

Reunification of Korea is a Major Security Issue on the Korean Peninsula

The North Korean Perspective

Ma Tong Hui

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Foreword

It is a great privilege to introduce this publication and the cooperation between the Institute for Security and Development Policy in Stockholm and the Institute for Disarmament and Peace in Pyongyang. This is a result of an extended period of cooperation between IDP and ISDP that has recently been strengthened with an exchange of scholars and joint research. The author of this publication is one of the first guest researchers that has visited Sweden in an effort to strengthen the already established cooperation. It is our hope and belief that the research conducted by the North Korean scholars, both in and outside of North Korea, will enhance our understanding of the North Korean position but also to provide a stronger base of cooperative efforts.

Niklas Swanström

Director, Institute for Security and Development Policy

Introduction

More than half a century has elapsed since the division of the Korean nation that had lived on one and the same territory as a homogeneous nation throughout its time-honored history of several thousands of years. From the early days of national division, the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) has given priority to efforts aimed at achieving national reunification, advanced most reasonable and realistic policies and proposals for national reunification at every stage of its development, and has made every possible effort to bring them into effect.

Some elements of the international community might think that it is premature to talk about Korean reunification at this point in time, given the recent mounting tension on the Korean Peninsula and considering that inter-Korean relations have worsened since Lee Myung Bak and his conservative party took power in south Korea.

It is true that inter-Korean relations move in a repeated cycle of reconciliation, improvement, confrontation and exacerbation. However, it is only a matter of time before north and south Korea will move towards the goal of reunification. It is a historical consequence and a trend that no one can check.

The era moving towards reunification that has lasted for the past ten years since the announcement of the historic June 15 North-South Joint Declaration in 2000 has been an era of exaltation that has instilled renewed hope of reunification into the hearts of the entire Korean nation. The international community praised it as a welcomed change.

The desire for the national reunification of the Korean nation is stronger than in any other nation for it has lived on one and the same territory as a homogeneous nation, sharing the same lineage, throughout most of its long history. In addition, peace-loving peoples of the world are anxious to see an early resolution of the current deadlock in inter-Korean relations so that a peaceful environment favorable for common development and prosperity of the world can be created in northeast Asia including the Korean Peninsula. Therefore, it is necessary to pay due attention to the issue of Korean reunification in order to move the Korean Peninsula closer to the future of

peace and prosperity – a future not only the entire Korean nation but also people, the world over, look forward to.

No one can deny that the question of Korean reunification is an internal matter and should be addressed by the Korean nation itself. However, as we look back upon the essence of Korean issues, the historical background of Korea's division and the underlying elements of its reunification, we find that the issue of reunification is also a major security issue for the region, directly linked to the more comprehensive issue of peace on the Korean Peninsula. Accordingly, the issue of Korean reunification deserves greater attention so that peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula can be secured; the focal point in ensuring global peace and security at the present time.

1. The Division of Korea and the Essence of Korean Reunification

1) The Division of Korea

The division of Korea is, by no means, a product of the internal contradiction of the Korean nation; it was forced on Korea by external forces. Unlike the division of Germany, which was a vanquished nation after the World War II, Korea was split into north and south soon after its liberation from Japanese colonial rule because U.S. troops occupied south Korea. The division ran counter to the demand and desire of the Korean people but was in the interests of major powers.

Frustration and delay in the efforts to reunify Korea are attributable to the unabated continuous interference of foreign forces. The Korean nation is a homogeneous nation that has lived on one and the same territory with the same language and lineage from antiquity.

Under the leadership of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, the Korean people waged an armed struggle against the Japanese for fifteen years, eventually liberating their homeland from Japanese colonial rule, which opened up the road for the foundation of an independent democratic state and the building of a new society. The national division that was forced on the Korean people after its liberation from Japanese colonial rule had no legal basis and gave rise to the Korean reunification issue as a result of the U.S. occupation of south Korea and the U.S. policy of aggression.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Korean Peninsula bore the brunt of foreign aggression; capitalist powers including the U.S. were bent on seizing power and colonizing Asia. The Korean Peninsula was the only place in northeast Asia that remained undivided by major powers. Their aggressive ambition was to make Korea a commodity market and source of raw materials serving their interests.

Having realized the strategic importance of the Korean Peninsula in the Asian continent, the U.S. embarked upon the invasion of Korea in earnest soon after the American Civil War (1861–65). The invasion of the U.S. pirate ship USS General Sherman on the River Taedong in 1866, and the invasion of the U.S. pirate ship USS China on Asan Bay, as well as the invasion of

Kangwa Island by the U.S. Asian fleet in 1871 were events that laid bare the historical ambition of the U.S. to lay its hands on the Korean Peninsula.

After the repeated failure of U.S. armed invasion by the unyielding struggle of the patriotic Korean people, the U.S. patronized the Japanese occupation of Korea and, in return, won huge economic concessions in Korea and exploited and plundered the Korean people. The U.S. and Japan concluded a secret agreement on the invasion of Korea, known as the "Katsura-Taft Pact" on July 29, 1905. It got its name because it was signed by then Japanese Prime Minister Katsura Taro (1847–1913) and U.S. Secretary of the Army Howard Taft (1857–1930). The pact stipulated that Japan would support U.S. colonial rule in the Philippines in return for the active cooperation of the U.S. in the Japanese invasion of Korea and then the recognition of Japan's "protectorate" in Korea. The pact remained secret until 1924. It is a historical record that shows the long-standing cooperation between the U.S. and Japan in the invasion of Korea.

The centuries-old ambition of the U.S. to invade Korea met its heyday after World War II. In the middle of this war, the U.S., who regarded the Korean Peninsula as an important military and strategic base and a stepping stone for its domination of Asia and the rest of the world, resorted to an insidious plot to realize its aggressive purpose to conquer the Korean Peninsula. As Japan's defeat was looming, the U.S., in its ambition to dominate the Korean Peninsula in lieu of Japan, raised the issue of international guardianship over Korea at the closed-door talks between the U.S. and the UK concerning the postwar international issues held in Washington in March 1943. The U.S. argument regarding the guardianship over Korea was openly voiced at the Teheran Talks (Nov.-Dec. 1943) and the Yalta Conference (Feb. 1945).

In 1945, the U.S. secretly prepared a separate operation plan in anticipation of Japan's surrender as Japan's defeat was regarded by many as an established fact. The U.S. strategy was to occupy pivotal areas of Japan's former colonial territories including the Korean Peninsula before the Soviet Union made any move. However, Japan announced its unconditional surrender before the U.S. operation plan was completed.

