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A New Approach to the National Community Unification Formula: Focusing on the Three Communities Unification Initiative

Park Jong Chul, Hong Woo Taek, Lee Kyu Chang
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*The analyses, comments and other opinions contained
in this monograph are those of the authors and do not necessarily
represent the views of the Korea Institute for National Unification.*

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Introduction

The formula for unification via a national community that was first promoted in the late 1980s contains several problems, as described below, and requires expansive supplementation.

First, it needs to reflect more consideration of the structural changes in North Korea in the post-Cold War era. Present-day North Korea is facing serious challenges that would have been unimaginable in the late 1980s. With the downfall of the former Communist Bloc, North Korea lost the lion's share of its diplomatic and economic support, and now due to Chairman Kim Jong-il's health issues the regime is facing a succession crisis. Thus the regime will have to deal with economic difficulties and the political challenge of an unstable new government. In circumstances where the possibility has arisen of discussing unification with this new government, careful consideration of North Korea's current situation is needed.

Second, while the formula for unification through a national community succeeded in increasing exchanges and cooperation between the two Koreas, there has been no real discussion of an engagement policy and particularly of structural engagement. At the time that this unification formula was put forward, the gap in national power between South and North was not as great as it is now, and the international diplomatic situation regarding North Korea has also changed dramatically. The present power gap between South and North is incomparably greater, and international

views of North Korea have also evolved. In the 1990s the Clinton administration in the U.S. pursued an engagement policy with North Korea, and at the dawn of the 21st Century the North Korean regime showed strong signs of heading toward a fundamental change. Furthermore, South Korea pursued an engagement policy for 10 years under the administrations of Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun. In view of these facts, we clearly need to consider a unification plan based on an engagement policy delineated in separate phases.

Third, the formula for unification via a national community has been considered mainly from the view of individual state actors. Considering the changing unification environment, we need a governance-based approach. In the future unification effort, important roles will be undertaken by actors from various different areas, not just the government. Therefore we must consider which roles each actor will play and how to best coordinate and guide their efforts toward the goal of unification.

Fourth, we must include considerations of the changes in South Korean society. As the post-nationalist, globalizing trend advances in South Korea, new views and approaches to the unification problem will be needed. This factor was not incorporated into the thinking behind the national community unification formula.

Fifth, international politics must be considered more directly. In the late 1980s international politics were still largely determined by the Cold War situation. The future unification envi-

ronment will have many new features such as the weakening of U.S. hegemony, the rise of China, precipitous changes in the power dynamics of Northeast Asia, a growing number of issues transcending national borders, and an international political order more strongly characterized by governance and networks due to the ongoing trends of globalization, democratization and increasing information access. We must take all of these factors into consideration in developing a new unification plan.^{1]}

Meanwhile, changes in the international political order and domestic conditions are influencing the unification environment.

First, let us consider the changes in the international political order. South Korea's external environment and diplomatic range have seen revolutionary changes, not only from the dramatic shift to a post-Cold War international political system in the late 20th Century, but also due to the more recent worldwide trend of globalization. Border-transcending trends of integration and cooperation have grown more active due to increased economic interdependence and cultural exchanges on the regional and global

1] Other studies have attempted to present new unification plans reflecting this changed environment. These studies focus more on formulating an entirely new unification plan than on supplementing the national community-based unification plan. Myeong Gyu Park et al, *Yeonseong bokhab t'ongilron* (Seoul: Seoul National University Institute for Peace and Unification Studies, 2010); Hansun Foundation, "Unification Advancement Policy" Seminar, *Ijeneun t'ongilida*, November 5, 2009; Peace Foundation Memorial Symposium, *Hwahae sangsaeng t'ongilron*, 2009.

levels. Integration has accelerated not just in Europe but in other regions as well, and Northeast Asia is no exception. All around the world the Cold War ended and new political and economic paradigms were established. Modern international politics continued as before, but new trends such as post-nationalist integration and global political networks began to emerge. In Northeast Asia modern power rivalries have continued, but economic interdependence has deepened, and cooperative efforts among civil society groups and between states have been rapidly expanding.

The problem is that while the Korean Peninsula continues to struggle under the same old South-North confrontation that began during the Cold War, South Korea has been evolving in pace with these rapid changes. The disconnect between South Korea's rapid development and the unhappy situation on the peninsula is holding South Korea back as it strives for recognition as a global power. South Korea's national power has risen through the processes of industrialization and democratization, and the scope of its foreign policy has expanded beyond Northeast Asia to encompass the entire world. South Korea is devoting more of its capacity to diplomacy and investing more of its diplomatic resources into other regions beyond the peninsula. It has broken out of the paradigm of focusing the majority of its interest and resources on inter-Korean relations and the unification issue, as it increasingly needs to widen its foreign policy scope to take in the rest of the world. North Korea remains an important target of South Korea's national strategy, but there are a growing number of new issues unrelated to

North Korea. South Korea also faces the increasing importance of maintaining strategic relations with the four key regional powers and designing policies to address so-called “human security” issues such as the environment, terrorism, human rights, and natural disasters.

