

Study Series 13-04

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Korea Institute for
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Son, Gi-Woong - Korea Institute for National Unification

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its health issues the regime is facing a succession crisis. Thus the regime will have to deal with economic collapse of an unstable new government. In circumstances where the possibility has arisen of discussing unification, careful consideration of North Korea's current situation is needed. Second, while the formula for unification is needed in increasing exchanges and cooperation between the two Koreas, there has been no real discussion particularly of structural engagement. At the time that this unification formula was put forward, the gap in national power was not as great as it is now, and the international diplomatic situation regarding North Korea has also changed. The power gap between South and North is incomparably greater, and international views of North Korea have also changed. The U.S. administration in the U.S. pursued an engagement policy with North Korea, and at the dawn of the 21st Century there are clear signs of heading toward a fundamental change. Furthermore, South Korea pursued an engagement policy under the administrations of Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun. In view of these facts, we clearly need to consider a unification formula delineated in separate phases. Third, the formula for unification via a national community has been considered only by dual state actors. Considering the changing unification environment, we need a governance-based approach. Important roles will be undertaken by actors from various different areas, not just the government. Therefore we need to consider how to play and how to best coordinate and guide their efforts toward the goal of unification. Fourth, we must consider changes in South Korean society. As the post-nationalist, globalizing trend advances in South Korea, new views and policies will be needed. This factor was not incorporated into the thinking behind the national community unification formula. These factors must be considered more directly. In the late 1980s international politics were still largely determined by the bipolar unification environment will have many new features such as the weakening of U.S. hegemony, the rise of multipolar dynamics of Northeast Asia, a growing number of issues transcending national borders, and an environment increasingly characterized by governance and networks due to the ongoing trends of globalization, democratization and networked society. [1] We must take all of these factors into consideration in developing a new unification plan.] Meanwhile, changes in international and domestic conditions are influencing the unification environment. First, let us consider the changes in the international environment and diplomatic range have seen revolutionary changes, not only from the dramatic changes in the national political system in the late 20th Century, but also due to the more recent worldwide trend of globalization. Integration and cooperation have grown more active due to increased economic interdependence and cultural exchange at global levels. Integration has accelerated not just in Europe but in other regions as well, and Northeast Asia is no exception. After the Cold War ended and new political and economic paradigms were established. Modern international politics such as post-nationalist integration and global political networks began to emerge. In Northeast Asia, the Cold War continued, but economic interdependence has deepened, and cooperative efforts among civil society groups and between governments are expanding. The problem is that while the Korean Peninsula continues to struggle under the same old South-North Cold War, South Korea has been evolving in pace with these rapid changes. The disconnect between South Korea's current happy situation on the peninsula is holding South Korea back as it strives for recognition as a global power. South Korea is moving through the processes of industrialization and democratization, and the scope of its foreign policy has expanded to encompass the entire world. South Korea is devoting more of its capacity to diplomacy and investing more of its resources beyond the peninsula. It has broken out of the paradigm of focusing the majority of its interest and resources on the unification issue, as it increasingly needs to widen its foreign policy scope to take in the rest of the world. Unification is still an important target of South Korea's national strategy, but there are a growing number of new issues unrelated to unification that are becoming increasingly important. [2] the increasing importance of maintaining strategic relations with the four key regional powers and designing a national security strategy to address issues such as the environment, terrorism, human rights, and natural disasters. We also cannot ignore the changes in Northeast Asia. There have been fundamental changes in the political dynamics of Northeast Asia due to the decline of the Soviet Union, China's relegation to more average status, and Russia's growing power. South Korea must bear in mind all of these changes and maintain a multifaceted foreign policy; its foreign policy concerns are too broad for it to be solely preoccupied with unification. In fact, South Korea's foreign policy paradigm is undergoing fundamental changes, and we need to develop a new paradigm to address the diverse status of issues related to North Korea and unification. Second, domestic views of North Korea and unification are also changing. Globalization has impacted South Korea to the extent that it can no longer be considered a unitary nation. South Koreans' sense of identity is moving away from the cultural concept of nationhood, defined by a unitary national identity, to a more political concept of nationhood encompassing all those who possess South Korean citizenship. This is particularly true in Korea. Already foreign immigrants to South Korea have surpassed 1 million, and many South Koreans are living abroad. It is becoming impractical to cling to the unitary national identity of the past. This changing sense of identity is moving away from a unitary national identity. Members of this generation have traveled to different parts of the world from a young age and have formed a global identity. The youngest generation has never set foot on North Korean soil or had any direct encounters with North Korea. They tend to sympathize more with the suffering of the impoverished peoples in Africa than they do with the plight of North Korea. This generation-minded generation that questions what unification will mean for Korean development and jobs, and whose values are fundamentally different from those of the past generations. While acknowledging the appropriateness of unification, the current generation is more cautious in calculating its actual concrete benefits and costs.] It is time to consider how this generation will contribute to the unification process when its turn comes to take over the core leadership of South Korea. In light of the problems with the national community

