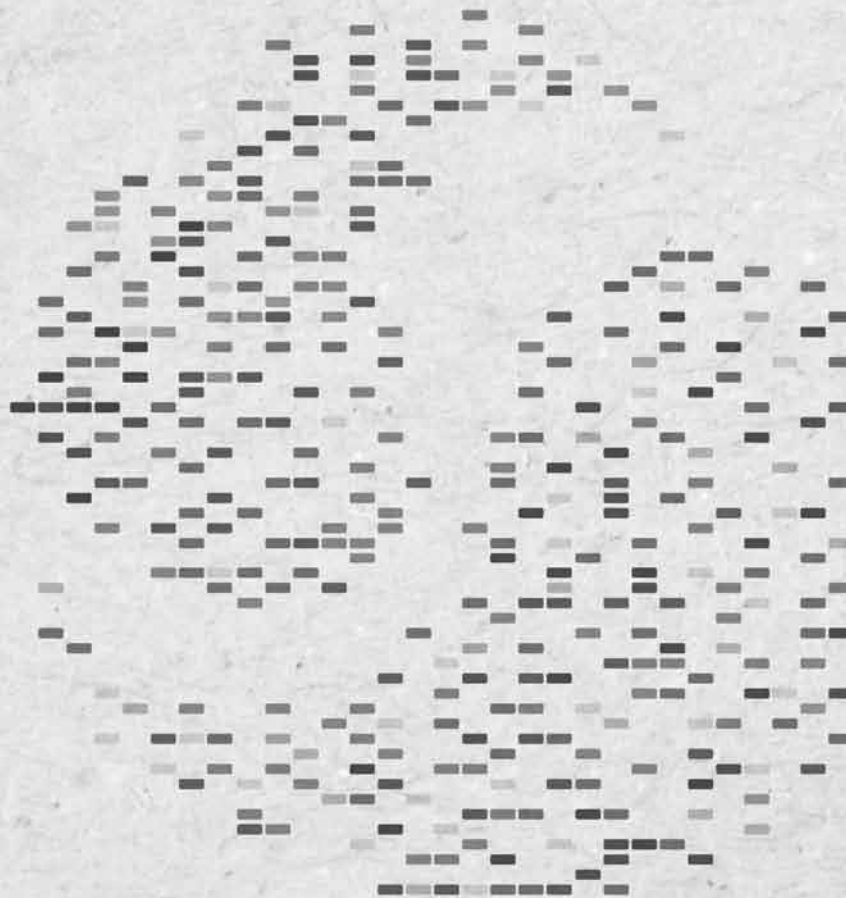


Asia Economic Community Forum 2014 : From Sudden Changes to Unification

2014 아시아경제공동체포럼(AECF): 급변을 통일로





Date : September 19, Fri, 2014 / 10:00~12:00

Venue : Hyatt Regency Incheon

Co-Hosted by : Hansun Foundation,
Asia Economic Community Foundation

일시 : 2014. 9. 19(금) 10:00~12:00

장소 : 하얏트리젠시안천

공동주최 :  한반도선진화재단,  Asia Economic Community Forum
아시아경제공동체포럼

| CONTENTS |

Asia Economic Community Forum 2014 : From Sudden Changes to Unification

Opening Remarks	Jaewan Bahk, The President of Hansun Foundation	06
-----------------	---	----

Presentation1	How Gemany Achieved Unification from sudden Changes in East Germany?
---------------	--

Dr. Lars-Andrè Richter, President of Friedrich Naumann Foundation Seoul Office ...	14
--	----

Presentation2	How Will Korea Achieve Unification from Sudden Changes in North Korea?
---------------	--

Dr. Young-ho Park, Senior Researcher at Korea Institute for National Unification ...	29
--	----

Discussion	Among Neighboring Nations on the Unification of the Korean Peninsula
------------	--

B,R. Myers, Professor Dongseo University (United States)	45
--	----

Wang Hui, Associate Professor Jilin Academy of Social Sciences (China)	46
--	----

Hosaka Yuji, Professor Sejong University (Japan)	47
--	----

Adrei N. Lankov, Professor Kookmin University (Russia)	48
--	----

| 차례 |

2014 아시아경제공동체포럼 : 급변을 통일로

개 회 사	박재완 한반도선진화재단 이사장	06
발제 1	독일은 동독급변을 어떻게 통일로 연결했는가?	
	라스안드레 리히터 프리드리히 나우만재단 한국사무소 대표	14
발제 2	한국은 북한급변을 어떻게 통일로 연결할 것인가?	
	박영호 통일연구원 선임연구위원	29
토론	한반도 통일에 대한 주변 4강(미 · 중 · 일 · 러)의 입장 개진	
	브라이언 마이애스 동서대 교수(미국)	45
	왕후이 길림성 사회과학원 부교수(중국)	46
	호사카 유지 세종대 교수(일본)	47
	안드레이 란코프 국민대 교수(러시아)	48

Asia Economic Community Forum 2014

: From Sudden Changes to Unification

● Date / Venue

Date : September 19, Fri, 2014 / 10:00~12:00

Venue : Hyatt Regency Incheon

● Program

09:30~10:00	Registration and Reception
10:00~10:10	Opening Ceremony [Opening Remarks] Jaewan Bahk, The President of Hansun Foundation
10:10~11:00	[Moderator] Taewoo Kim, Chair Professor Dongguk University
	Presentation1: How Gemany Achieved Unification from sudden Changes in East Germany?
	[Presenters] Dr. Lars-Andrè Richter, President of Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Seoul Office
	Presentation1: How Will Korea Achieve Unification from Sudden Changes in North Korea?
13:30~15:40	[Presenters] Dr. Young-ho Park, Senior Researcher at Korea Institute for National Unification
	Discussion: Among Neighboring Nations on the Unification of the Korean Peninsula
13:30~15:40	[Discussants] B.R. Myers, Professor Dongseo University (United States)
	Wang Hui, Associate Professor Jilin Academy of Social Sciences (China)
	Hosaka Yuji, Professor Sejong University (Japan)
	Adrei N. Lankov, Professor Kookmin University (Russia)
12:00	Photo Session and Closing