We also cannot afford to overlook the changing situation in Northeast Asia. There have been fundamental changes in the political dynamics of Northeast Asia due to factors such as China’s rise, Japan’s relegation to more average status, and Russia’s growing power. South Korea must bear in mind all of these changing conditions and maintain a multifaceted foreign policy; its foreign policy concerns are too broad for it to be solely preoccupied with North Korea issues. In these conditions South Korea’s foreign policy paradigm is undergoing fundamental changes, and we need to develop a new viewpoint regarding the relative status of issues related to North Korea and unification.

Second, domestic views of North Korea and unification have changed in ways that also affect the unification environment. Globalization has impacted South Korea to the extent that it can no longer be considered a mono-racial society. South Koreans’ sense of identity is moving away from the cultural concept of nationhood, defined by a unitary past history, language, and culture, to a more political concept of nationhood encompassing all those who possess South Korean citizenship and thus politically belong to South Korea. Already foreign immigrants to South Korea have surpassed 1 million, and many South Koreans are living and working

overseas; thus it is becoming impractical to cling to the unitary national identity of the past.

This changing sense of identity is most conspicuous in the youngest generation. Members of this generation have traveled to different parts of the world from a young age and have fostered a global, cosmopolitan identity. The youngest generation has never set foot on North Korean soil or had any direct encounters with North Koreans, and it is not unusual for them to sympathize more with the suffering of the impoverished peoples in Africa than they do with the plight of North Koreans. This is a practical-minded generation that questions what unification will mean for Korean development and jobs, and thus their view of unification fundamentally differs from those of the past generations. While acknowledging the appropriateness of unification, they have become quite dispassionate in calculating its actual concrete benefits and costs.^{2]} It is time to consider how this generation will approach unification strategy when its turn comes to take over the core leadership of South Korea.

In light of the problems with the national community unification formula and the changes in the unification environment, we need to develop a new awareness of the appropriateness of unification and communicate this awareness with the domestic public.

First, consider the gap between South and North; as the two

2] Refer to *2010 Survey of Unification Attitudes* (Seoul: Seoul National University Institute for Peace and Unification Studies, 2010).

sides contend with the new developments of the post-Cold War era and the 21st Century, not only has this gap deepened, but it is only likely to grow worse with the passage of time. As this much is obvious, we can conclude that unification must inevitably be led forward by the South. There is a general consensus among most overseas Korea experts that, based on numerous reports predicting the global political situation in the mid-21st Century, ultimately South Korea-led unification will be the most appropriate method.

Second, viewed in light of South Korea's strategy as a key global player in the 21st Century, overcoming national division is an essential task. Having successfully undergone the processes of industrialization and democratization, the key task that remains for South Korea is unification. After the national division and war South Korea was reduced to a nation of grinding poverty, but now it has risen to such a high position on the world stage that it is able to host the G20 Summit and Nuclear Security Summit, inviting all the major global powers. Not only has it built up one of the world's top economic powers, it has received praise as a model of democracy and cultural development. As its national power has risen, South Korea's foreign strategy has also undergone great changes. As it rises from its former status as a lesser power in Northeast Asia to become a key global player, it has pursued new foreign policies including aid to third world countries and contributions to global peace efforts. If this trend is to continue South Korea must achieve unification and carry out these strategic ideals.

Third, we must consider the costs of division which South Korea currently has to bear. Without question, the divided state of the peninsula has forced both Koreas to pay a heavy price. Whether the other regional powers recognize it or not, they can gain many diplomatic benefits from Korea's continued division. The tremendous resources which both Koreas devote to their security and mutual rivalry are a waste of valuable assets that are needed for other national strategic objectives. Furthermore considering the many things the South and North could accomplish together, the opportunity costs of division are immeasurably high. Considering that the two Koreas must grapple with societal problems like the suffering of Korea's divided families and the disruption of national homogeneity, as well as the heavy social costs to both sides from the inter-Korean confrontation, unification seems all the more desirable.

The appropriateness of unification will most likely continue in the long term. However as we enter a new decade we should take note that practical need and urgency of unification seem to be growing.

First, in light of the changes in North Korea from the end of the Cold War to the present, the contradictions within the failed state have only deepened. Under Kim Jong-il's rule the regime has tried to ensure its own stability through military-first politics and nuclear development and pursued an economic revitalization strategy, but ultimately this has not been successful. It is even beginning to seem possible that North Korea's economic chaos

and the uncertainty surrounding its succession process might lead to a regime crisis. It is not easy to predict what may result from the North Korean power succession process, but considering the new successor's lack of legitimacy with the North Korean people, the political rivalries breaking out around the successor's weak political base, the skepticism about the successor's political capacity to guide the stricken economy, and the need for a shrewd strategy to navigate through the adverse diplomatic environment created by the nuclear issue, it is safe to say that the next leader will face tremendous practical challenges.