Such a rapid change in Japan's attitude was a blow to the U.S. Giving due consideration to the circumstances, the U.S. moved to occupy one half of the Korean Peninsula. The U.S. ultimately decided upon a plan to divide

the Korean Peninsula into two parts with the 38th parallel as a demarcation line. The first contingent of U.S. troops landed in south Korea on September 8, 1945 under the pretext of "disarming Japanese troops." From the very beginning of its occupation of south Korea, the U.S. made no bones about its intention to perpetuate the division of Korea and turn south Korea into a colony as well as a military base for the implementation of its policy to dominate the entire Korean Peninsula and Asia.

In September 1945 the U.S. announced "Decree No. 1" that formally placed south Korea under U.S. "military rule." The "military rule" in south Korea was a tool that the U.S. used to further tighten its political grip on south Korea and subjugate the south Korean economy for the preparation of war. Having laid the foundations of its colonial rule over south Korea, the U.S. set about a cunning plan to rig up a puppet regime.

The Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers of the U.S., the UK and the Soviet Union held in December 1945 decided that the remnants of Japanese colonial rule should be liquidated and that "a democratic provisional government" should be set up in Korea. However, the U.S. defied this decision and sabotaged the work of the USSR-U.S. Joint Commission which was to assist in the establishment of a provisional government in Korea. Thus, the attempt by the U.S. to rig up a puppet regime in south Korea ended in failure by the strong opposition of the Korean people and progressive peoples of the world.

Subsequently, the U.S. took the Korean issue to the 2nd UN General Assembly; the UN at this time was nothing but an organization that rubber-stamped any decision of the U.S. As the result of U.S. sinister lobbying, a certain "UN Interim Korean Commission" was established and found its way into south Korea. Under the cover of the "UN Interim Korean Commission," the U.S. rushed through a separate election in south Korea in May 1948 and rigged up a puppet regime, which ran counter to the unanimous desires of the entire Korean people, who looked forward to the establishment of a unified democratic government in Korea. As a result, the Korean Peninsula had to face a perpetuated division that continues today. The separation of Korea and the creation of the Korean reunification issue are entirely attributable to the U.S. occupation of south Korea and the U.S. policy of division.

The Consequences of Division for the Security of the Korean Peninsula

The most catastrophic consequences – the outbreak of the Korean War – are attributable to the division of the Korean Peninsula. The division of Korea was not only a logical basis of the aggressive war against the DPRK perpetrated by the U.S. under the cloak of the “United Nations” but also a prelude to the outbreak of war.

Why the U.S. Provoked the Korean War

First of all, the international circumstances at the time brought home to the U.S. the “geopolitical value” of the Korean Peninsula. Since the end of World War II, many nations in Asia and Europe won victories in their democratic revolutions; consequently, the global democratic forces were strengthened to a remarkable degree. The U.S. strategic intention was to occupy the entire Korean Peninsula in order to cut the only supply line that linked Russian Siberia to the south and control the vast stretch of land from Vladivostok to Singapore. The U.S. provoked the war as an integral part of its strategy to dominate the world at any cost by checking the growing “influence of north Korea” and come to the rescue of the cornered puppet regime in south Korea.

On the other hand, the U.S. had a great stake in the Korean War because the U.S. economy, which had accumulated tremendous profits during World War II, faced a serious crisis after the war. The U.S. sought a way out of its difficulties by provoking the Korean War, which it calculated could revitalize its military-industrial complex. The three-year Korean War which broke out on June 25, 1950 caused indescribable suffering and adversity for the Korean people.

The division of Korea has blocked the way for the unified development of the whole Korean people and has resulted in confrontation and hostile relations between the north and south. The division of Korea has produced great differences between north and south Korea in the fields of politics, economy and culture by separating the homogeneous nation which has one history, one culture, one language and the same blood.

After Korea’s division, different ideas and political systems have existed in north and south and, for this reason, they have followed different development paths. The division of Korea has also brought about confrontation and hostile relations between north and south. With the perpetuation of

the division, distrust and confrontation between north and south continued to grow worse. Authorities in south Korea regard their compatriots in the north as “the principal enemy” and punish pro-north figures on the basis of the “National Security Law.”

The division of Korea has built a great barrier in the way of peace and the common development of northeast Asia including the Korean Peninsula. The prevailing confrontation and competition in northeast Asia, including the Korean Peninsula, stem from the division of Korea, which is a legacy of the Cold War. In political and military terms, the relaxation of tensions and a return to peace cannot be expected as long as there are no changes in the U.S. ambition to perpetuate its military presence in south Korea and dominate the entire Korean Peninsula, as well as checking the regional powers with its military supremacy by strengthening its military alliances with Japan and south Korea. The U.S.–south Korea joint military exercises and the moves to form a triangular military alliance between the U.S., Japan and south Korea constantly threaten security on the Korean Peninsula. In economic and cultural terms, it is clear that the barrier that the division constitutes is putting an obstacle in the way to the common development and prosperity of the region.

2) The Essence of the Korean Reunification Issue

The essence of the issue of Korean reunification means the ending of foreign domination and interference in south Korea, the winning of national sovereignty on the Korean Peninsula as a whole, and the re-establishment of a common lineage (that has been divided by outside forces) by achieving national unity.

One of the key issues in national reunification is to regain national sovereignty on the Korean Peninsula as a whole. The reunification of Korea should not be viewed merely in the context of geography or demography; reunification is not about bringing together the divided territory and nation. It is a political issue of terminating foreign domination and interference in south Korea and regaining national sovereignty on the Korean Peninsula as a whole. This issue of regaining national sovereignty is a fundamental issue relating to the destiny of the Korean nation.

Independence is the lifeblood of a country and a nation. Only when a nation adheres to independence can it uphold its national dignity and attain

genuine political independence and prosperity. Any country and/or nation that is deprived of independence is doomed to the bitter fate of national ruin.

Owing to the occupation of south Korea by the U.S. and the U.S. colonial subjugation policy, the task of winning national independence on the Korean Peninsula as a whole remains unfulfilled. In the long run, the Korean reunification issue is a matter of driving U.S. troops out of south Korea and regaining national independence on the whole Korean Peninsula.

Another key element of the national reunification issue is to achieve national unity and cohesion. The Korean reunification issue is not about the north and south conquering each other; it is about eradicating the distrust and antagonism between them, created by continued territorial partition and national division, so as to achieve national unity and reunification.

