before they were suspended one-sidedly by North Korea around the time Pyongyang announced its boycott of the Los Angeles Olympics.

At the joint meeting held in the afternoon, KOC chief

delegate Kim Chong-ha reiterated that “in the sense of brotherly love that South and North Korean athletes alike should take part in the Seoul Olympics, the KOC, as the host of the 24th Olympics, is willing to study the issue of holding some preliminaries at stadiums in North Korea.” He stressed that the only way to bring the meeting to a success would be for North Korea to affirmatively respond to the reasonable and sincere stand of the KOC.

Despite the comprehensive and realistic offer of the KOC, the NKOC side insisted on their impracticable idea of “joint sponsorship” and a single inter-Korean team. The first IOC-sponsored inter-Korean sports meeting thus ended without any agreement after deciding only to hold the second meeting on January 8-9, 1986 also in Lausanne.

Meanwhile, IOC President Samaranch announced the results of the meeting in a press conference on the afternoon of October 9. The press meeting was attended by the delegations of both South and North Korea.

The gist of the announcement made by the IOC president was as follows:

Upon the initiative of the International Olympic Committee, delegations from the NOCs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and of the Republic of Korea, led by their respective Presidents, Mr. Yu Sun Kim and Mr. Chong Ha Kim, met with a delegation from the IOC, at the latter's headquarters at the Chateau de Vidy in Lausanne, on the 8th and 9th October 1985.

The meeting was called to study the conditions which could help ensure the largest possible involvement of all Korean people at the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad in Seoul in 1988.

The discussions took place, under the chairmanship of the President of the IOC, in a friendly and truly Olympic at-

mosphere. The delegations of both Korean NOCs presented their positions and proposals. The IOC thoroughly and carefully studied them, while recalling the necessity of strictly and fully respecting the stipulations of the Olympic Charter as well as the agreements entered into by the IOC pursuant to the awarding of the Games by the 84th Session of the IOC in Baden Baden in 1981.

Although some progress was achieved, the IOC considered that further discussions were necessary before an agreement could be reached. The three parties agreed to meet again in Lausanne on 8th and 9th January 1986.

b. Second Meeting

The second IOC-hosted inter-Korean sports meeting was held behind closed doors at the IOC headquarters in Lausanne January 8-9, 1986.

The meeting, that came three months after the first meeting, discussed six topics chosen by the IOC on the condition that matters that could contravene the IOC's 1981 decision to award the right to host the 24th Olympics to Seoul cannot be the topic of the meeting any longer.

The six topics which the IOC Executive Committee chose and notified both sides of Korea on October 23, 1985 were as follows:

- 1) Greetings from the IOC president.
- 2) Discussion of the question of simultaneous entry by the South and North Korean delegations into the opening ceremony of the 24th Olympics.
- 3) Discussion of the sports that may be held in the

North Korean area.

4) Discussion of the sports that may be held in both sides' jurisdictional areas.

5) Discussion of the question of North Korea's participation in cultural activities.

6) Follow-up measures and the IOC president's concluding remarks.

At the two-day second meeting, there were two rounds of tripartite talks among the IOC, KOC and NKOC delegations; two rounds between the IOC and the KOC, and three rounds between the IOC and the NKOC. But, even the second meeting failed to reach any agreement with the North Koreans persisting in their ideas of "joint sponsorship" and a single team for the 24th Olympics. Though they showed signs of backing down from their earlier demand for the equal split of the Olympic sports between the two areas, the NKOC delegation still insisted that the 24th Olympics should be held under the joint sponsorship and that a single inter-Korean team should be fielded for the 24th Olympics.

(1) First-Day Meeting

The first-day meeting of the second IOC-hosted inter-Korean sports meeting began at 10 a.m. January 8, 1986, with a joint meeting among the IOC and the two sides of Korea. The hour-long meeting was followed by the first round of talks between the IOC and the NKOC. The afternoon meeting was filled with the IOC's separate meetings, first with the KOC delegation and then with the North Koreans. Each meeting lasted about one hour.

At the joint session in the morning, IOC President Samaranch made introductory remarks, followed by keynote

speeches by the chief delegates from South and North Korea.