2014 아시아경제공동체포럼 : 급변을 통일로

●일시 및 장소

일 시 : 2014년 9월 19일(금) 10:00~12:00

장 소 : 하얏트리센스인천

●프로그램

09:30~10:00	등록 및 접수
10:00~10:10	개회식 [개회사] 박재완 한반도선진화재단 이사장
	[사회자] 김태우 동국대 석좌교수
10:10~11:00	발제1 : 독일은 동독급변을 어떻게 통일로 연결했는가? [발제자] 라스안드레 리히터 프리드리히 나우만재단 한국사무소 대표
	발제2 : 한국은 북한급변을 어떻게 통일로 연결할 것인가? [발제자] 박영호 통일연구원 선임연구위원
13:30~15:40	토론 : 한반도 통일에 대한 주변 4강(미·중·일·러)의 입장 개진 [토론자] 브라이언 마이어스 동서대 교수(미국) 왕후이 길림성 사회과학원 부교수(중국) 호사카 유지 세종대 교수(일본) 안드레이 란코프 국민대 교수(러시아)
12:00	사진촬영 및 폐회

Opening Remarks

Jaewan Bahk

The President of Hansun Foundation



Educational Backgrounds

- 1988~1992 Ph.D. in Public Policy, Harvard University, GSAS, Cambridge, MA, U.S.A.
- 1986~1988 MPP, Harvard University, JFK School of Government, Cambridge, MA, U.S.A.
- 1973~1977 B.A. in Economics, Seoul National University, Seoul, Korea.

Career and Experiences

- 2014~present President, Hansun Foundation
- 2011~2013 Minister of Strategy and Finance
- 2010~2011 Minister of Employment and Labor
- 2008~2010 Senior Secretary to the President for State Affairs Planning
- 2008 Senior Secretary to the President for Political Affairs
- 2007~2008 TF Leader for Government Restructuring & Regulatory Reform, Presidential Transition Committee
- 2006~2008 Chief of Staffs to the Chairman of Grand National Party
- 2005~2006 Chairman, External Relations Committee, Grand National Party
- 2005 Chairman, Economic Policy Coordination Committee, Grand National Party

2004~2008	Member of the 17th National Assembly
1996~present	Professor, Graduate School of Governance, Sungkyunkwan University

Academic Positions

2003~2004	Provost for Planning, Budgeting & Coordination, Sungkyunkwan University
2002~2003	Visiting Professor, Graduate School of International Relations & Pacific Studies, University of California, San Diego
2000~2002	Provost for Admissions, Sungkyunkwan University

Academic Societies

2002	Cochair, National Council on Brain Korea 21 Research Projects
2001~	Editorial Board, Korean Association of Policy Analysis and Evaluation
2000	Research Director, Korean Association for Public Administration
1999~2002	Head, Brain Korea 21 Project Team, Korea Research Foundation
1999~2001	Auditor, Korean Council of Social Sciences
1999	Research Director, Korean Association of Policy Studies
1998~	Editorial Board, Korean Association of Public Economics
1998~	Director, Korea Association for Corruption Studies
1998	Secretary General, Korean Association for Public Administration
1997	Secretary General, Korean Association of Public Economics

NGOs

2004	Chairman, Policy Coordination Committee, Citizen's Coalition for Economic Justice
1999~2003	President, Public Policy Institute

Opening Remarks

Jaewan Bahk

The President of Hansun Foundation

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen,

Welcome to the forum 'From Sudden Changes in North Korea to Unification' co-hosted by Hansun Foundation and Asia Economic Community Foundation. I am extremely grateful for opening this event with your presence.

My special thanks should go to President Lars-Andre Richter of Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, and Dr. Young-Ho Park, senior researcher at Korea Institute for National Unification, for gladly accepting our request and preparing excellent presentation despite short notice. I would also like to extend my deepest appreciation to professor Taewoo Kim and prominent discussants from four major countries concerning the Korean Peninsular.

It has been almost 70 years since the division of Korea into north and south and technically the two Koreas are still at war. In recent days, North Korea's fragile anomaly, including a hereditary leadership succession of three generations, an oppressive dictatorship, a 'military first' policy and nuclear weapons development, seriously threatens global peace and the East Asian security.

Although two Koreas are seemingly destined to be reunited some day, nobody predicts for sure when and what will happen and how situations will develop in the

Korean Peninsular. The path leading to unification could be either gradual or abrupt, either evolutionary or explosive, and either smooth or bumpy.

We must be prepared for any type of triggering events including a sudden dissolution of the Northern regime. Otherwise, we may miss a golden opportunity for reunification and face a permanent division of Korea for generations to come.

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen,

This morning, I would like to remind you of what John Shedd, an American educator, once said: “A ship in harbor is safe, but that is not what ships are built for.” In the same spirit, we must not be satisfied with divided Korea. We must be ready and willing to take the lead in the case of sudden changes in North Korea. To this end, we have to strive to develop innovative and practical ideas, which is the main purpose of this session.

Yet many challenges are ahead. Korea’s current situation is quite without precedent. The German case suggests only lessons, but not solutions. However, let us look on the sunny side. The British philosopher Bertrand Russell mentioned, “The trouble with the world is that the stupid are cocksure and the intelligent are full of doubt.”

I hope that today’s forum would serve as an opportunity to find the answers to the doubt by gathering our experience, insight and knowledge together.

Thank you.

September 19, 2014
Jaewan Bahk

개 회 사

박재완

한반도선진화재단 이사장

존경하는 내외 귀빈, 그리고 신사·숙녀 여러분!

한반도선진화재단과 아시아경제공동체재단이 공동으로 주최하는 ‘급변을 통일로’ 포럼에 오신 것을 환영합니다. 여러분 앞에서 개회사를 하게 되어 영광입니다.

축박한 일정에도 불구하고 훌륭한 발제를 준비해 주신 Friedrich Naumann 재단 Lars-Andre Richter 한국사무소 대표와 통일연구원 박영호 선임연구위원께 특별히 감사드립니다. 아울러 사회를 맡아주신 동국대 김태우 교수, 한반도 주변 4강을 대표하여 토론을 해주실 네 분의 저명학자들께도 깊은 감사를 드립니다.

남북이 분단된 지 어언 70년이 가까워 오지만, 기술적으로는 여전히 전쟁이 끝나지 않았습니다. 최근 3대 세습, 철권통치, 선군정치와 핵무기 개발을 포함한 북한의 취약한 비정상 상태는 세계평화와 동아시아의 안보를 위협하고 있습니다.