The Korean people who had lived on one territory as a homogeneous nation throughout history have been separated into north and south owing to the U.S. occupation of south Korea and its policy of division. That is why the difference, distrust and antagonism between north and south have deepened, and the Korean nation failed to achieve unity. If the U.S. had not occupied south Korea, the Korean nation would not have been divided. If the U.S. had not enforced a policy of division and alienation, the distrust and antagonism between north and south would not have been aggravated. Therefore, to join together the territory and reunite the nation that has been separated temporarily by outside forces can never be resolved by one part of the nation dominating and subjugating the other. The realization of Korean reunification is precisely the process of removing misperceptions and distrust between north and south and achieving national harmony and unity. In this way, the Korean reunification issue will be settled only when the problem of recovering national sovereignty and the problem of national reunion are solved at the same time.

In a broader context, the above elements of the national reunification issue, albeit independent in itself, are interdependent in a broader context. Unless foreign domination and interference are terminated in south Korea and the sovereignty of the Korean nation is realized, north and south can never remove the distrust and confrontation and achieve national unity. In the final analysis, the objective of eradicating foreign domination and intervention and completely realize the sovereignty of the Korean nation

aims at terminating national division and achieving national reunification. Only when national reunification is attained can the issue of realizing complete sovereignty of the Korean nation be resolved.

2. The Korean Reunification is a Major Security Issue on the Korean Peninsula

Prior to considering why Korean reunification is a major security issue on the Korean Peninsula, it is first of all necessary to touch upon the general outline of the security issues that are discussed universally.

General Outline of Security Issues

Security is one of the basic issues in contemporary world politics. Generally speaking, security issues are classified into traditional security issues and non-traditional security issues or new security threats. In a broad sense, traditional security issues deal with war and peace. To put it in concrete terms, traditional issues are caused by military, political and diplomatic conflicts. From the historical point of view, traditional security issues are problems caused by the Cold War as a result of the confrontation between the two camps centered on the former Soviet Union and the United States, respectively. The world wars and regional and domestic conflicts caused by the differences of ideology posed a great threat to sovereign states and human survival and development.

In short, non-traditional security issues refer to comprehensive security in the economic, cultural, scientific, social and environmental sectors. These issues have emerged since the 1960s, especially after the end of the Cold War.

Non-traditional security can be divided into economic security, financial security, cultural security, information security, energy security, food security, ecological security, public health security and social security, and so on. Non-traditional security issues are related to the great political changes brought about in the international arena since the end of the Cold War. With the advancement of economic globalization and through the interdependence between countries, non-traditional security issues become increasingly transnational.

The Character of the Security Issue of the Korean Peninsula: Proceeding from the Essence of the Korean Issue

In order to get a correct understanding of the interrelation between the Korean reunification issue and the security issues on the Korean Peninsula, it is necessary, first of all, to grasp the essence of these issues.

The Essence of the Korean Issue

In its essence, the Korean issue is an issue of the reunification of Korea and ensuring peace on the Korean Peninsula. The Korean issue can be classified into two main parts: the reunification of Korea and ensuring peace on the Korean Peninsula. These parts are closely related. In other words, without the reunification of Korea, we cannot ensure permanent and stable peace on the Korean Peninsula.

First of all, the reunification of Korea is a vital factor that has to be solved by any means so as to ensure permanent and stable peace on the Korean Peninsula.

As mentioned above, one of the essential elements of the Korean reunification issue is to terminate the domination and interference of outside powers in south Korea and realize the sovereignty of the Korean nation.

The U.S. military domination of south Korea and the division of Korea are the main reasons for tension on the Korean Peninsula. The other essential element of the Korean reunification issue is to realize national unity between north and south, thus terminating north-south confrontation and tension. When north-south confrontation and tensions have ended and reunification is realized, there will be durable peace on the Korean Peninsula. On the other hand, the issue of ensuring peace on the Korean Peninsula is to remove the legacy of the Cold War and provide a favorable atmosphere for reunification. The hostile relationship between Korea and U.S., the U.S. troops stationed in south Korea and the U.S.–south Korea military alliance are creating obstacles for easing north-south confrontation and tension and realizing reconciliation and cohesion. This is a tremendous obstacle for realizing reunification. In particular, the reality where there is no durable peace regime on the Korean Peninsula, while the Korean armistice agreement remains a remnant of the Cold War, makes not only the U.S. but also south Korea, the military ally of the U.S., hostile to the DPRK. From a historical

point of view, the Korean issue, as a part of the contemporary history of international relations, can be said to have its origin in the division of Korea.

The Character of the Security Issue on the Korean Peninsula

In terms of the essence of the Korean issue, the security issues on the Korean Peninsula are related to Korean reunification and the issue of peace on the Korean Peninsula. At the same time, stemming from the common theory of the universally recognized security issue and the actual reality on the Korean Peninsula, the security issues of the Korean Peninsula are not non-traditional issues that have emerged recently, but traditional security issues, which makes the prevention of immediate war and the liquidation of the legacy of the Cold War the central task.

Why the Korean Reunification Issue is a Security Issue on the Korean Peninsula. First of all, from the historical point of view, Korean reunification is an issue which would eradicate the legacy of the Cold War on the Korean Peninsula. At present, confrontation and conflict between world powers scrambling for spheres of influence are still going on in the international arena. History shows that the interests of small countries are infringed upon and that they fall victim whenever world powers struggle to extend their spheres of influence. At the time when the interests of the great powers on the Korean Peninsula are complicated and military confrontations between world powers are aggravated, the Korean Peninsula might become a battle field once again, if Korea remains divided into north and south. In reality, the continuation of the Korean division is the source of aggravation of tensions on the Korean Peninsula. At present, there are a huge number of armed forces that have confronted each other for a long time along the military demarcation line, and U.S. armed forces are stationed in south Korea. The joint military exercises which the U.S. and south Korea are holding annually aimed at the DPRK constantly strain the situation on the Korean Peninsula and result in the pressing danger of war. Under the circumstances in which north and south point guns at each other and are in danger of fratricidal war, contacts and dialogues between them can never produce success. Relaxation of north-south tensions and removing the danger of a war can be settled only when the Korean armistice agreement is replaced by a peace treaty. Herein lies another reason why the Korean reunification issue is a security issue on the Korean Peninsula.