Second, the North Korea policy that has been pursued up to now must be brought in line with unification policy. The Lee Myung-bak administration has criticized the basis of the engagement policy, demanding that the North respond to cooperation policies in a responsible manner. Criticizing the engagement policies pursued by the progressive governments of the previous 10 years, President Lee Myung-bak has pursued a policy of principled engagement toward North Korea and has stressed that North Korea must demonstrate its reliability regarding aid and economic socio-cultural cooperation with South Korea. North Korea has exacerbated inter-Korean relations through various provocative incidents such as several missile launch tests, two nuclear tests, the fatal shooting incident at Mt. Kungang, and the Cheonan incident. The Lee Myung-bak government has been able to maintain a consistent North Korea policy throughout these incidents, but in the future they must formulate a concrete plan for connect-

ing this policy to unification.

The situation has grown even more urgent due to the North Korean nuclear issue. Over 20 years have passed since this problem first reared its head; up to now South Korea's policy toward the North has focused on the nuclear issue and it has not had the leisure to think deeply about unification. However it would be a mistake to neglect long-term North Korea strategy or unification strategy due to these concerns. We must recognize that the North Korean nuclear issue is not simply a military issue of nuclear development and proliferation but a byproduct of the political problem of regime survival. Without a long-term blueprint for North Korea's continued existence and inter-Korean relations, the solution to the North Korean nuclear issue will remain remote. The nuclear issue emerged out of the context of the wider North Korean problem, and a broad view of the big picture is needed to resolve it. As long as North Korea perceives that South Korea and other neighboring powers lack a long-term strategy for its future, North Korea will not abandon its nuclear-oriented military-first policy. As long as North Korea sticks to its military-first policy unification through peaceful means will be impossible, and thus South Korea's unification strategy must be developed in harmony with the ultimate goals of its North Korea strategy.

As the unification environment changes, the increased need for and legitimacy of unification will mean a higher probability of unification becoming a reality. As a clearer picture of a unified future emerges, a new domestic discourse on unification will develop and

grow more visible. The political, economic, and cultural achievements made by South Koreans in the past have put an end to the systemic rivalry between the two Koreas, and there should be no objection to the premise that South Korea should lead North Korea forward. The possibility for unification is increasing as most countries in Northeast Asia and the world acknowledge the appropriateness and validity of South Korean-led unification. These countries appear to acknowledge South Korea's role in global politics while being attentive to South Korea's strategies and working to connect them with their own national strategies. Ultimately, considering the changing domestic and foreign situation, Korean unification is becoming a more realistic and achievable goal.

A New Approach to the National Community Unification Formula: A Vision for Unification via Three Communities

By analyzing the National Community Unification Formula, assessments of inter-Korean relations, and the implications of German unification, we sought to develop a new approach to the National Community Unification Formula. The problems with this unification formula include problems with functionalist unification theory, problems with national community theory, problems with the South-North Korean confederation idea, the international environment and lack of enthusiasm for international cooperation. Issues in inter-Korean relations include North Korea's nuclear pro-

grams, the lack of a peace settlement for the peninsula, insufficient changes to the North Korea system, limitations to inter-Korean economic cooperation, lack of systematized organizations for inter-Korean dialogue, and inadequate linkage of inter-Korean relations into the international cooperation system. Implications of German unification include the gradual improvement of relations, efforts to build a community, the potential that East Germany had for change, and unification diplomacy efforts.

Some important elements that can be deduced from the above are as follows.

First, the issue of a peace settlement must be given precedence over everything else. Since the National Community Unification Formula was based on a functionalist logic, it prioritized economic exchanges and cooperation, expecting that economic cooperation would later spread to the areas of politics and security; however, the peace settlement issue remained unresolved. Particularly North Korea's nuclear development and asymmetrical attack strategy continue to threaten the military balance on the peninsula. Therefore a new approach to unification must prioritize denuclearizing North Korea and establishing a peace regime.

Second, we must view change in North Korea as a policy goal and consider various steps to promote it. The functionalist logic tried to induce change in the North through exchanges and cooperation, but North Korea only selectively agreed to allow exchanges in order to reap practical benefits for itself while maintaining tight control. Considering how changes in East

Germany were a decisive factor in Germany's unification, it is clear that we must make North Korean change a goal of our unification policy.

Third, we need to formulate a workable plan for an inter-Korean confederation. The national community formula called for operating a one-to-one style inter-Korean confederation. But now it has become necessary to think of a plan for an inter-Korean confederation that is realistically feasible in view of the conspicuous disparity in national power between South and North. The experience of inter-Korean relations to date is a testament to need for a practical solution to system integration.