한반도는 언젠가 통일될 수밖에 없는 숙명처럼 보입니다만, 그 누구도 언제 어떤 일이 일어나고 상황이 어떻게 전개될지 확실히 예측할 수 없습니다. 통일에 이르는 경로는 단계적일 수도 있고 반대로 갑작스러울 수도 있으며, 점진적 또는 거꾸로 폭발적이거나, 순탄할 수도 험난할 수도 있습니다.

우리는 북한 체제의 급격한 해체를 포함한 어떤 형태의 ‘촉발 사태’에도 대비해야 합니다. 그렇지 않으면, 자칫 우리는 절호의 통일 기회를 놓치고 향후 몇 세대에 걸쳐 또 다시 분단이 고

착화되는 암울한 상황을 맞을 수도 있습니다.

내외 귀빈, 그리고 신사·숙녀 여러분!

오늘 아침, 저는 미국 교육자 John Shedd가 “배는 항구에 정박해 있으면 안전하다. 그러나 그것은 배가 지어진 목적이 아니다.” 라고 한 얘기를 상기시켜 드리고자 합니다. 같은 맥락에서 우리는 지금처럼 분단된 한반도에 만족해서는 안 됩니다. 만약 북한 급변이 현실화된다면, 우리는 사태를 주도해야 합니다. 그러자면 창의적이면서도 현실적인 아이디어를 지금부터 천착해야 합니다. 그것이 오늘 포럼의 목적입니다.

쉬운 일은 아닙니다. 많은 도전과제가 있습니다. 한국의 상황은 역사상 유례가 없습니다. 독일의 경험은 우리에게 교훈을 주지만, 결코 해답을 보장하지는 않습니다. 그래도 우리는 비판할 필요가 없습니다. 영국 철학자 Bertrand Russell은 “바보들은 자신만만하고 지성인들은 의문을 가득 지니고 있다.”고 말했습니다.

오늘 포럼이 우리 모두의 경험, 직관 그리고 지식을 결집하여 우리가 지닌 의문을 푸는 해답을 발견하는 계기가 되기를 기대합니다. 감사합니다.

2014. 9. 19.

한반도선진화재단 이사장 박재완



Asia Economic Community Forum 2014

: From Sudden Changes to Unification

Moderator

Taewoo Kim, Chair Professor Dongguk University

Presentation1

How Gemany Achieved Unification from sudden Changes in East Germany?

Dr. Lars-Andre Richter, President of Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Seoul Office

발제1 : 독일은 동독급변을 어떻게 통일로 연결했는가?

라스안드레 리히터 프리드리히 나우만재단 한국사무소 대표

Presentation2

How Will Korea Achieve Unification from Sudden Changes in North Korea?

Dr. Young-ho Park, Senior Researcher at Korea Institute for National Unification

발제2 : 한국은 북한급변을 어떻게 통일로 연결할 것인가?

박영호 통일연구원 선임연구위원



Moderator

Taewoo Kim

Ph.D., Political Science Chair Professor Dongguk University

Taewoo Kim received Ph.D. in Political Science from the State Univ. of New York at Buffalo in 1989. Since then he has taken such positions as Research Fellow at Sejong Institute and National Assembly. He worked as an Advisor Professor to President Myungbak Lee and played a key role in the Presidential Commission for Defense Reform. After retiring as Senior Research Fellow and Vice-President from the Korea Institute for Defense Analyses (KIDA) in 2011, he worked as the 11th President of the Korea Institute for National Unification (KINU). Currently, he is Invited Professor at Konyang Univ. and Chair Professor at Dongguk University. He is one of the most prolific writers in South Korea in the areas of security, defense, WMD, and Korean unification. His works include: “Combating North Korea's Nuclear Blackmail: Proactive Deterrence and the Triad System,” 2010 KINU-CNAS joint research project; “ROK-U. S. Defense Cooperation against North Korean Nuclear Threat: Strengthening the Extended Deterrence,” 2009 KINU-CNAS joint research project; “South Korea’s Nuclear Future: Temptation, Frustration and Vision,” presented at a conference on “Over the Horizon: WMD Proliferation 2020”, hosted by the Center for Contemporary Conflict (CCC) in 2007; “South Korea's Missile Dilemmas,” Asian Survey (May/June 1999); “US-DPRK Nuclear Rapprochement in the South Korean Dilemmas,” Third World Quarterly (November 1995); “South Korean Patience Wearing Thin,” Bulletin of Atomic Scientists (Sep./Oct. 1995). etc.

82-2-10-9040-9240 defensektw@hanmail.net



Presentation1: How Gemany Achieved Unification from sudden Changes in East Germany?

Dr. Lars-André Richter

Resident Representative

Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom Korea Office

Lars-Andre Richter is the Resident Representative of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom in Korea since June 2012. He studied amongst others German Literature, Philosophy and History in Tübingen, Leipzig, Paris (Paris III - Sorbonne Nouvelle) and Berlin. He earned his PhD from Humboldt University in Berlin in 2008 with doctoral dissertation on the Weimar Republic. He has been working for the FNF since 2008: he served as Press Officer and Deputy Spokesman at the Foundation's headquarters in Potsdam before the current post. Prior to joining FNF, he also worked for the DAAD (Deutscher Akademische Austauschdienst/German Academic Exchange Service), amongst others in Mexico-City, and later for WELT ONLINE, the online edition of the German daily newspaper "Die Welt".

발제1: 급변하는 동독의 정세 속에서 독일은 어떻게 통일을 이루었나?

라스안드레 리히터

프리드리히 나우만 재단 한국사무소 대표

1989년 1월 19일 동독 사회주의 통합당의 당수 에리히 호네커는 “ 베를린 장벽은 50년, 100년 후에도 남아있을 것이다 ”라고 말했다. 그리고 정확히 10개월 후 베를린 장벽은 무너졌다. 위 기간동안 동독 전역에서는 변화와 사건이 일어났다. 철의 장막의 붕괴는 독일의 통일을 가능하게 해 주었을 뿐 만 아니라, 유럽의 분단과 냉전의 시대를 종식시켰다.