The Korean Reunification issue holds the key to the Establishment of a Peace Regime on the Korean Peninsula. In terms of the essence of the Korean issue and the character of the security issues on the Korean Peninsula, the issue of reunification constitutes one of the main necessities for establishing a peace regime on the Korean Peninsula. The establishment of a peace regime will pass through the process of concluding a peace treaty between the DPRK and the U.S. and normalizing the DPRK–U.S. relations and the DPRK–Japan relations. It will inevitably be accompanied by the process of improvement of north-south relations and the Korean reunification.

The Impact of Korean Reunification on the Regional Situation. The Korean division is the product of the Cold War. The Korean reunification issue is an internal affair of the Korean nation at the same time as it is directly related to durable peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula and the rest of northeast Asia. The Korean division has caused untold misfortunes and sufferings to the Korean nation, and the divided Korean Peninsula has been the site of strategic competition between major powers in northeast Asia. Geographically located between China, Russia, and Japan, Korea has an important strategic position linking the continent and the ocean, entangling the interests of the big powers surrounding the Korean Peninsula. Historically it has been the objective of these powers to extend their spheres of influence in the region.

When Korean reunification is realized, the only hot spot will have disappeared in northeast Asia, and it is therefore a decisive step to secure durable peace in the region. Above all, if the unified state is established, the distrust and confrontation between north and south will be completely eradicated, which will have a positive influence on the peaceful development on the Korean Peninsula. Moreover, the reunification would create favorable circumstances for external relations by eliminating the hostile relations between the DPRK and the U.S. as well as Japan.

As a matter of course, it is premature to debate at this stage whether the eradication of hostile relations and normalization of relations between the DPRK and the U.S. as well as Japan is possible before or after the Korean reunification, or whether it can be pushed ahead together with the reunification process. Nevertheless, it is clear that the promotion of the Korean reunification process and realization of reunification will mark a turning point in eradicating the legacy of the Cold War and ensure durable peace

and security on the Korean Peninsula. If Korean reunification is realized, it will promote economic revival and prosperity in northeast Asia and the rest of Asia. The Korean Peninsula is situated in an important location linking the ocean to the continent and thus a region where the economic interests of neighboring countries are interlocked.

The declaration of the birth of the unified Korea that will pursue a peace-loving policy would leave intact the capital invested by other nations on the Korean Peninsula prior to the reunification of the country. It would continue to ensure concessions of other nations to create an environment favorable for common economic development and revival of the region. If Korea is reunified, the historical competition and secret strife for economic concessions by the big powers will be terminated and the economic interests of the neighboring countries would be equally ensured, guaranteeing peace and common prosperity in northeast Asia.

3. Proposals for Reunification from the DPRK Government

From the first days of the national division, the Government of the DPRK has proclaimed that Korea's reunification is the most important task of the nation, advanced reasonable and realistic policies and proposals for national reunification at every stage of its development, and has made every possible effort to bring them into effect. I hereby introduce the Three Charters of National Reunification out of numerous proposals for national reunification advanced by the Government of the DPRK with a view to help to understand its position concerning Korea's reunification.

Three Charters of National Reunification

The great leader President Kim Il Sung have presented the Three Charters of National Reunification which are comprised of the Three Principles of National Reunification, the Ten-Point Program for Grand National Unity and the Proposal for Founding the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo (DFRK) into the Three Charters of National Reunification.

1) Three Principles of National Reunification

In May 1972, President Kim Il Sung received the delegates of the south Korean side who came to Pyongyang to attend the North-South High-Level Talks and elucidated the Three Principles of National Reunification. The Three Principles are: first, national reunification should be realized independently without reliance on outside forces and free from their interference; second, national reunification should be achieved by peaceful means without resorting to arms; and, third, great national unity should be promoted by transcending differences in ideas, ideals and systems.

The Three Principles of National Reunification set forth by the great leader President Kim Il Sung were agreed upon as the common reunification principles of the nation at the North-South High-Level Talks held in May 1972 and made public through the North-South Joint Statement on July 4. The publication of this historical statement was a noteworthy event which

instilled all Korean people with hope and optimism and opened up a new era in the reunification movement advancing under the banner of independence, peace and national unity. It is one of the immortal leadership exploits of President Kim Il Sung for national reunification and the basic principle for Korean reunification.

2) The Ten-point Program for National Unity and Reunification

The great leader President Kim Il Sung put forth the Ten-Point Program of the Great Unity of the Whole Nation for the Reunification of the Country at the Fifth Session of the Ninth Supreme People's Assembly on April 6, 1993. The full text of the Ten-Point Program is as follows:

1. A unified state, independent, peaceful and neutral, should be founded through the great unity of the whole nation. North and south should found a pan-national unified state to represent all parties, all groupings and all the members of the nation from all walks of life, while leaving the existing two systems and two governments intact. The pan-national unified state should be a federal state in which the two regional governments of north and south are represented equally, and an independent, peaceful and non-aligned neutral state which does not lean on any great power.

2. Unity should be based on patriotism and the spirit of national independence. All the members of the nation should link their individual destiny with that of the nation, love their nation passionately and unite with the single desire to defend the independence of the nation. They should display dignity and pride in being members of our nation and reject sycophancy and national nihilism that would inhibit the nation's consciousness of independence.

3. Unity should be achieved on the principle of promoting co-existence, co-prosperity and common interests and subordinating everything to the cause of national reunification. North and south should recognize and respect the existence, of different beliefs, ideas and systems, and achieve joint progress and prosperity, with neither side encroaching on the other. They should promote the interests of the whole nation before regional and class interests and direct every effort to the accomplishment of the cause of national reunification.

4. All political disputes that foment division and confrontation between fellow countrymen should be ended and unity should be achieved. North

and south should refrain from seeking or fermenting confrontation, end all political disputes between them and stop abusing and slandering each other. As fellow countrymen they should not be hostile to each other and, through the united efforts of the nation they should counter foreign aggression and interference.

5. The fear of invasion from south and north, and the ideas of prevailing over communism and communization should be dispelled, and north and south should believe in each other and unite. North and south should not threaten and invade each other. Neither side should try to force its system on the other or to absorb the other.

6. North and south should value democracy and join hands on the road to national reunification without rejecting each other because of differences in ideas and principles. They should guarantee the freedom of debate on and of activities for reunification and should not suppress, take reprisals against, persecute or punish political opponents. They should not arrest anyone because of their pro-north or pro-south tendencies and should release and reinstate all political prisoners so that they may contribute to the cause of national reunification.