Fourth is the importance of consideration for the international environment and unification diplomacy. The National Community Unification Formula failed to take the international environment into account and focused only on consolidating the national community as a unit. Also up to now we have failed to organically link our North Korean policy with our foreign policy for international cooperation. The importance of unification diplomacy in creating an international environment favorable to unification was vividly demonstrated by the 2+4 process in Germany's unification.

The theoretical and practical background of the "Three Communities" unification initiative can best be understood through the above evaluation of problems with the National Community Unification Formula and inter-Korean relations, as well as the implications of Germany's unification. The theoretical foundation described above will be helpful in understanding the theoretical

basis of this unification initiative. Regime theory is the theoretical foundation for building a peace community, and functionalism is the theoretical foundation for building an economic community. Integration theory is the theoretical foundation for building a national community.

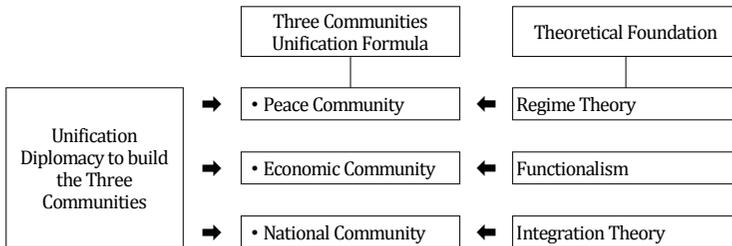
The “Three Communities” unification initiative constructs a new framework for unification policy incorporating the various previous policies toward North Korea and adding unification as an overall goal.

From its inception the Lee Myung-bak government has tried a variety of North Korea strategies in an effort to establish a new paradigm for inter-Korean relations, and its chief concerns have been reflected in the “Three Communities” unification initiative. Their basic consciousness of the problem is that despite increases in inter-Korean cooperation, there still are many obstacles to progress in inter-Korean relations, such as North Korea’s nuclear development, its continuing military threats, lack of change in the North’s system, the North’s unchanging attitude and policy toward the South, etc. Further, North Korea policy has focused on maintaining a stable state of division, and the movement toward unification has been diverted.

Problems with the National Community Unification Formula	Problems with Inter-Korean relations	Implications of German Unification
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Problems with functionalist unification theory <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Weak diffusion effects of exchanges and cooperation - Lack of tangible change - System construction problems • Problems with national community theory <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Vagueness of community building idea - Uncertainty about mutual relationship within national community and order of process - Issues of community and governance • Problems with inter-Korean confederation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ambiguity of inter-Korean confederation's character - Bottlenecks in operation of inter-Korean confederation - Impracticability of one-to-one confederation between the two Koreas • International environment and lack of enthusiasm for international cooperation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • North Korea's nuclear programs • Lack of a peace settlement • Insufficient change in North Korea • Limitations of inter-Korean economic cooperation • Lack of systematized organizations for inter-Korean dialogue • Inadequate linkage of inter-Korean relations into the international cooperation system. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gradual improvement of relations • Efforts to build a community • East Germany's potential for change • Unification diplomacy efforts



- Unresolved nuclear issue and peace settlement
 - Formation of peace community
- Lack of change in North Korea
 - North Korean reform/opening and preparing a foundation for economic integration
 - The need for values integration between South and North
- The need for a workable plan for an inter-Korean confederation
 - Reflecting the national power gap between South and North
 - South Korea's taking of the initiative
- Forming an international environment
 - Pursuing unification diplomacy



The win-win, collective prosperity strategy toward North Korea was built to reflect all of these problems. This was a comprehensive strategy, based on new principles, incorporating the elements of denuclearization, peace settlement, economic cooperation, social and cultural exchanges, and humanitarian issues. The central pillar of this strategy was the Denuclearization-Opening-3000 plan. This plan gave denuclearization the highest priority, seeking to transform North Korea into a normal country through reform and opening; on this basis, the plan called for joint development of five core areas (economy, education, finances, infrastructure, and standard of living).^{3]} Considering the importance of denuclearization, the Grand Bargain deal was proposed as a sort of lump compromise plan to convince North Korea to give up its nuclear programs. The proposal of a consolidated plan connecting economic cooperation projects with denuclearization and a peace settlement constitutes a new vision for peace on the Korean peninsula.^{4]}

Compared with the national community formula for unification, the “Three Communities” idea is distinguished by the following features.

First, it is not merely a formula but rather a comprehensive

3] In Gon Yeo et al, *The Denuclearization-Opening-3000 Plan: Execution Strategy and Implementation Plan* (Seoul: KINU, 2009).