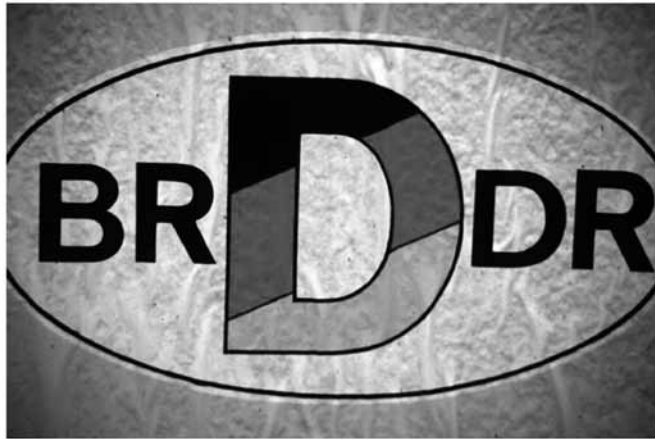
어떤 이들에게는 1989년에 일어난 일련의 사건들이 너무 빠르게 느껴졌을 지도 모르지만, 이러한 갑작스러운 변화가 가능하게 된 데에는 오랜 기간동안 준비된작업들이 그 기반이 되었다.

서독의 사민당-자민당의 두 연정정부가 내놓은 1)동방정책과 2)유럽안보협력회의는 서독과 동독이 서로를 이해해가도록 돕는 초석이 되었다. 사회주의 정권의 경제적 실패, 동독 헝가리 소비에트에서 일어난 민중시위에서 러시아군의 개입 등일련의 사건은 사회주의에 대한 불신을 높여놓았다. 또한 브레즈네프 독트린을 포기함으로써 동구권 국가들에 대한 주권 제한이 풀리게 되었고, 소련이라는 헤게모니로부터 동구권이 벗어날 수 있었다. 이러한 과정 속에서 선구자적 역할을 한 국가는 폴란드와 헝가리 였다.

이러한 배경속에서 당시 동독 사회주의 통일당은 국민들의 불신을 초래하는 실정을 거듭하게 된다. 이와 반대로 당시 서독 총리 헬무트 콜과 외무장관 한스 디트리히 겐서는 성공적인 위기관리와 외교를 통해 독일 통일을 달성할 수 있었다.

Friedrich Naumann
STIFTUNG FÜR DIE FREIHEIT

How Germany achieved unification from sudden changes in East Germany



Friedrich Naumann
STIFTUNG FÜR DIE FREIHEIT

Popular uprisings crushed by the Soviet Army



East Germany, 1953



Hungary, 1956

Friedrich Naumann
STIFTUNG

FÜR DIE FREIHEIT

**CSSR,
1968**



Brezhnev Doctrine, 1968:

When forces that are hostile to socialism try to turn the development of some socialist country towards capitalism, it becomes not only a problem of the country concerned, but a common problem and concern of all socialist countries.



Friedrich Naumann
STIFTUNG

FÜR DIE FREIHEIT



Mikhail Gorbachev, 1985/1989:

Every country decides on its own which road to take.

Moscow's abandonment of the Brezhnev Doctrine allowed the rise of popular upheavals in Eastern Europe throughout 1989, in which Communism was overthrown.

Why did the Soviet Union renounce the use of force and allow the collapse of Communism and the reunification of Germany?

Friedrich Naumann
STIFTUNG **FÜR DIE FREIHEIT**

① Preconditions for German unification

- 1. Change through rapprochement**
- 2. Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe**
- 3. Disillusionment with Communism**
- 4. Renouncement of the use of force**
- 5. Economic failure of Socialism**

Friedrich Naumann
STIFTUNG **FÜR DIE FREIHEIT**

1. Change through rapprochement

West German “Ostpolitik”: Treaties to ease tensions with the Soviet Union, Poland, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia between 1970 and 1973.

- Concentration on common interests
- West Germany renounced the use of force and recognized the current European borders
- The two German states eased encounters between their citizens, fostered trade, and established formal relations

Friedrich Naumann
STIFTUNG

FÜR DIE FREIHEIT

2. Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, 1975

The Helsinki Accords gradually became a manifesto of dissident movements in Eastern Europe. With regards to the civil rights portion of the agreement they could claim official permission to say what they thought. Of course they were punished anyway.



Friedrich Naumann
STIFTUNG

FÜR DIE FREIHEIT

3. Disillusionment with Communism

The Brezhnev Doctrine was last used to justify the Soviet military intervention in the non-Warsaw Pact nation of Afghanistan in 1979. It added to the growing disillusionment with Communism in the Eastern Bloc.



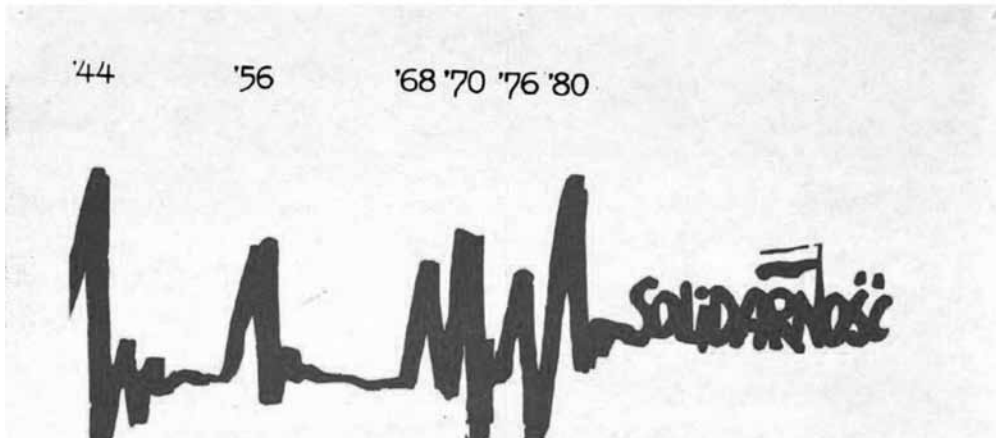
Soviet war in Afghanistan, 1979 - 1989

Friedrich Naumann
STIFTUNG

FÜR DIE FREIHEIT

4. Renouncement of the use of force

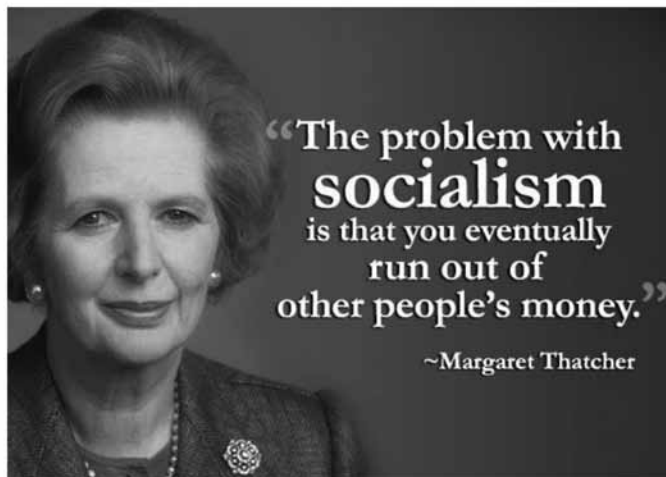
The Soviet Union abstained from a military intervention in Poland in 1980. However, the Polish leadership created fear of a Soviet invasion, imposed martial law and crushed Solidarnosc on its own.