CONTENTS

I . Purpose of the Study	8
II. Two Core Strategies	12
1. Paju World Peace Culture Town	12
2. Cheorwon Peace Industrial Complex	18

I. Purpose of the Study

I. Purpose of the Study

The ‘Peaceful Utilization of the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ)’ is a prerequisite condition for building a new peace regime on the Korean Peninsula, signifying the transition from a ‘symbol of conflict’ between North and South Korea into a ‘symbol of cooperation.’ The Lee Myung Bak administration had selected the peaceful utilization of the DMZ as one of its ‘100 national policies,’ but it was unable to bear fruit due to the deterioration of inter-Korean relations.

The new administration that will be launched in 2013 must reorganize unification and North Korea policies based on a new vision for the nation. These policies must ease the tension and conflict between the two Koreas and also maximize South Korea’s national interests. The DMZ must be transformed from a symbol of conflict and confrontation into a platform of peace and cooperation where North and South Korea can coexist. From there on, the government should promote a new national vision that opens a promising future for the Korean Peninsula. In particular, since 2013 marks the sixtieth anniversary of the Armistice Agreement, this year should be the starting point for establishing a new regime in inter-Korean relations, as well as building a new order of peace in Northeast Asia.

The purpose of this study is to present a plan for the peaceful utilization of the DMZ which the new administration must select and implement as part of its national strategy during the five years of its term, and gain support from not only the two Koreas but also the international society. The study ultimately aims to lay the groundwork for peace on the Korean Peninsula, create new engines for national growth, and contribute to improving North and South Korean relations in a win-win formula. In addition, this study will focus on restoring a sense of identity between the two Koreas by procuring a channel for continued exchange and cooperation. By doing so, the two Koreas shall prepare for unification on the human, psychological, and material levels, and reduce the cost of unification while encouraging and promoting unification. This paper will propose two core strategies as part of the national strategy concerning the 'peaceful utilization of the DMZ.'

II. Two Core Strategies

II. Two Core Strategies

1. Paju World Peace Culture Town

A. Summary

Create a ‘World Peace Culture Town’ in the Paju DMZ and border area which will allow the participation, harmony, and cooperation of all nations that were involved in the Korean War. The town will be the symbol of South Korea’s determination to establish peace on the Korean Peninsula as well as its deepest desire for world peace and prosperity for all humanity. The initial stage can involve South Korea, the United Nations, and the sixteen nations that sent troops, and ultimately include North Korea, China, Russia, and the sixty-seven nations that supported South Korea during the war.

The World Peace Culture Town will stretch across the border between North and South Korea and encompass the northern part of the Paju DMZ in a bottom-heavy bottle shape that is concentrated mostly in South Korea. In the DMZ, which is located in the center, a commemorative park will be built to honor Ahn Joong Geun the Patriot, who had called for peace in the East and is worshipped by those in both North and South Korea.

B. Key issues

Build the World Peace Culture Town in the Paju border area, DMZ, and the North Korean border. The first proposal (the northern border and DMZ with the Unification Hill as an axis) will be implemented as shown in [Photograph II-1-1] and the second proposal (the border area near the mouth of the Han river and the DMZ) shown in [Photograph II-1-2] will be implemented in case the military needs of the two Koreas make it difficult to adopt the first proposal. In consideration of the ecological importance of the DMZ, all buildings and facilities will be built in an environmentally friendly manner using renewable energy.