4] For more on the contents and implementation process of the new peace plan for the Korean Peninsula, refer to Jong Chul Park, “South Korea’s Strategy for Denuclearization and a Peace Regime,” Paper presented at policy roundtable discussion, The Pan-Korean Conference on National Harmony (Minjok Hwahab Beomgukmin Hyeobeuihoi), March 30, 2010.

idea, or vision, for Korea's future. It is a broad framework which incorporates a guiding philosophy, vision, process, and method for unification. The "Formula for Unification via a National Community," which was announced in 1994, remains the ROK's official unification formula today.^{5]} On the other hand, a unification plan includes the political objectives involved in formulating a basic strategic direction for making that unification plan a reality. The Three Communities initiative inherits from the national community plan to formulate a more concrete strategic direction for unification based on consideration of the changed internal and external environment.

Second, the Three Communities initiative approaches unification from the viewpoint of community building. This follows the basic context of community-building that was inherent in the National Community Unification Formula. It approaches unification not from a political science viewpoint or a systemic viewpoint such as nation-building, but rather from the angle of forming a community. Members of a community share common values, an emotional bond, internal cohesion based on mutually beneficial reciprocal relations, and a group sense of identity. This concept goes beyond the physical dimension of joining territories or building a nation, emphasizing the need to build a communal order by forging common values and social exchange networks.

5] For the theoretical framework and details of the National Community Unification Formula, refer to "Theoretical Framework and Implementation of the National Community Unification Formula" (Seoul: KINU, 2004).

Third, looking at the standards for types of community, the National Community Unification Formula envisions a national community as the over-arching top level, with three sub-types of community built underneath it. The National Community Unification Formula is divided into the lower sub-areas of economic community, social/cultural community, and political community, and the consolidation of these three sub-areas is a unified national community.

The major communities specified by the Three Communities plan are the peace community, economic community, and national community. This plan newly introduces the “peace community” concept out of consideration for the importance of establishing peace, while envisioning a national community as a complex entity incorporating the peace and economic communities. The emphasis on a peace community is not new. South Korea moved from its North Korea strategy of win-win arrangements and collective prosperity to its proposal for a peace community, an economic community, and a happiness community. In the Three Communities initiative, the “happiness community” concept was replaced with the national community, envisioned as a complex community incorporating many different areas.

Fourth, looking at the topology formed by these different communities, in the national community plan the economic, social/cultural, and political communities were placed together in the same stratum, and the national community constituted a top-level comprehensive community incorporating these three

sub-layers.

In the Three Communities initiative, the peace and economic communities exist on the same lower stratum, with the national community again constituting the top-level community which incorporates them.

Fifth, looking at the priority ordering of the communities, the national community plan, in a reflection of its functional integration logic, gave top priority to the economic community, followed by the social/cultural community, and gave least emphasis to the political community. The idea, taken from the view of functional integration, was to begin with coordination in the economic area, kept separate from political and military considerations; later, progress in that area would eventually spread to other areas.

The Three Communities initiative puts top priority on building a peace community. The argument is that in the current situation, with North Korea's nuclear development and persistent military provocations against the South, it will be difficult to have true cooperation and move forward to unification without first achieving denuclearization and a peace settlement. The next priorities are the economic community and the national community, in that order.

Sixth, regarding the order of implementation of the different communities, there are three approaches: separated, sequential, and parallel. In the separated approach there is no connection among the different types of communities; they are strictly divided by area of focus. In the sequential approach the communities

are sequentially linked; once the first community is completed the next one can begin to be formed. In the parallel approach the various communities are constructed side-by-side. There are two versions of the parallel approach: simultaneous or serial. In the simultaneous case, the various communities are implemented together at the same time. In the serially parallel approach, a certain amount of time is allowed to get the first-priority community going before starting on the next priority community.

The national community plan called for simultaneous implementation of the economic, social/cultural and political communities. Of course, the economic community was given the highest priority, and the political community was to be built upon the success of the economic and social/cultural communities, but the basic premise was that the area-specific tasks would be implemented at more or less the same time.

Considering that the Three Communities are inter-related, a separated approach would be inappropriate. Particularly the peace and economic communities are expected to functionally interact with each other in a synergistic way. Furthermore, while there is a prescribed order of implementation for each of the communities, it would be an overly mechanistic interpretation to say that on that basis the Three Communities plan takes a strictly sequential approach. From a sequentialist viewpoint the feasibility of Three Communities initiative is questionable. Constructing this plan according to a sequential order would give rise to a variety of problems, such as defining what “completion” means at each level, and

deciding when it is necessary to move forward to the next level even when the preceding stage may not yet be finished. This would reignite the debate that surrounded the “denuclearization-opening-3000” proposal over whether it should be analyzed according to sequentialist logic or parallelist logic.