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FÜR DIE FREIHEIT

5. Economic failure of Socialism



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FÜR DIE FREIHEIT

② From sudden change to unification

1. East German gerontocracy unwilling to reform
2. Local election fraud
3. Tiananmen Square massacre justified
4. Holes in the Iron Curtain
5. Demonstrations and opposition movements rise
6. Thousands of East German refugees in West German Embassies
7. Demonstrations become too big and numerous to be crushed
8. Egon Krenz replaces Erich Honecker
9. Schabowski announces permission to cross the border
10. Kohl and Genscher win support for unification in West and East
11. Free general elections enable Economic and Monetary Union
12. East German states join Federal Republic of Germany

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FÜR DIE FREIHEIT

1. East German gerontocracy unwilling to reform



„The wall will remain in 50 and even in 100 years.“
Erich Honecker on 19 January 1989.

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2. Local election fraud



Egon Krenz:
99.85 %
voted for
the National
Front list.



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**3. Tiananmen Square
massacre justified**



Egon
Krenz



Friedrich Naumann
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4. Holes in the Iron Curtain



Foreign Ministers
Alois Mock, Austria,
and Gyula Horn,
Hungary, dismantle
the „Iron Curtain“
on the border
between their
countries in June
1989.

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The Pan-European Picnic, organized by the Paneuropean Union and the Hungarian Democratic Forum, lets East Germans escape to Austria.

**PANEUROPÄISCHES
PICKNICK in SOPRON**
am Ort des
„Eisernen Vorhangs“!

am 19. Aug. 1989 von 15⁰⁰ Uhr

dr. Otto Habsburg Imre Pozsgay

Programm:

1. 15.00 Uhr: Öffnung des Eisernen Vorhangs, Begrüßung, Rede von Habsburg, Pozsgay, ...

2. 16.00 Uhr: Gemeinsames Essen und Trinken

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Friedrich Naumann
STIFTUNG

FÜR DIE FREIHEIT

5. Demonstrations and opposition movements rise



Friedrich Naumann
STIFTUNG

FÜR DIE FREIHEIT

6. Thousands of East German refugees in West German Embassies



Friedrich Naumann
STIFTUNG

FÜR DIE FREIHEIT

The SED insisted that the refugees had to travel through East Germany before allowing them to leave to West Germany. In Dresden, thousands battle with the police and try to jump onto the trains in order to escape.



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STIFTUNG

FÜR DIE FREIHEIT

7. Demonstrations become too big and numerous to be crushed



Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-1090-0922-002
Foto: Gahlbeck, Friedrich 110, Oktober 1989

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STIFTUNG FÜR DIE FREIHEIT

8. Egon Krenz replaces Erich Honecker



Friedrich Naumann
STIFTUNG FÜR DIE FREIHEIT

9. Schabowski announces permission to cross the border



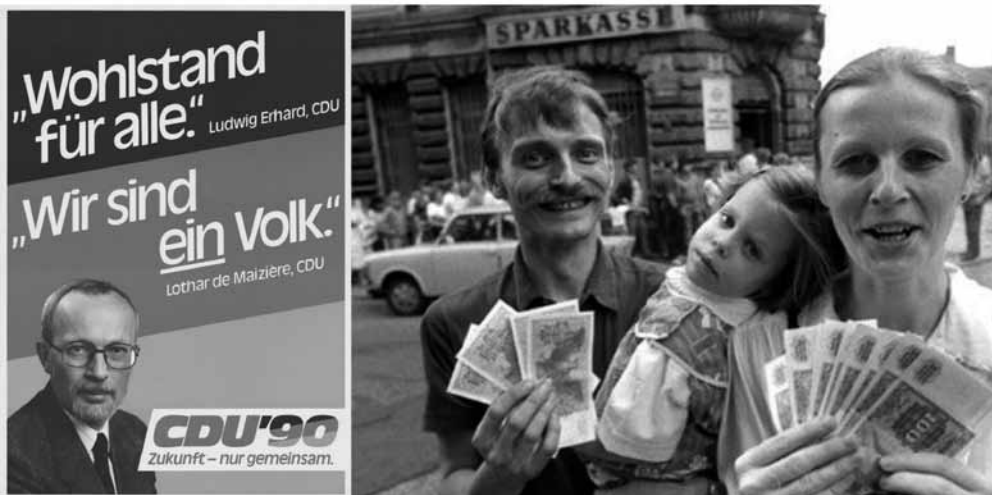
Friedrich Naumann
STIFTUNG **FÜR DIE FREIHEIT**

10. Kohl and Genscher win support for unification in West and East



Friedrich Naumann
STIFTUNG **FÜR DIE FREIHEIT**

11. Free general elections enable Economic and Monetary Union



Friedrich Naumann
STIFTUNG FÜR DIE FREIHEIT

12. East German states join Federal Republic of Germany





Presentation2: How Will Korea Achieve Unification from Sudden Changes in North Korea?

Dr. Young-ho Park

Senior Researcher at Korea Institute for National Unification

Park, Young-Ho is a senior research fellow at the Korea Institute for National Unification (KINU). As one of the founding members of the KINU, he has served as director for unification studies, international relations studies, North Korean human rights studies, and planning and coordination at KINU. He was an adjunct fellow with Hudson Institute in Washington, D.C. He was also an adjunct professor of political science at Sejong University and now teaches at the Graduate School of Korea University. Park has been a policy advisor to the Ministry of Unification and is currently a member of the Standing Committee of the Advisory Council on Democratic and Peaceful Unification of the ROK. He was president of the Korean Association of Area Studies and vice president of the Korean Association of International Studies and the Korean Political Science Association.