In his greetings, Samaranch, while reaffirming the schedule and established topics of the second meeting, made it clear that Seoul's hosting of the 24th Summer Olympics cannot be disputable any further because he said Seoul has been granted the right to host the 1988 Olympics in a decision made by an IOC meeting held in Baden-Baden in 1981 and because various agreements regarding Seoul's hosting of the Olympics had already been concluded between the IOC and Seoul.

The IOC president went on to say that especially because of some countries' boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics and the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, his IOC was doing its utmost for the development of the Olympic movement. He said that he had arranged the meeting in the hope that North Korea would take part in the 24th Summer Olympics taking place in a divided country.

In his keynote speech, KOC chief delegate Kim Chong-ha said that the KOC's right to host the 24th Summer Olympics has now become an irrevocable fait accompli, and that all preparations for the Olympics were nearing completion. "We do all we can so that all the Korean people can enjoy the honor granted to Seoul to host the Olympics with the confidence and pride that we would stage the 1988 Seoul Olympics more successfully than any other Olympics in the past."

The KOC chief delegate also said that "since the Olympic movement has begun, the Olympic Charter and decisions of the International Olympic Committee have always been respected and will have to be respected under all circumstances." He then made it express that "the question of where the 24th Summer Olympics would be held and who would host it has already been decided on legally and, therefore, has no room at all for any further discussion."

Urging North Korea to take part in the Seoul Olympics in conformity with the Olympic Charter and IOC decisions, Kim Chong-ha said that at the second meeting, the KOC was willing to discuss:

- The question of simultaneous entry of the South and North Korean delegations into the opening ceremony of the Seoul Olympics;
- The question of allotting the preliminaries of handball and some other ball games to the North Korean area;
- The question of holding group road cycling through the areas of South and North Korea; and
- The question of North Korea's participation in cultural activities during the Seoul Olympics period.

Meanwhile, the North Korean side, saying that they cannot agree to some of the six topics chosen by the IOC through consultations with the KOC and NKOC, insisted again on a non-topic question, that is, the 24th Olympics should be held under the joint sponsorship of the two sides of Korea. While objecting Topic No. 2, "Question of Simultaneous Entry of South and North Korean Delegations into the Opening Ceremony of the Olympics," the NKOC also argued that the issue of forming a single inter-Korean team had to be discussed through the good offices of the IOC.

KOC chief delegate Kim Chong-ha, in reaction, recalled that "since long ago, the KOC, hoping that the two sides of Korea participate in international games under single delegations, proposed inter-Korean sports talks to discuss the question of forming single teams and inter-Korean sports exchanges."

Kim said that since the question of a single delegation was by no means limited to the 24th Olympics in 1988 nor was the issue included in the topics of the second IOC-sponsored inter-Korean sports meeting, the question could not be discussed at the Lausanne meeting. He added that it would be reasonable for the directly involved two sides of Korea to resolve the issue through direct bilateral talks.

Following a joint meeting and a separate meeting between the IOC and the NKOC in the morning, further separate meetings between the IOC and the KOC and between the IOC and the NKOC were held in the afternoon.

At its exclusive meeting with the IOC, the KOC delegation reaffirmed its stand disclosed at the earlier joint meeting, expressing the view that unless North Korea withdraws their unrealistic demands for joint sponsorship and the split of the games in the two sides of Korea, no achievement could be expected from the meeting any longer.

(2) Second-Day Meeting

At the second-day meeting of the second IOC-sponsored inter-Korean sports meeting on January 9, the IOC had separate meetings with the KOC and NKOC delegations in the morning, followed by a 20-minute joint meeting among the three parties in the afternoon.

In his contact with the KOC side, IOC President Samaranch said that though the results of the second Lausanne meeting were not satisfactory, the position of North Korea had been changing gradually. He then suggested that a third meeting be held in June.

The KOC delegation said that it would agree to hold a third meeting if the North Koreans withdrew their demands for joint sponsorship and the formation of a single team and could be

sincere toward topics chosen by the IOC.

At the joint meeting in the afternoon, the IOC, showing satisfaction at "some progress" made at the second meeting, announced that the third meeting would be held in Lausanne June 10-11, 1986, which the IOC hoped would be the last of such meetings.

KOC chief delegate Kim, recalling that his delegation had made sincere efforts at the second Lausanne meeting to seek ways for North Korea to take part in the 1988 Seoul Olympics, said he had put forth very realistic and reasonable ideas acceptable by North Korea to the extent the Olympic Charter and spirit permitted and on the basis of the topics chosen by the IOC.