Looking at it that way, it appears that the Three Communities plan would be most effectively implemented according to a serially parallel approach or a flexible parallel approach. Considering that the peace community is the highest priority of the Three Communities, and the national community concept incorporates the peace and economic communities, a simultaneous approach would not fit. Therefore the serially parallel logic is most appropriate. In this view, the peace community is to be started first, but after some time has passed work should begin on the economic community; then the national community will be constructed based on the peace and economic communities. Depending on the rate at which the peace community progresses, implementation of the economic community may be advanced or delayed as appropriate. In this sense, serially parallel implementation could be described as a flexible parallel approach. If based on the serially parallel approach, the three communities will be jointly coordinated at slight time intervals which eventually overlap. The completion of the three communities will be apparent once the inter-Korean confederation is formed.

Table 1. A Comparison of the National Community Unification Formula and the Three Communities Unification Idea

	National Community	Three Communities
Types of Communities	Economic, Social/Cultural, Political	Peace, Economic, National
Topology	Economic, Social/Cultural, Political < National	Peace, Economic < National
Order of Prioritization	Economic > Social/Cultural > Political	Peace > Economic > National
Order of Implementation	Simultaneous	Serially parallel (flexible parallelism)

A Step-by-Step Approach to the Three Communities

1. Basic Direction

Previously we have examined the Three Communities in terms of their relative topology, priority and order of implementation. In carrying out the major tasks of these three communities, it is particularly important to prepare an execution plan that is serially parallel. In preparing such an implementation structure the following conditions must be considered.

First, the Three Communities unification idea must address the question of how to connect the various phases laid out in the National Community Unification Formula: reconciliation/cooperation, inter-Korean confederation, and unified state. The Three Communities will not be limited to their own separate stages but will be implemented in a way inclusive of all steps in the unification process. The peace, economic, and national communities must proceed through the various stages of reconciliation/cooperation, inter-Korean confederation, and unified state creation.

But if based upon the serially parallel ordering, each phase must have a central focus sector or a leading sector. The leading sector of the reconciliation/cooperation phase is the peace community; after an interval the economic community may be advanced. Then in the inter-Korean confederation phase the emphasis will shift to the economic community. In the unified state phase the most important task will be formation of the national community.

Of course, there is no guarantee that the unification process will pass through each of these phases successfully. The process will be impacted in complex ways by various unpredictable and uncontrollable factors. However, whether its implementation is compressed into short time span or extended into a long-term process, the priority sequencing and execution plan of this step-by-step series of policy tasks will be helpful in reviewing the basic direction of progress and preparing response strategies.

A second consideration is the linkages between the communities. A comprehensive execution plan is needed which takes into account the connections among the peace, economic, and national communities. For instance, we must prepare plans for linked implementation of the economic and peace communities, the peace and national communities, and the economic and national communities.

2. Implementation Plans for Each Community

A. Peace Community Implementation Plan

The goal of the peace community is to guarantee stability and peace on the Korean peninsula. The most vital first step to achieving this is denuclearization of the peninsula. At the same time we must firmly establish a new peace regime on the peninsula. This includes passively ensuring peace by establishing deterrents as well as actively establishing an architecture for peace by eliminating the structural elements that could lead to an outbreak of war.

The strategy of the peace community is to establish a “grand bargain” peace structure for denuclearization. The grand bargain is a lump compromise plan to provide North Korea with solid security assurances and substantial international aid if it abandons the core part of its nuclear program. This “new peace structure for the Korean peninsula” involves the comprehensive implementation of a variety of elements including North Korean denuclearization, the activation of international cooperative aid programs, high-level inter-Korean talks for the establishment of an economic community, intensive joint economic projects in five key areas, and conventional arms reduction agreements between the two Koreas.

At the reconciliation/cooperation stage building the peace community is the first priority and thus denuclearization and a peace settlement must be achieved first and foremost. In the inter-Korean confederation phase the tasks for the peace community will include military arms control and reduction. Tasks for the unification phase will include military integration and reorganization of armed forces.

B. Economic Community Implementation Plan

The goal of the economic community is to develop North Korea's economy and prepare for South-North economic integration. Developing North Korea's economy means opening it up to the global economic system and implementing domestic reforms. It also means creating the elements necessary to improve the North Korean people's quality of life and reduce the gap between South

and North in preparation for unification. Other elements essential to North Korea's economic development include establishing social autonomy and opening it up to international society. Another goal of the economic community is to increase the economic interdependence between South and North Korea and prepare a foundation for future economic integration.

The strategy of the economic community is to develop more specific plans built upon the "Denuclearization-Opening-3000" initiative. Alongside denuclearization and the task of transforming North Korea into a normal country, this also involves concrete plans for joint economic projects in five key areas.