7. North and south should protect the material and spiritual wealth of individuals and organizations and encourage their use for the promotion of great national unity. Both before reunification and after it they should recognize state ownership, cooperative ownership and private ownership and protect the capital and property of individuals or organizations, as well as all interests concerned with foreign capital. They should recognize the social reputation and qualifications of individuals in all domains including science, education, literature, the arts, public debate, the press, health care and sports, and continue to guarantee the benefits granted to people who have performed meritorious services.

8. Understanding, trust and unity should be built up across the nation through contact, exchange of visits and dialogue. All the obstacles to contact and exchange of visits should be removed and the door should be opened for everyone without discrimination to undertake exchange of visits. All the parties, groupings and people of all social standings should be given equal opportunities to conduct dialogue, and bilateral and multilateral dialogue should be developed.

9. The whole nation, in north and south and overseas, should strengthen its solidarity for the sake of national reunification. Things beneficial to national reunification should be supported and encouraged in an unbiased manner and things harmful to it should be rejected in north and south and overseas, and all should assist and cooperate with one another, going beyond their own narrow enclosure. All political parties, organizations and overseas should be allied organizationally in the patriotic world to achieve national reunification. Those who have contributed to the great unity of the nation and to the cause of national reunification should be honored.

10. Special favors should be granted to those who have performed exploits for the sake of the great unity of the nation and the reunification of the country, to patriotic martyrs and to their descendants. If those who had turned their back on the nation in the past return to the patriotic road, repentant of their past, they should be dealt with leniently and assessed fairly, according to the contribution they made to the cause of national reunification.

3) Proposal for Establishing the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo

The respected leader President Kim Il Sung put forward the proposal for founding the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo in his report to the Sixth Congress of the Worker's Party of Korea on October 10, 1980.¹

The Main Contents of the Proposal for Founding the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo. We hold that the country should be reunified by founding a Federal Republic through the establishment of a unified national government on condition that north and south recognize and tolerate each other's ideas and social systems; a government in which the two sides are represented on an equal footing and under which they exercise regional autonomy respectively with equal rights and duties.

The Foundation of the Proposal for the Establishment of the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo: the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity which north and south have agreed upon; our country's actual conditions in which different ideologies and social systems exist in north and south; the condition that neither side

¹ The state of Koryo existed for about 500 years from 918 to 1392.

should regard its own ideology and social system as absolute for peaceful reunification.

Reunification by Confederation Formula. It is because our country has been divided into two parts for more than half a century and the two different systems exist in north and south.

Although Korea is one nation, there are enormous and remarkable differences in ideology and idea. It is because that our nation does not want the reunification to be achieved by war and the permanent division into the two states.

The Principles of Establishing the Federal State. It will be reasonable if a supreme national federal assembly is formed in the federal state, with an equal number of representatives from north and south and an appropriate number of representatives of overseas nationals and if this assembly organizes a federal standing committee to guide the regional governments in north and south and to administer all affairs of the federal state. The position of head of the federal state could be taken alternately by north and south under mutual agreement.

The Functions of the Federal Government and the Regional Government. As the unified government of the federal state, the supreme national federal assembly and the federal standing committee, its permanent organ, should discuss and decide on political affairs, national defense problems, foreign affairs and other matters of common concern related to the interests of the country and the nation as a whole, on principle and in accordance with the desire for national unity, cooperation and reunification; push forward the work of uniform development of the country and the nation; and realize unity and cooperation between north and south in all spheres. The federal government will not allow one side to force its own ideas on the other side. Under the leadership of the federal government the regional government in north and south should follow an independent policy within the limits consistent with the fundamental interests and demands of the whole nation.

The Administration Principle of the Federal Government

As the unified government of the federal state, the supreme national federal assembly and federal standing committee should elect the co-chairman from north and south respectively so that they can administer the unified government in rotation. This is the proposal to make it possible to administer the

unified government in the fairest manner by separating the power of the unified state.

The Characteristics of the Unified State

The federal state should be a neutral country which does not participate in any political-military alliance or bloc.

The Name of the Federal State

The federal state shall be known as the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo. Koryo once existed in our country and is well known to the world, and reflects the common democratic political aspirations of north and south.

The 10-point Policy Which the DFRK Should Carry Out

First, the DFRK should adhere to independence in all state activities and follow an independent policy. Second, the DFRK should effect democracy throughout the country and in all spheres of society and promote great national unity. Third, the DFRK should bring about economic cooperation and exchange between north and south and ensure the development of an independent national economy. Fourth, the DFRK should realize north-south exchange and cooperation in the spheres of science, culture and education and ensure uniform progress in the country's science and technology, national culture and arts, and national education. Fifth, the DFRK should reopen suspended transport and communications between north and south and ensure free utilization of the means of transport and communications in all parts of the country. Sixth, the DFRK should ensure a stable livelihood for all people including workers, peasants and other working masses and promote their welfare systematically. Seventh, the DFRK should remove military confrontation between north and south and form a combined national army to defend the nation against invasion from outside. Eighth, the DFRK should defend and protect the national rights and interests of all Koreans overseas. Ninth, the DFRK should handle properly the foreign relations established by north and south prior to reunification, and should coordinate the foreign activities of the two regional governments in a unified way. Tenth, the DFRK should, as a unified state representing the whole

nation, develop friendly relations with all countries of the world and pursue a peaceful foreign policy.

Possibility of Realizing the Confederation

First, the Korean nation is a homogeneous nation although it has been divided into north and south. The different ideas and systems can exert some negative effects on the establishment of a federation, but a stronger national consciousness, is the main factor to achieve the federation. Second, national aspirations and the desire for reunification are strong. As long as the entire nation has the will for reunification and every Korean recognizes reunification as the supreme national task, it will be possible to overcome various complexities and difficulties arising from huge differences in ideas and systems. Third, the proposal for the establishment of the DFRK itself can be accepted by all people who are interested in solving the reunification issue of our country. First of all, this proposal presupposes that north and south recognize the ideas and systems of each other and co-exist peacefully, and under such a condition no one's interests will be encroached upon. There will not be any burden on neighboring countries as the unified state is supposed to enforce a neutral, non-aligned and peaceful policy after the establishment of a federal state. Fourth, theoretically the different ideas and systems can coexist within one country and one nation. Practically people with different political views and ideas can live together in one country and be engaged in legitimate social and political activities, and various forms of relations of ownership exist in many countries of the world. This demonstrates that even the most different systems can exist in one country.