He received a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Cincinnati. He has written widely on inter-Korean relations, Korean unification issues, North Korea, U.S. foreign and security policy toward the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asian Security, and North Korean human rights

Areas of Expertise

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발제2: 북한에서 급변사태 발생 시 어떻게 통일을 성취할 것인가?

박영호

통일연구원 선임연구위원

본 논문은 북한에 급변사태 또는 갑작스러운 사태가 발생하였을 때, 어떻게 그 상황을 통일로 이끄는 가에 대한 하나의 개괄적인 접근에 관한 것이다. 북한체제 붕괴가 진행되는 과정에서 다양한 긴급 내지는 위기 상황이 전개될 것이다. 이런 상황에서는 무엇보다 혼란 상태를 조기에 안정화시키는 것이 중요하다. 그러나 북한체제의 붕괴는 한반도 통일을 성취할 수 있는 매우 중요한 기회이다. 따라서 북한지역의 안정화를 이루면서 북한지역에 민주주의와 시장경제에 기반한 새로운 정부 등 민주적 거버넌스를 구축할 필요가 있다. 이러한 정부가 북한지역에 등장하면 남북한이 평화적 방식의 통일 협상을 추진할 수 있다. 독일 통일의 경우, 동독체제 붕괴 ⇨ 민주적 동독정부 등장 ⇨ 통일 협상의 3단계를 밟았다. 북한체제 붕괴 이후 북한지역에 새로운 국가건설을 추진하는 상황은 제3세계 독재정권 붕괴나 이라크와 같이 분쟁 후 재건의 상황과 유사할 것으로 추정된다. 따라서 분쟁 후 재건(안정화 및 재건) 프로그램을 일부 응용하여 북한체제 붕괴 후 안정화 ⇨ 체제 전환 ⇨ 통일 협상의 ⇨ 3단계 통일 접근을 추진할 것을 제안하고 특히 안정화 및 체제전환 단계에서의 핵심적 조치들을 제시하였다.

How Will Korea Achieve Unification from Sudden Changes in North Korea?¹⁾

I. Introduction

It's been almost three years since Kim Jong-un took power in North Korea. During the period, there happened a series of changes in power structure. Most salient features have been the dismissal of Ri Yong-ho, the purge and execution of Jang Song-taek, and the demotion of Choe Ryong-hae. All of them were regarded as the virtual number two man next to young leader Kim Jong-un. In addition, there has been the rise of the Organization and Guidance Department and the State Security Department of the Workers' Party of Korea (WPK), frequent reshuffling of top military posts, generational change in both central committee of the WPK and the military.

When Kim Jong-un first emerged as the heir apparent of Kim Jong-il and came to power after the death of his father, some North Korea watchers predicted to see internal instability. Although it is hard to take a clear look at internal dynamics in North Korea, it seems that Kim Jong-un has been relatively successful in consolidating his grip on power, in line with suryong dictatorial system. But, it remains uncertain as to whether his leadership is firm and strong enough to wield control over the military and security agencies. There are still a number of uncertainties in the overall workings of the Kim Jong-un regime. For some, North Korea under Kim Jong-un's leadership remains stable in the sense that it will not face a sudden collapse of regime. For others, however, its stability or durability is in question.

Unification of North and South Korea can happen in various forms. Roughly speaking,

1) This paper is a draft version for experts' discussion. It may not be cited or referenced in any way.

there are three types of unification: unification by agreement, unification by absorption and unification by war. Absorption type unification may be a result of drastic changes in North Korea. But, sudden changes or a collapse of the North Korean regime is not a natural course toward unification.

If a sudden regime collapse occurs, it is likely that a series of crises will arise: factional strife within the power elite groups, especially factionalism in the military, could lead to internal war; the military may take over power and the military junta exerts the reign of terror; the super-hawk military could seize WMDs, including nuclear weapons; no party gains control over North Korean society that results in some form of anarchy; massive outflow of the North Koreans may cause high degree of disturbances near the border areas; in such an anarchic situation, neighboring countries or international society may consider some form of intervention. All of these and other possible contingencies will be significant challenges for South Korea to deal with before it achieve unification.

This paper is based on three assumptions: First, a unified Korea will be achieved on South Korean terms, based on democracy and market economy. Second, unification will occur through the sudden collapse of North Korea. Third, the collapse of North Korea will occur at any time in the foreseeable future.

II. German Unification by a Peaceful Revolution in East Germany

From June 1989 to October 1990, East Germany underwent a series of rapid political changes that allowed a peaceful transition to democracy. West Germany achieved unification by absorbing a democratized East Germany.

- Thousands of East Germans began to escape to the West in June 1989 when Hungary removed border fences.

- The demonstrations began on Monday, September 4, 1989 at the St. Nicholas Church in Leipzig. It symbolized the beginning of a peaceful revolution against the regime of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), East Germany.
- On October 9, Leipzig's protesters took to the streets under the banner "We are the people!" Mass protests spread throughout East Germany, which culminated in the Monday demonstration on October 23 in Leipzig.
- The Socialist Unity Party of (East) Germany (SED) took political reform measures starting from ousting then General Secretary Erich Honecker on October 18.
- The Berlin Wall fell on November 9 and mass protest intensified.
- The SED gave up its monopoly on power and allowed political pluralism on December 1, but it had to take a new party platform which broke with Stalinism on December 17. It also changed party's name as the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS).
- The transition to political democracy following the peaceful revolution led to the first free elections to the Volkskammer (legislature) in East Germany on March 18, 1990 and the PDS was heavily defeated.
- Alliance for Germany, led by the East German branch of Helmut Kohl's Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and running on a platform of speedy reunification won the parliamentary elections.
- The new Volkskammer opened on April 5, 1990. Lothar de Maizière (CDU) became prime minister, heading a grand coalition consisting of the CDU and other parties.
- The East and West German Governments began negotiations for an emergency merger of the two German economies. The negotiations were heavily led by West Germany. They signed a "Treaty Establishing a Monetary, Economic and Social Union between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany" on May 18, 1990. The treaty became effective on July 1, 1990.
- While internal process toward unification was underway, West Germany, with the help of the United States, cleared up all international issues under the framework of the Two (Germanys) plus Four (The US, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet

Union).