Kim said that if only the Olympic Charter and IOC decisions were respected and discussions were made according to the topics adopted by the IOC, the question of North Korea's participation in the 24th Seoul Olympics would be resolved without difficulty. He said that the KOC would carry on a dialogue sincerely from this approach in the future.

The NKOC side, too, said that agreement could be reached concerning some issues at the second Lausanne meeting. Expressing the view that the remaining matters could also be resolved through further studies and debates, the NKOC delegation said they hope that the third meeting would come to good fruition.

Following the second Lausanne meeting, Im Tae-sun, spokesman for the KOC delegation, announced the results of the second meeting as follows:

At the second meeting, the Republic of Korea Olympic Committee delegation made sincere efforts in the discussion,

based on the topics set forth by the International Olympic Committee, of the issue of North Korea's participation in the 24th Seoul Olympics.

At the meeting, KOC chief delegate Kim Chong-ha expressed the conviction that "if the North Korean side cooperates in having sincere talks on the topics produced by the International Olympic Committee on the basis of respecting the Olympic Charter and IOC decisions, the question of North Korea's participation in the 24th Seoul Olympics could be resolved without much difficulty."

But, the North Korean side again raised the demand for joint sponsorship of and the fielding of a joint Korean team to the 24th Summer Olympics, the issue which was not included in the six topics selected by the International Olympic Committee.

We were disappointed at the raising by North Korea of the question of joint sponsorship and a single team, for it contravened IOC decisions and the Olympic Charter and represented an act of not respecting the topics chosen by the International Olympic Committee.

The International Olympic Committee, too, pointed out that the issue of joint sponsorship and a single team had nothing to do with the meeting, and urged the North Korean side to respect IOC decisions and the Olympic Charter.

We regret that under the circumstances the second meeting, too, failed to register hoped-for achievements.

The Republic of Korea Olympic Committee believes that no substantial progress can be expected in the meeting unless the North Korean side respects the decision made by the International Olympic Committee at its Baden-Baden meeting in 1981 to hold the 24th Summer Olympics in Seoul and also the agreements concluded thereafter between the International Olympic Committee and the City of Seoul.

It was with this position that the Republic of Korea Olympic Committee, respecting the view of the International Olympic

Committee, agreed to hold the third meeting June 10-11 at the headquarters of the International Olympic Committee in Lausanne.

While respecting the legitimate opinions of the International Olympic Committee, we shall continue to keep the door of the 1988 Seoul Olympics and that of dialogue open toward North Korea, and watch the attitude of North Korea.

3. Reactions at Home and Abroad

Major domestic press media denounced as an “irrational demand inviting the whole world’s derision” the raising by North Korea of the idea of the joint sponsorship of the 24th Olympics at the IOC-sponsored inter-Korean sports meetings. The press observed that the idea represented yet another scheme employed to provide an excuse to boycott the Seoul Olympics after their earlier machinations against the Seoul Olympics had little persuasiveness.

The media, on the other hand, spoke highly of the willingness disclosed by the KOC delegation to allot some preliminaries to the North Korean area, describing the measure as the “product of patience and broadmindedness.” The press observed that the willingness was offered in line with the South’s urging of sports talks between the direct parties — South and North Korea — to discuss possible independent participation by North Korea or the formation of a single team in a move to cultivate the Seoul Olympics into a national festival based on the whole nation’s reconciliation.

However, the press expressed the fear that no expectation could be pinned on future Lausanne talks unless the North

Koreans return to their senses. They said this is so especially in view of their insistence on a joint sponsorship and the obstructive maneuvers they had staged for the past several years against the Seoul Olympics.

The press then called on North Korea to join in efforts to make the forthcoming Seoul Olympics an occasion to overcome national division and promote reconciliation by withdrawing their demand for joint sponsorship at the third Lausanne meeting and deciding to participate in the Seoul Olympics.

In the meantime, major foreign press media, commenting on the North Korean demand for joint sponsorship, charged the North Koreans with bringing politics into sports and threatening South Korea with the “trigger” of boycott.

Observing that the South would push through its position on the strength of support from the IOC, the foreign press stressed that the IOC would and could not allow the split of the Olympics if only to respect the Olympic Charter.