The Validity of the Proposal for the Establishment of the DFRK

Firstly, our proposal for federal reunification fully embodies the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity which north and south mutually agreed on. The question of Korea's reunification resolves itself into the question of ending foreign domination and interference, winning the complete sovereignty of the whole nation, removing distrust and antagonism between north and south, and achieving national unity. In view of the essential nature of the Korean reunification issue, Korea should be reunified independently by the efforts of the Korean people, free from any foreign interference and based on the principle of

great national unity irrespective of the difference in their ideas and social systems. The three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity are the fundamental principle of reunification reflecting an urgent demand for reunification.

The proposal fully embodies the principle of independence. The unified government of the federal state guarantees the independent development of the country and the nation to fully ensure the interests of the country and the nation and by independently discussing and deciding the common issues of the nation in conformity with national demands and aspirations. The DFRK will be an independent and non-aligned country which is not a satellite of any major power through maintaining independence and a neutral line in its external activities.

The proposal fully embodies the principle of peaceful reunification. This proposal is envisaged to solve the reunification issue by means of forming a federal state with the united efforts on the basis of mutually recognizing the ideas and systems in north and south without forcing them on the other side. Therefore, the question of north and south dominating and absorbing each other will not be raised and there is no condition of any conflict.

The proposal fully embodies the principle of national unity. This proposal stipulates the composition, functions, and principles of activities and duties of the federal government reflecting the interests of all strata of society in north and south, which are the fundamental matters in establishing the federal state, and suggests how to put them into action.

Secondly, our proposal for reunification by federation reflects correctly the characteristics of the reunification issue and the specific realities in our country.

This proposal is based on the possibility that different ideas and social systems can coexist in one country. The reunification of Korea is not only for one side and any specific class or social strata of north and south, but for the whole nation who are suffering from misfortune and pain due to the division of the country. Therefore, the country's reunification should be realized completely in line with the national interests. Different social systems have existed and different ideas have prevailed in north and south for more than half a century and neither side would give up its ideas and systems. Under the circumstances, if north and south consider its own ideology and social

systems absolute and force them on the other side, it will inevitably lead to conflicts and this will lead to an irreversible move away from reunification. The reunification of our country can never be unilateral in nature.

Accordingly, north and south should find a common denominator to reunify the country leaving their ideas and systems existing in north and south as they are. North and south are a homogeneous nation of the same blood who had lived in the same territory for more than five thousand years. Although there is heterogeneity between north and south due to the different systems existing for more than half a century, this is not a big problem in comparison to the national homogeneity formed and consolidated for more than five thousand years. The differences of the two systems in north and south will never be the condition of the national separation and could not be an obstacle impossible to overcome in realizing the national reunification. If north and south have the national commonness historically formed as a common denominator, the two systems will surely achieve the coexistence and co-prosperity within the homogeneous nation and the single unified state.

Today the policies for “regional union” or “integration” are pursued by European countries and political parties with different ideas, religions, beliefs, and doctrines are forming coalition governments. Such state policy methods are becoming an international trend. At present, many nations of the world intend to establish independent sovereign states, and this kind of tendency is becoming more common. As China restored its jurisdiction over Hong Kong with its system intact, it has been practically proved that the two different systems can coexist in one country.

We are considering the moves of Cyprus which has recently agreed on a federation formula for reunification. These facts confirm the correctness, reasonableness and practicality of the reunification proposal based on a federation formula founded on national unity. The differences of ideas and systems will not be a problem at all as the regional governments are supposed to exercise independent policies with equal rights and duties when reunification is realized by federation formula. The validity of the proposal for a reunification by federation is that this proposal is the best method to realize the independent and peaceful reunification based on the principle of coexistence, not aiming at conquering the other side or being conquered,

under the condition that two distinct ideas and systems exist in north and south Korea.

Thirdly, our proposal for reunification by federation reflects the interests of north and south in a fair way.

The issue of Korea's reunification requires the problem to be solved in a fair manner taking into account the common demands and interests of the nation without infringement. If the reunification is to be fair, reasonable and realistic, it should be acceptable to all classes and social strata, as well as every party and group in north and south. The interests of both north and south are reflected in the reunification by federation. The structure and composition of the federal state should be founded through the establishment of a unified national government in which north and south are represented on an equal footing, and its main function should be to respect and defend the interests of the entire nation. It is a proposal that applied the principle of impartiality in the administration of the federal government. It also laid down the rights and duties of the federal and regional governments on the principle of impartiality. Therefore, the interests of any class, social strata and political group in north and south will not be infringed upon. In this way, the reunification proposal based on a federation stipulates that all matters for building the unified state are handled in accordance with the common aspirations and desires of the nation without leaning on any one side. Thus, reunification by federation is a fair, reasonable and realistic proposal acceptable to everyone from north and south loving their nation, as desire for reunification is independent of one's political views and faith.

Fourthly, our proposal for reunification by federation through the establishment of the federal state without passing through a transitional period

The Korean reunification is not an issue of the remote future, but the pending and pressing task. Ensuring peace and realizing the reunification on the Korean Peninsula are processes related with one another and there can not be any transitional period. It is the wrong point of view to consider the reunification question as an issue of establishing a single system on a national scale, separating the reunification question from the peace issue and considering the prospect of reunification as having a long way to go, and imposing a transitional stage between them.

The way to solve the reunification question in our country is not to assume the integration of the systems. Seeking the correct way to reunification should be proceeded in earnest by considering the nature of the Korean reunification issue and the actual conditions in north and south.

Reunifying our country means to establish the unified state as well as to recover the national sovereignty and achieve the national unity so that our nation can live unified and in harmony. In this sense, when the federation is introduced in our country, the unified state will be established governing north and south. And then, when the federation is realized, sovereignty can be attained on the national scale and our nation will recover the intrinsic nature as the single nation who had lived harmoniously for thousands of years. The proposal for establishing the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo renders it possible for the country and the nation to realize the unity of the country and the nation by realizing the complete sovereignty of the Korean nation, achieving the national unity through the establishment of the unified state based on one nation and two regional autonomies on the two different systems without passing through the transitional period.

Fifthly, our proposal for reunification by federation coincides with the interests of neighboring countries and the rest of the world in accord with the desires of peace-loving people.

Our country is geographically located between the big countries. It is situated on the important strategic position linking the continent and ocean. That is why the interests of the major powers are entangled with each other and why, from the historical point of view, Korea has been the target of contests for extending the spheres of influence of great powers. In this way, the Korean issue has been the matter of concern of neighboring countries. The proposal for reunification by federation secures the existence of two systems legally and structurally as it is based on the principle of "one nation, one state, two systems and two governments."