Create within the World Peace Culture Town an exhibition area to display the war efforts and cultures of the nations, including the sixteen countries involved in the Korean War, other supporting countries, as well as South Korea, UN member countries, and even North Korea, China, and Russia, if they wish to participate in the exhibition, along with lodging and complementary facilities. All facilities will feature the cultural integrity of each country, but also express the significance of peace, thereby realizing the purpose of co-prosperity for all humanity through the fusion of peace and culture. Individual programs that introduce each state's history and culture can be developed and displayed, but the main use of the platform will be a pool of communication to promote harmony and cooperation of humankind.

After the establishment of the World Peace Culture Town with the agreement of the two Koreas, a commemorative park that pays homage to Ahn Joong Geun the Patriot can be built in the DMZ which is located in

the center of the town. The park will become a symbolic place for peace on the Korean Peninsula and in Northeast Asia. To overcome the wounds of the Korean War, an ideological rapport that goes beyond political and military confrontation is needed. This should not be limited to the national level, but encompass broader ideological support for peace and prosperity of all humanity. Therefore, building a memorial tower and hall for Ahn Joong Geun the Patriot, a hero for all Korean people and the forerunner of the concept of peace in the East, will contribute to the efforts to ease tensions and establish trust between the two Koreas, and ultimately form a consensus of peace and prosperity for Northeast Asia and the whole world.

A cultural multiplex will be built in the center of the World Peace Culture Town, where participating nations will periodically host cultural events to promote mutual understanding and communication. For this purpose, 'Camp Greaves,' a former U.S. military base, can be an optimal venue, considering its historical significance as well as its geographical position in relation to Peace Hill, Imjingak, and Freedom Bridge. Also, a network will be built and supported so that scholars, activists, and other organizations from Korea and abroad may open peace events.

C. Plans for implementation

1) Step 1

Commence the building of the World Peace Culture Town in the northern Paju border area in South Korea, with the sixteen nations that participated in the Korean War, South Korea, and the United Nations

assuming key roles. A cultural performance hall multiplex (main building), cultural exhibition area, lodgings, and complementary facilities will be built. The significance of the project will be conveyed to North Korea, China, and Russia along with a request to participate in the project.

2) Step 2

Expand the World Peace Culture Town in the South Korean border area and include the sixty-seven nations that supported South Korea during the Korean War. Build exhibition halls displaying wartime efforts, cultural exhibition areas, lodgings and complementary facilities, outdoor performing areas, sculptures on peace and the environment, and environmentally friendly facilities.

If North Korea agrees to participate in the project, an exhibition hall displaying the wartime efforts of North Korea, China, and Russia, cultural exhibition areas, lodgings and complementary facilities will be built; but the World Peace Culture Town will be concentrated in the South Korean section. In the North Korean section, a cultural performance multiplex will be built as a separate building.

Considering that the Paju area is a strategically important and sensitive area for both North and South Korea, the DMZ that connects the North Korean and South Korean sections in the World Peace Culture Town will serve as a channel only for transporting labor and necessary supplies. The World Peace Culture Town will be built in the shape of a bottle with the border area connected by the DMZ.

If the first proposal for the World Peace Culture Town is approved by both North and South Korea, both sides will use the existing Gyeongui railway line and roads. If the second proposal is accepted, then the DMZ would be fully utilized with major facilities of the World Peace Culture Town. If North Korea does not approve the project, then the World Peace Culture Town can be expanded and reinforced in the northern Paju border area in South Korea. Nonetheless, South Korea should request international efforts to encourage North Korea to respond and cooperate.

3) Step 3

On the assumption that North Korea approves the project, build a commemorative park for Ahn Joong Geun the Patriot in the DMZ that connects the World Peace Culture Town, which is in the border area of North and South Korea. Create outdoor performing areas (separate building), sculptures on peace and the environment, and environmentally friendly complementary facilities in the North Korean area. To facilitate exchanges between the North and South Korean sections of the Culture Town, operate a monorail, electric cars, or other environmentally friendly modes of transportation. [Photograph II-1-1] and [Photograph II-1-2] show the map and layout of the first and second proposals, respectively. [Illustration II-1] demonstrates the final layout of the Paju World Peace Culture Town.