At the reconciliation/cooperation phase the tasks for the economic community include raising the North Korean people's standard of living, provision of education materials, etc., to be implemented alongside progress on denuclearization. Also, energy assistance and comprehensive threat reduction (CTR) will be needed in relation to denuclearization. CTR is the program used to dismantle Ukraine's nuclear program; it is a comprehensive economic and technical aid program designed to dismantle the nuclear program, re-educate all related technicians and see that they are re-settled into society. CTR will be essential to achieve North Korea's denuclearization. Also, in the inter-Korean confederation phase, aid for North Korea's economic development and investment in the North Korean SOC will be needed to lay the foundation for economic integration. In addition, for arms control and reduction, we will need to assist in privatizing North

Korea's military industry.

C. National Community Implementation Plan

The goal of the national community is to make practical preparations for unification based upon the successful implementation of the other communities. Part of this will involve removing the systemic obstacles in each area and preparing the legal and systematic foundations for unification. Another goal of this community will be to ensure the dignity and freedom of all the people and their fundamental right to life.

The strategy of the national community is to accumulate successes from tasks in various areas. To integrate the Korean nation, the processes of system integration and values integration must go hand in hand. System integration is an external process involving the construction of unified legal, political, economic, social systems based on a foundation of physical integration of the nation. Values integration is an internal process of establishing a unified cultural foundation in various political, social and economic areas and homogenous societal norms, as well as individual and group community awareness. To complete the national community systemic integration and values integration must proceed simultaneously.^{6]} Further, something like the Helsinki Process will need to be applied

6] For more on the integration of systems and values for the purpose of social integration, refer to Jong Chul Park et al, "Citizens' Integration for Conflict Resolution after Unification," (Seoul: KINU, 2004), pp. 105-115.

to resolve the humanitarian problems. The Helsinki Process was a comprehensive package of security, economic, and scientific/technical aid put together for improving human rights and ensuring civil rights in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. To improve North Korea's human and civil rights we need to enact a program similar to the Helsinki Process.

At the reconciliation/cooperation phase, tasks for system integration in the national community include political trust-building and establishing legal/systemic structures. Tasks for values integration include providing humanitarian aid and devising a plan to resolve the humanitarian problems. The tasks of the national community will become more concrete in the inter-Korean confederation phase. In this phase the tasks for system integration will include joint operation of the inter-Korean confederation and laying the foundation for integration of legal systems. Tasks for values integration will include aiding in the formation of North Korea's civil society, formulating solutions for North Korea's human rights problems, and building a sense of national identity. Then, in the unification phase, system integration tasks of the national community will include preparing legal and systemic procedures for unification and integration of legal systems; tasks for values integration will include cementing a sense of national identity, managing conflicts, and social/cultural integration.

Table 2. Implementation Plans for Three Communities in Each Phase

	Peace Community	Economic Community	National Community
Three Communities/ Three phases	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Goals: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Peace and stability on the peninsula (denuclearization, settlement of a new peace structure) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Goals: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - North Korea's economic development - Preparing for economic integration of the two Koreas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Goals: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Removing systemic obstacles - Improving quality of life for all Koreans
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategy: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Grand Bargain - New peace plan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategy: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "Denuclearization-Opening-3000" plan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategy: Accumulate progress in various different areas, simultaneous integration of systems and values, apply Helsinki Process
Reconciliation/ Cooperation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tasks: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Denuclearization (resolution of NK nuclear issue, CTR) - Peace settlement on peninsula (preparatory steps to ease military tensions, peace agreement, arms control agreement) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tasks: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Implementation of Denuclearization-Opening-3000 plan (improving quality of life, education/technical aid, etc.) - Economic aid package related to denuclearization (energy cooperation, CTR, etc) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tasks: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <System integration>: building political trust, clarification of the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement, legal/systemic mechanisms <Values integration>: humanitarian aid, development aid, operation of disaster relief cooperative agencies, comprehensive agreement on human rights/humanitarian issues (separated families, abductees, POWs)

	Peace Community	Economic Community	National Community
Inter-Korean Confederation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tasks: - Arms control and reduction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tasks: - Aid in developing NK economy - Assist market reforms - Invest in NK's SOC - Help NK join international financial organizations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tasks: <System integration>: - Adopt inter-Korean confederation constitution - Operate inter-Korean confederation - Prepare foundation for legal integration <Values integration>: - Operate joint social/cultural organizations - Build up cultural network of Korean nation - Form NK's civil society and improve its human rights polities
Unification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tasks: - Nullify DPRK-China Treaty of Amity and Cooperation - Military integration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tasks: - Economic integration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tasks: <System integration>: - Adopt unification treaty - Create unified constitution - Integrate legal systems <Values integration>: - Fusion of divergent cultures - Improve public welfare and expand cultural assets - Conflict management and integrated values education

Direction of Unification Diplomacy for the Formation of the Three Communities

1. Objectives and Strategies

A. Objectives

To promote unification diplomacy, the Korean government should establish the following strategic position and awareness. First, it must understand that unification diplomacy differs fundamentally from diplomacy toward North Korea. Unification is an entirely different level of diplomacy from peaceful coexistence and assistance to the North. It is a major issue which has a powerful influence on stakeholders in neighboring countries, the balance of power in Northeast Asia, and international legal issues in general. To achieve it, we will need to develop a diplomatic vision, firm belief in our diplomatic objectives, effective promotion of intergovernmental and public diplomacy capable of persuading neighboring countries and the international community, and political leadership which can convince diverse actors at home and abroad.