The regional government in north and south are to enforce independent policies under the guidance of the federal government, making neighboring countries to continue to maintain their relations with north and south. This coincides with the interests of neighboring countries.

The establishment of the independent federal government will realize the long-cherished desire of the nation for exercising complete independent rights, and will coincide with the desire of the peoples of the world to

oppose all kinds of domination and subordination and their aspiration for the independence and it is in line with the trends of the time. The peace-loving federal state will observe the tradition of our nation who loves peace and will not attempt to pose aggressive threats to any country and will not be used in the aggressive action by any country. It will not build up any armed forces pursuing aggression and mass destruction and will regard it as a guiding principle of its activities to turn the Korean Peninsula into a peaceful and nuclear-free zone.

To make the unified Korea a neutral country means that it should not participate in any political-military alliance or bloc, does not support any country against another, and will actively promote the good neighborly relations with all countries in the world based on a just and fair stand. It will coincide with national interest of the Korean people and be conducive to all countries of the world advocating independence, and will be favorable for relaxation of international tension and maintenance of the world peace.

If the reunification is realized by the federation formula, there will be no concern of a north invasion or a south invasion. Secure preconditions for permanent peace will be created systematically on the Korean Peninsula. What is more, it will remove the root causes of a new war on the Korean Peninsula, thus making a great contribution to peace in Asia and the rest of the world. The proposal for reunification by federation is the most impartial, reasonable and realistic reunification proposal in view of national desires and interests, the interests of the world people and the peace of Asia and the rest of the world. The people who have been hostile to our country until now, recognize that there could be no other proposal that can realize the Korean reunification. The proposal for reunification by federation is the most valuable legacy of the great leader President Kim Il Sung.

Common Elements and Differences of the Proposal for Federation Advanced by the North and a Proposal for Confederation Put Forth by Kim Dae Jung of South Korea

The June 15 North-South Joint Declaration announced in Pyongyang in June 2000 declared: "The north and south, recognizing that a proposal for federation of a lower stage advanced by the north side and a proposal for confederation put forth by the south side for the reunification of the country have elements in common, agreed to work for the reunification in this direction

in the future." Since 1984, Kim Dae Jung has on several occasions brought up the confederation proposal called his "phased reunification proposal."

"Confederation of the Republics" – Kim Dae Jung

The essential part of the proposal of "Confederation of the Republics" is to establish the symbolic central confederation mechanism with very limited power and without military and diplomatic powers, allowing north and south to coexist as a "completely independent government" in order to recover the "national homogeneity" at the first stage, and form the complete unified government by means of gradually transferring the authorities of the independent governments to the central government after creating an atmosphere of mutual trust. In other words, this proposal can be said to be a proposal for a phased confederation for the purpose of solving the reunification issue step by step, passing through the transitional period for quite a long time under the system of "one confederation and two independent governments." This is considered to be the theory of "coexistence first, reunification later," with a view of making two Koreas coexist for the time being, reunifying the country in the next generation.

The Elements in Common

In view of the structural aspect, the elements in common lie in the suggestion of the establishment of the regional governments and a federal government. The north has suggested the formation of a federal type of a supreme national federal assembly with an equal number of representatives from north and south and an appropriate number of representatives of overseas nationals and the organization of a federal standing committee to guide the regional governments in north and south administering all affairs of the federal state. The south has proposed the formation of the federal government with government representatives from north and south and formation of the federal mechanism with the federal assembly consisting of the non-governmental representatives from north and south.

In view of authority, the elements in common lie in the proposal to empower the regional autonomy with more authority tentatively and to elevate the functions of the federal government step by step. The north has suggested that reunification should be gradually accomplished by a federation by empowering the regional autonomy of the federal state with more

authority tentatively and elevating the functions of the federal government in the future. In other words, we have proposed that two governments in north and south hold the current functions and authorities such as the political, military and diplomatic powers as they are, and on this basis, to form the unified national mechanism. The south, in its suggestion, has proposed that north and south are to coexist as the “completely independent government” and the establishment of the symbolic federal mechanism with very limited power without the military and diplomatic powers, and has suggested that the authorities of the independent governments are gradually transferred to the central government after creating an atmosphere of mutual trust.

Common elements in the proposal to exercise sovereignty in external relations. The north has proposed that the regional governments in north and south should maintain the relations which they had already established with other countries and that the federal state should permit north and south to have independent foreign relations separately with other nations on a limited scope. The south has proposed that north and south, as independent governments, should have the authority in overall internal policies, diplomacy and national defense and having the diplomatic relations with all countries, and be admitted to international organizations until the complete reunification.

Common elements in cooperation and exchange. The north has suggested joint exploration of natural resources, as well as other forms of collaboration and exchanges between north and south. The south has suggested south and north should push ahead with all sorts of exchanges such as economic cooperation, and also separated families, social, cultural and educational exchanges.

The Substantial Differences

Our federation proposal is envisaged to reunify the country on the principle of one nation, one state, two systems and two governments by forming the strong functional federal government in order to establish a unified state without delay. In other words, our federation proposal is intended to establish a fully unified state (the Federal State) representing the whole nation with the united north and south leaving the two systems as they are. However, the confederation proposal of Kim Dae Jung is to make the

federal mechanism a matter of formality, with north and south continuing to remain two states as they are at the present-day stage and to form the complete unified state gradually; that is to say to reunify the country based on "one state" and "one system." In other words, the confederation proposal put forth by Kim Dae Jung is the "phased reunification" with a view to realizing the complete system unification gradually, passing through the stage of "coexistence" and "exchange."

Therefore, the confederation proposal of Kim Dae Jung can be thought of as being temporary, with the unification of states and systems being the ultimate goal, not setting up the establishment of the federal state. Since north and south have agreed on working for national reunification by means of a federation through the North-South Joint Declaration announced on June 15, 2000, the important thing now is to have a serious discussion between north and south about reunification and come to nation-wide agreement on the formality of the federal state. However, Lee Myung Bak's conservative regime has totally denied the federation formula for reunification which north and south have already agreed upon and is persistently pursuing the "reunification through absorption" under the "free democratic system."

As "reunification through absorption" is based on system reunification, it will inevitably lead to confrontation and conflict between north and south and the Korean nation will be faced with a national disaster far from reunification. The current Lee Myung Bak conservative group should clearly show its will to implement the June 15 Joint Declaration while pushing ahead with reunification by means of the federation formula.