[Photograph II-1-1] Map and layout of the Paju World Peace Culture Town: Proposal 1

■ Paju 6.25 World Peace Culture town (Proposal 1)

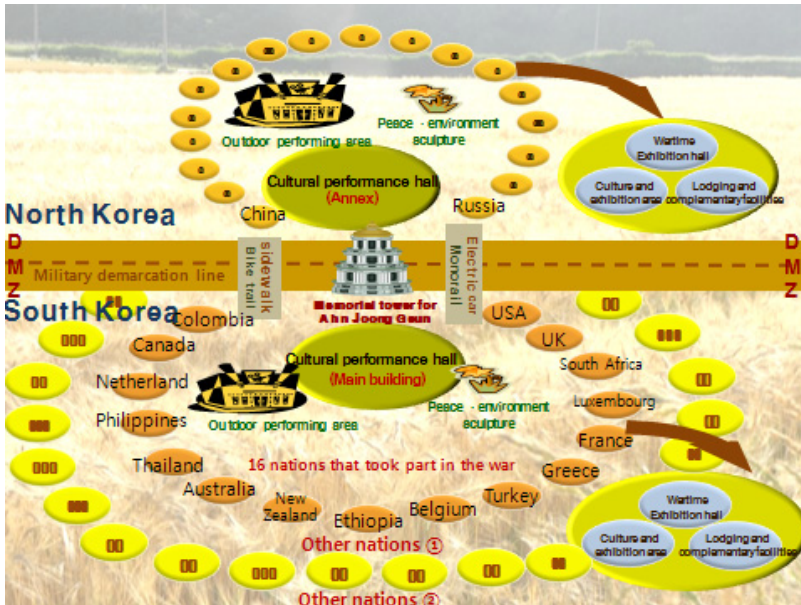


[Photograph II-1-2] Map and layout of the Paju World Peace Culture Town: Proposal 2

■ Paju 6.25 World Peace Culture town (Proposal 2)



[Illustration II-1] Paju World Peace Culture Town



2. Cheorwon Peace Industrial Complex

A. Summary

Create a bottle-shaped 'Peace Industrial Complex' in the Cheorwon DMZ area in North and South Korea and the border region, with South Korea assuming the leading role. The 'Peace Industrial Complex' can contribute to the creation of national growth engines and the establishment of peace and security on the Korean Peninsula. Implement a new type of inter-Korean economic cooperation that can overcome the limitations of the Gaeseong Industrial Complex, which currently has various managerial and operational difficulties due to its location in North Korea. Allow

people to move in and out of the DMZ.

B. Key issues

As seen in [Illustration II-2], the Cheorwon Peace Industrial Complex would include the Cheorwon area in both North and South Korea. The DMZ located in the middle of the Complex would be a bottle-shaped area built just enough to allow the passing of goods and human resources. The center of the Peace Industrial Complex is the plains of Cheorwon in South Korea near the Baengma-goji observatory. In the Peace Industrial Complex of the North Korean Cheorwon region, lodgings and complementary facilities can be built for North Korean workers commuting to the South Korean section in order to supplement and support the Peace Industrial Complex located in South Korea.

Construct railways and roads that go through the Cheorwon DMZ area of North and South Korea so that North Korean workers can commute from the North Korean part of Cheorwon to get to work on the South Korean side. Commuting by railway can guarantee the safety of workers, reduce air pollution, and enable the mass transportation of people. Also, use the opening of the railway as an opportunity to restore and connect the Gyeongwon Line and Geumgangsang Line. Under the condition that progress in inter-Korean relations is achieved and there are positive responses from North Korea, implement the project to connect the natural gas pipes that start from Russia, and reach South Korea going through North Korea. Expedite the project to include eco-cultural tourism by linking it to the Taebongguk cultural remains within the DMZ. As the

Cheorwon area is a habitat for migratory birds such as cranes, adopt measures for North and South Korea to co-manage the region.

The industries included in the Peace Industrial Complex will be agricultural food processing, green IT industries, and others selected by factors such as the geographical uniqueness of Cheorwon, needs from the national level, and industrial interests. [Illustration II-2] displays the map and the layout of the Cheorwon Peace Industrial Complex.