- The Volkskammer passed a resolution on August 23, 1990 seeking the accession of the German Democratic Republic to the Federal Republic of Germany as allowed by article 23 of the West German Basic Law, effective 3 October 1990.
- On September 20, 1990, the Volkskammer voted to dissolve East Germany and to unify its territory with the Federal Republic of Germany. The unification treaty was approved on a 442-47 vote by the Bundestag and by a 299-80 margin in the Volkskammer, and took effect on October 3. Germany unified.

As briefly reviewed in the above, both ordinary people and the new political leadership in East Germany boldly chose to change the socialist system to a market economy and political democracy in a short period of time. Chancellor Helmut Kohl's original plan for German unification was a three-step formula as in a 10-point program announced on November 28, 1989. It called for the two Germanys to expand their cooperation and to establish a confederation with the view toward eventual reunification of a federal system. But as political landscape in East Germany unfolded drastically but peacefully and East Germans started crying for unification, he carried out a policy of speedy reunification. West Germany was very much successful in persuading the four powers (The US, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union) and NATO members into supporting German unification.

III. What Could Happen in Sudden Changes in North Korea?

In the case of sudden collapse of North Korea, it has no meaning to differentiate it in terms of regime, system, and the state. Then, what could happen when a sudden regime collapse unfolds? Can we expect a peaceful transition to democracy in North Korea? Considering North Korea's embedded totalitarian dictatorship, it cannot be conceivable. Rather, there could be a variety of crises in terms of political, military, economic, and social aspects and external relations.

The long-standing strong control and military camp-style state system makes a large-scale collective popular uprising very unlikely in North Korea. The possibility of a drastic demand for a change of system turning into an organized outburst is also considered very low. Nevertheless, the following occurrences are conceivable:²⁾

- The collapse of North Korea taking place because the North Korean people's sporadic and passive protest becomes organized and turns into active protest and the bottom-up uprising becomes collective;
- A serious conflict of power dynamics developing among political elites concerning how to cope with the collective protest from the low levels;
- The development of conflict between those who want to maintain the existing system and those who want to reform the system into armed conflict or civil war;
- A power vacuum in the supreme leadership coincides with an uprising from lower levels of society and creates an anarchistic state.

The following are conceivable crises/contingencies that can occur in a sudden regime collapse:³⁾

- Exodus of North Korean refugees through borders with China and Russia, by sea, or through the DMZ; and shooting at refugees causing a lot of casualties;
- Disruption of the provision of public services;
- An outburst of collective and organized resistance; casualties in the process of the North Korean authorities' over-suppression and increased chaos;
- A power struggle caused by deepened conflict inside the top power circle and the purge or escape of some high-ranking officials;
- Emergence of a power group that demands reform;

2) Young-Ho Park, "Korean Unification Scenarios and the Implications of Contingencies in North Korea for Refugee Flows," Antonio Marquina (ed.), *Perspectives on Migration Flows in Asia and Europe* (Madrid: UNISCI/ASEF, 2011), pp. 294–295.

3) This part is based on *ibid.*, pp. 295–296 and slightly revised.

- Coup by guards or opposition military forces (including shooting or assassination, arrest, and exile of the supreme leader);
- Bloodshed due to suppression by a hawkish group or a few ruling circles to maintain the existing system and the ensuing resistance leading to a civil war;
- North Korean existing ruling circles' military provocation against South Korea to cause a shift of direction;
- Terrorist activities;
- Loosened control of WMD arsenal or WMD under the control of unknown authorities;
- Outside forces' intervention in accordance with the unfolding of North Korea's internal situation, especially if the control of WMD is in question.
- In addition, a number of uncertain events or situations we may not think of in advance will occur.

IV. What Should Be Done to Achieve Unification?

For South Korea, the final goal will be the achievement of a stable, democratic, unified Korea once North Korea falls into sudden collapse. However, as suggested above, there is little possibility of a peaceful transition to political democracy in the case of sudden change in North Korea. North Korea has its distinctive characteristics even compared to former Communist countries in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union: maintaining a unitary ruling totalitarian dictatorship; maintaining a hereditary succession and nepotistic ruling system; monistic ideology; very high degree of garrison state (militarism); very high degree of repressive mechanism (reign of terror); high level of social and cultural uniformity and rigidity (the state/community as a collective body); extreme idolization of the ruler.

A regime collapse could bring about catastrophic events, putting the whole North

Korean society into a state of instability and confusion. In such a situation, the first and foremost task is to stabilize North Korea. In other words, a regime collapse in North Korea does not necessarily mean the emergence of a unified Korea. Without stabilization and democratization to some degree of North Korea, it is not possible to achieve a peaceful unification between the two Koreas.

Among other things, we can get one very important lesson from the case of German unification that it is necessary for North Korea to take a transition process from totalitarian dictatorship to political democracy. Every effort to build a market-based economy should be exerted at the same time. And, while democratization being in process, North Korean society should be stabilized and its security be assured. All of these tasks are those that seem to be common to reconstruction efforts in both most post-conflict societies and post-Communist transitional societies.⁴⁾

Once North Korea falls into the process of systemic collapse, we may apply some of the programs developed in the context of post-conflict reconstruction. Generally speaking, there are five dimensions: (1) security; (2) governance and participation; (3) humanitarian assistance and social well-being; (4) economic stabilization and infrastructure; and (5) justice and reconciliation.⁵⁾ The post-conflict reconstruction process can be divided into three phases: (1) emergency/initial phase; (2) transition/transformation phase; and (3) development/fostering sustainability phase.⁶⁾

Since there are too many variations, I present here a basic framework. We can conceive a three-step approach to unification in the case of North Korea's collapse: (1) stabilization phase; (2) transition phase; and (3) unification phase.

4) Young-Ho Park, "Contingencies in North Korea and Development Assistance," in Jeong-su Kim, et al., *Issues and Ways to Resolve in Development Assistance to North Korea* (in Korean) (Seoul: KINU, 2009); Bruce W. Bennett and Jennifer Lind, "The Collapse of North Korea: Military Missions and Requirements," *International Security*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Fall 2011).

5) Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization, United States Department of State, *Post-Conflict Reconstruction Essential Tasks* (April 2005).