The Efforts Made by the DPRK to Realize the Reunification by Federation and the Way to Materialize the Federation

The Efforts made by the DPRK to realize the Proposal for Founding the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo (DFRK). The government of the DPRK, in October 1980, immediately after the proposal for a confederation had been presented by the great leader President Kim Il Sung called on the south Korean people and overseas compatriots to convene a joint meeting of the political parties and social organizations to materialize the proposal for founding of the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo. At the 20th briefing session commemorating the forming of the Committee for Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland held in May 1981, we discussed the measures

for realizing the proposal. At the 67th session of the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for Reunification of the Fatherland held in August 1981, the Joint Statement of the political parties and social organizations was adopted, calling for convening the Conference for Promoting National Reunification.

The Committee for Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland held in February 1982 released a statement appealing the convention of the Joint Meeting of the Hundreds Politicians from north and south and abroad.

The Conference for Promoting National Reunification and the Joint Meeting of the Hundreds Politicians called upon open-hearted discussion of the reunification proposals including the proposal for founding the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo. At the banquet in celebration of the 35th anniversary for founding the DPRK held in September 1983, the great leader President Kim Il Sung further concretized the proposal for the foundation of the DFRK.

In order to facilitate reaching the national agreement on national reunification, the great leader President Kim Il Sung, in his new year's address on January 1, 1991, put forth the proposal for a federation of lower stage to realize the country's reunification gradually, which means to accomplish the federation step by step by temporarily giving more authority to the regional governments in order to reach the national agreement on the reunification by federation, and strengthen the function of the federal government in the future. This proposal was intended to facilitate the achievement of the nation-wide agreement on reunification by federation in a situation in which proposals for the reunification by federation put forth by north and south differ.

The Way to Realizing the Proposal for Federation – Maintaining Independence. As long as the reunification by the federation is a matter of the Korean nation and a matter related to national sovereignty, the Korean nation should be the master of reunification. Reunification should be achieved by the Korean nation in conformity with the national independent wills and demands. An avenue to realizing national independence is to restore national dignity and open the door of great national unity and reunification. It is important for the Korean nation to join the efforts each other based on a rejection of the aggression and interference of outside forces,

and solve the issue of national reunification by itself in accordance with the independent demand and the interests of the nation.

The Great Unity of the Whole Nation Should Be Achieved. Without the great unity of our nation, reunification by means of a federation is not possible. Thus, reunification by federation is none other than the great national unity and the great national unity itself will be reunification by federation. In order to realize reunification by federation with the great national unity, north and south should give priority to the common interests of the nation and subordinate everything to the cause of the national reunification, transcending differences of ideas, systems and religious faiths.

The Danger of War Should Be Removed and Lasting Peace Ensured. The most important matter is to completely remove the danger of war by defusing the military tension and ensure the permanent and durable peace on the Korean Peninsula. When the regime is institutionalized and operated in a way that will ensure peace and remove the danger of the war, a favorable condition for the reunification by federation will be created.

Countries responsible for the division of Korea should contribute to Korea's national reunification. The U.S. is directly responsible for the division of Korea. The U.S. and neighboring countries must support the Korean nation in its efforts to achieve an independent peaceful reunification and should work to help Korean reunification. Given the EU's geographical position far away from northeast Asia, it is true that the EU is not directly involved in the matters of inter-Korean relations and the resolution of issues on the Korean Peninsula, but it is possible for the EU to exert great influence over efforts aimed at securing peace and stability in northeast Asia including the Korean Peninsula.

It has been the belief of the DPRK that all countries and political forces of the world should be on an equal footing in addressing international issues if the world is to enjoy peace and stability. It was in such a context that the DPRK came to the view that the evolution of the EU to a powerful pole was of great importance for the efforts to ensure global peace and place the international political order on democratic basis.

To make a substantial contribution to the efforts aimed at developing inter-Korean relations and securing peace and stability in northeast Asia including the Korean Peninsula, the EU and its member states should adhere to the principle of impartiality; it is a matter of key importance. In

case the EU favors one side – for example, the U.S. – in consideration of alliance or shared political system or ideals and forces the other side to accept unreasonable allegations of the former, it is nothing but an indication of entrenched prejudice on the part of the EU. Such a move will only add to the intractability of the issue instead of helping secure peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula. When the conservative forces of south Korea led by Lee Myung Bak presented the preposterous “results of the investigation” of the incident of “Cheonan” – the south Korean warship that sank on March 26 this year – and tried unreasonably to link the incident to the DPRK, the EU and a number of European countries blindly took side with the “allegations” of south Korea and criticized the DPRK. It was an utterly irresponsible behavior that added fuel to the flames of the contentious issue.

It is clear that the economic interests of European countries in northeast Asia including the Korean Peninsula will suffer heavy damage in case of an all-out war on the Korean Peninsula. European countries would do well to stop selling weapons to south Korea and use their influence to make the U.S. accept our proposal to conclude a peace treaty if they sincerely want to see peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula and the reunification of Korea. Just as the Western European Union, a legacy of the Cold War era, was dismantled in Europe, the Korean Armistice Agreement – yet another legacy of the Cold War – should be replaced by a peace treaty. We believe that it is in the interests of the EU and its member states to give up prejudice and get involved in the resolution of Korean issues in a constructive manner at their own discretion so as to cope with future challenges. That way the EU would be able to play a role befitting its status. We closely follow the efforts of the EU to enhance the role of the UN and international law and resolve international issues in a peaceful manner through dialogue. The cause of reunification advanced by the great leader President Kim Il Sung is being brilliantly followed by the great leader Kim Jong Il, who gives wise leadership to the reunification movement with firm determination and will to achieve reunification by realizing the proposal for federation advanced by the great leader President Kim Il Sung. The bright prospect for reunification has been opened with the historical meeting in Pyongyang and the announcement of the June 15 North-South Joint Declaration.

In the joint declaration, recognizing that a proposal for federation of a lower stage advanced by north, and a proposal for confederation put forth

by the south for the reunification of the country have elements in common; they agreed to work for the reunification in this direction in the future. This was the first time since the division of the country and the nation that north and south have confirmed the common method and objective for reunification and laid the foundation for joint efforts towards reunification. When north and south make all-out efforts to find a common way towards reunification by making use of common elements found in the proposal for federation of lower stage advanced by north and the proposal for confederation put forth by south and move ahead towards reunification, the road will be opened for an independent and peaceful reunification and national prosperity.

About the Author

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