C. Plans for implementation

1) Step 1

Propose the plans for the Cheorwon Peace Industrial Complex to North Korea, but in order to restore trust between North and South Korea and get a positive response from North Korea, build a fertilizer production facility on the South Korean side of Cheorwon to aid North Korea. This is because providing fertilizers to North Korea will continue with the improvement of inter-Korean relations. Explain to North Korea that this facility is built to provide sustainable assistance to the North, and request the opening of roads passing the DMZ, which will be the channel for the delivery of goods. Once fertilizers are provided to North Korea through the DMZ, then implement projects for North and South Korean agricultural cooperation in the Cheorwon plains of North Korea. The fertilizer production facilities would focus mostly on bio-fertilizers that minimize environmental pollution. It is also important to prioritize environmental concerns during the production of chemical fertilizers.

If environmental concerns on producing fertilizer are greater than

expected, then build production facilities for agricultural machines on the South Korean side of Cheorwon for North Korea. Request the opening of a channel within the DMZ that would allow the delivery of goods to North Korea under the just cause of providing agricultural machinery to North Korea. Promote a joint agriculture project for North and South Korea in the Cheorwon region. In the meantime, create an industrial complex in the South Korean part of Cheorwon for agricultural food processing.

With the commencement of the natural gas pipe connection project that runs through South Korea, North Korea, and Russia, start the construction of the gas pipe connection project running through the North and South Korean sides of Cheorwon DMZ at the same time the gas pipe connection in the border area between North Korea and Russia begins.

2) Step 2

Attract green IT industries as well as agricultural food processing businesses on the South Korean side of the Cheorwon Peace Industrial Complex. Create various facilities for green IT industries and North Korean workers. Expand the DMZ channel open for Northern workers commuting to South Korea, construct railways and roads, and operate commuting trains and buses.

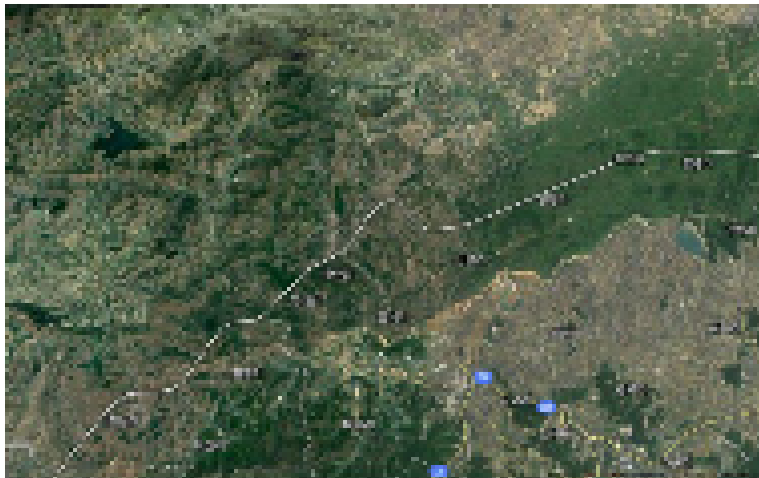
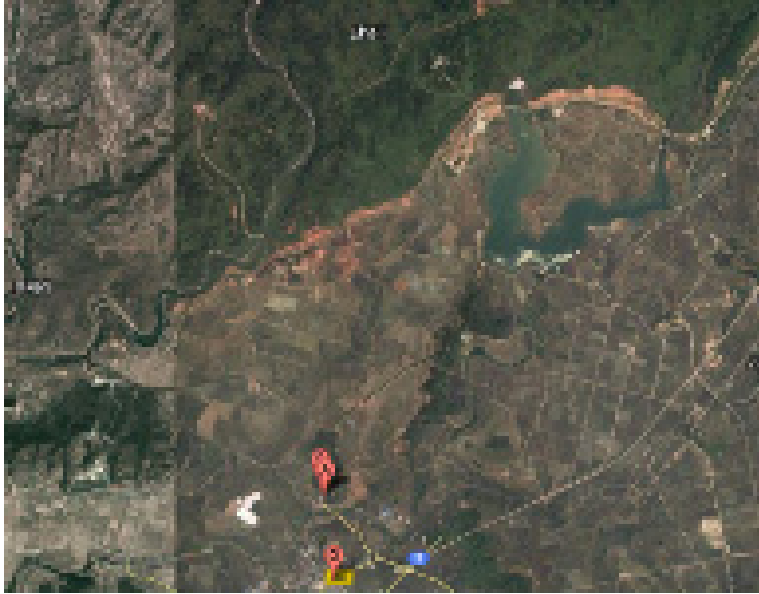
If the natural gas pipe connection project begins in full scale in North Korea, then place machinery and facilities in the South Korean side of Cheorwon for further support. At the same time, under the just cause of providing machinery to North Korea, begin railway construction to

link the North and South Korean parts of the Cheorwon Industrial Complex and extend it to include the Gyeongwon Line.