6) *Ibid.*

1. Stabilization Phase

At the stabilization phase, a number of measures to stabilize North Korean society should be taken. Bennett and Lind offered five important tasks to do at this stage: (1) direct humanitarian relief and policing of major cities and roads; (2) border control; (3) elimination of WMD; (4) disarmament of conventional weapons; and (5) deterrence or defeat of any military resistance.⁷⁾ These are all military-related measures/operations to ensure a safe and secure environment.

In order to proceed on the way to the achievement of unification, there must be basic foundations to be laid. Since North Korea has little experience of civil society, it is necessary to provide North Koreans with a mechanism of free and democratic political participation and association. Assuming that the existing state system is totally collapsed, a comprehensive plan of new state-building should be prepared and legitimized. Some necessary measures are in the following:

Adopt and enforce laws that mandate that the public has the right to establish political party or civil association.

The Korean Workers' Party should be dissolved or thoroughly reformed. South Korean political parties and civil organizations may extend helping hands to the North Korean counterparts (reformers) in the process.

If the North Korean state remains while there is no functioning government, a workable and effective government needs to be established. It is desirable to clearly define and institutionalize the structure and responsibilities of the government.

In case of utilizing the existing government system, all agencies of the government should be reformed to a great degree; Strengthening administrative and

7) Bruce W. Bennett and Jennifer Lind, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

enforcement capacity of government agencies to provide proper public services.
In addition, economic and social well-being foundations are laid.

2. Transition Phase

At the transition stage, a series of system transformation in North Korea should be carried out based on the foundations for state-building at the first stage. The process of the state-building may continue at this stage. There are five dimensions: (1) security dimension where a new security governance (legitimate security institutions) is established; (2) democratic governance dimension where political, economic, and social mechanisms of democracy and market economy are built; (3) rule of law and justice dimension where the rule of law and accountable judicial systems are established; (4) humanitarian assistance and social well-being dimension where foundations for sustainable development are established; and (5) economic stabilization and infrastructure dimension where the recovery, rehabilitation and reconstruction programs are carried out.

Main features of each dimension are in the following:

Security

- Disarm, demobilize, and reintegrate North Korean military forces
- Develop an appropriate, credible and professional internal security services
- Review, reform and Establish and enforce weapons control regime
- Collaborate with neighboring countries on weapons flows, including WMDs

Democratic Governance

- Establish division of power between the legislative, executive, and judiciary

- Constitutionally guarantee and defend essential civil rights and political freedoms
- Help build representative system of political parties, reform Korean Workers' Party
- Help hold free and democratic elections to establish a new government
- Enable broad-based participation in political and economic decision-making
- Establish and protect freedom of media
- Help establish civil society organizations and encourage public participation
- Educate youth about the principles of democratic governance and the market economy

Rule of law and justice

- Establish the rule of law through adequately trained military and police force
- Protect human rights and promote legal empowerment of the North Korean populace
- Create independent courts
- Build professional civil service with accountability
- Ensure equal access to justice and apply the law equally to all

Humanitarian Assistance and Social Well-being

- Continue to ensure reliable and adequate supply of assistance to the North Koreans
- Maintain essential services (water, health, education, etc.)
- Establish transportation and distribution networks
- Start to construct large-scale essential services facilities
- Assure to provide basic social welfare benefits
- Create and implement employment programs

Economic Stabilization and infrastructure

- Implement SOCs (public works) projects
- Create an independent central bank
- Establish clear budgeting and procurement procedures
- Examine the viability of existing state-owned enterprises and restructure the failing ones
- Vitalize the private sector and reduce informality
- Develop the financial sector to meet the demand for banking services

3. Unification Phase

Although the situation today in North Korea is not like that in East Germany in the late 1980s, if a variety of reconstruction programs are carried out successfully, the North Korean society will be transformed and a democratic government rules in North Korea. It may take many years for us to see North Korea transformed with democratic and market-based governance. But, it is expected for North and South Korea to greatly develop mutual relations in the process. This may in turn facilitate the two Koreas to begin negotiating a way to create a unified Korea. If both the North and South agree to take a speedy unification, we may see a unified Korea within few years after the collapse of a North Korean regime. In the meantime, however, South Korea should clear up the external matters that may stand in the way toward unification, in close and constructive consultation with the surrounding four countries.

V. Conclusion

Practically speaking, it is appropriate to say that unification of North and South Korea is many years off. Or, unification can happen all of a sudden. North Korea today may or

may not be at the historical crossroads. It is true that North Korea remains in a state of perennial difficulty. This continues to draw attention on the subject of sudden change in North Korea. If indeed the North Korean system enters into a drastic collapsing process, it will bring about many problems to tackle. For South Korea, however, it would be a great opportunity to conduct a 'real' unification policy. There are many studies on the issue of North Korean collapse, but little has been done how to achieve unification in such a case. This short paper is an intellectual exercise. Preparing for sudden change in North Korea may be a very important and practical policy issue. But, the fundamental task of the utmost importance now is to resume and improve inter-Korean relations. Trust cannot be built while doing nothing.



Asia Economic Community Forum 2014

: From Sudden Changes to Unification

Discussion

Among Neighboring Nations on the Unification of the Korean Peninsula

B.R. Myers, Professor Dongseo University (United States)

Wang Hui, Associate Professor Jilin Academy of Social Sciences (China)

Hosaka Yuji, Professor Sejong University (Japan)

Adrei N. Lankov, Professor Kookmin University (Russia)



Discussion: Among Neighboring Nations on the Unification of the Korean Peninsula

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B.R. Myers was born in the USA and educated in Bermuda, South Africa and Germany. He specializes in the research of North Korean ideology and propaganda, a subject on which he has written for the New York Times and Wall Street Journal. His book *Han Sorya and North Korean Literature* (1994) was the first English-language history of North Korean culture. He is also known for “A Reader’s Manifesto” and other essays on literature and animal rights in *The Atlantic*. His latest book *The Cleanest Race: How North Koreans See Themselves and Why It Matters* (2010), has been translated into five languages. Myers directs the international studies department at Dongseo University in Busan, South Korea. He is now finishing a book aimed at debunking the notion that North Korea is guided by Juche Thought.



Discussion: Among Neighboring Nations on the Unification of the Korean Peninsula

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Discussion: Among Neighboring Nations on the Unification of the Korean Peninsula

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Discussion: Among Neighboring Nations on the Unification of the Korean Peninsula

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MEMO