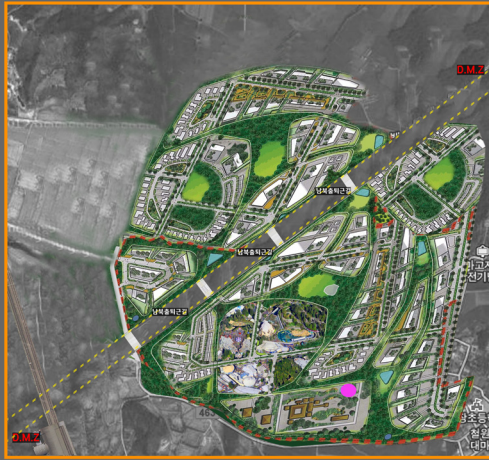
3) Step 3

Begin the full-scale operation of the Peace Industrial Complex in the North and South Korean parts of the Cheorwon region. Along with the project to connect Gyeongwon Line, begin the restoration of the Geumgangsan Line. Also, actively support the connection of the natural gas pipe line, as well as the entire construction project that links the DMZ, Wonsan, and the North Korea-Russian border area. Finally, promote eco-cultural tourism to introduce the natural environment, biodiversity, and cultural heritage in both North and South Korean parts of Cheorwon. [Photograph II-2] shows the map and layout of the Cheorwon Peace Industrial Complex. [Illustration II-2] shows the final layout of the Cheorwon Peace Industrial Complex.

[Photograph II-2] Map and layout of the Cheorwon Peace Industrial Complex



01 ■ Cheorwon Peace Industrial Complex



02 ■ Cheorwon Peace Industrial Complex (South Korea)



■ Gas refining factory



■ Guesthouse, caribens, daycare center



■ Exhibition cultural center



■ Eco-cultural park



■ Industrial facilities / distribution center



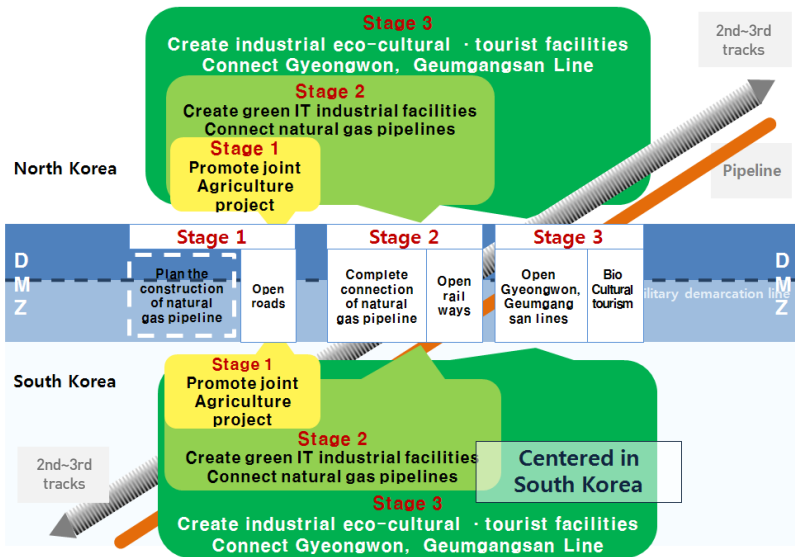
■ Technology education center



■ Gyeongwon station



[Illustration II-2] Cheorwon Peace Industrial Complex





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The purpose of this study is to present a plan for the peaceful utilization of the DMZ which the new administration must select and implement as part of its national strategy during the five years of its term, and gain support from not only the two Koreas but also the international society. The study ultimately aims to lay the groundwork for peace on the Korean Peninsula, create new engines for national growth, and contribute to improving North and South Korean relations in a win-win formula. In addition, this study highlights the importance of restoring a sense of identity between the two Koreas by procuring a channel for continued exchange and cooperation.