Second, it is crucial to make an accurate and unprejudiced assessment of the limits of Korea's national power and the weight of its diplomatic resources. Unification would be an epochmaking event not only on the Korean peninsula but throughout the international political sphere, and it is not likely to materialize easily without solid and effective diplomatic efforts. As it moves

beyond its former status as lesser power to become a rising middle-power country, the Korean government should pursue a diplomatic role as a negotiation mediator capable of coordinating the interests of the neighboring stakeholders in an appropriate manner and with ethical legitimacy.

Korea's role as a mediator can be defined as follows: ① It can act as information and knowledge provider regarding the situation on the Korean peninsula and in North Korea. Of all the regional countries, South Korea has accumulated the most direct and indirect information on North Korea and has conducted the most in-depth studies on the subject, and on that basis it should be able to provide vital information about its negotiating partner; ② If the unification process is at an impasse, it can help in overcoming the difficulty and establishing a new vision. As in the case with the North Korean nuclear issue, when negotiations between the U.S. and the DPRK reach a stalemate, South Korea can help coordinate bilateral relations and make efforts to keep negotiations going by reducing or expanding their scope as needed in order to reach a negotiation settlement; and ③ Korea can endeavor to forge diverse alliances through multilateral diplomacy. For example, in the Six-Party Talks, China and Russia are reluctant to push for regime change in the North, and the U.S. and Japan are more critical of the North Korean regime and its behavior. By respecting the standpoints of China and Russia and emphasizing trilateral cooperation with the U.S. and Japan, Korea can use its position to harmonize the interests of all parties.

Conceptually, in the process of driving forward unification diplomacy, Korea is unlikely to become a major manipulator of the negotiations, but it should strive to move beyond the role of a mere communicator to act as the formulator of settlements as a pivotal middle-power country.⁷¹

Third, Korea should conduct policy-paradigm diplomacy by proposing a vision for Northeast Asia on the assumption of a future unified Korean peninsula. In this area, Korea can promote an understanding of unification as something will be good not only for its own national interests but also for those of its neighbors in the region, passing on a sense of confidence to neighboring countries that a unified Korea will be beneficial to the process of advancing Northeast Asia's regional structure from the current balance-of-power arrangement to a multilateral peaceful cooperative body. Once Korea moves beyond the role of arbitrator of national interests to become an initiator of cooperation and new visions for Northeast Asia, international support and cooperation for a unified Korea will accelerate.

The objectives of unification diplomacy are to dispel the

71] Sang Bae Kim, "The Network Knowledge State Theory: Conceptualization of State Transformation in the Information Age," *Korean Journal of International Politics*, Vol. 46, No. 3, 2006; Fen Osler Hampson, "A New Role for Middle Powers in Regional Conflict Resolution?" Brian L. Job (ed.), *The Insecurity Dilemma, National Security of Third World States* (London: Lynne Rienner, 1992); Miles Kahler (ed.), *Networked Politics: Agency, Power, and Governance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009).

concerns of neighboring countries about the negative effects of Korean unification and to emphasize the positive effects that can be gained through cooperation among neighboring countries. Unification is an imperative task in inter-Korean relations, and the cooperation of international society is needed to achieve it.

Korea's unification diplomacy should move in the following direction.

First, Korea's unification diplomacy should aim to foster the idea that unification will contribute to the interests of regional stakeholders. It should focus on the fact that all of the tension and confrontation, and the instability of the DPRK regime, stem from the division of the Korean peninsula, and this division is a major obstacle to neighboring countries in pursuing their interests and promoting stability and cooperation in Northeast Asia. Thus, unification diplomacy should stress that unification of the Korean peninsula is conducive to the interests of neighboring countries as it would resolve the ongoing North Korean nuclear issue and various other problems related to the DPRK regime.

Second, unification diplomacy should aim to develop reciprocal and cooperative agendas with neighboring countries. By reaching a consensus on issues like the North Korean nuclear issue, changes in the North, the international status of unified Korea, and multilateral cooperation for peace and cooperation in Northeast Asia, South Korea can gain the support of neighboring countries for unification.

B. Strategies

(1) Bilateral and Multilateral Diplomacy Operated Side-by-Side

West Germany's policies on division management and unification diplomacy were developed through systematic and timely coordination among various organizations involved in the issue, such as the prime minister's office and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. West Germany heavily emphasized policy coordination with the U.S. While maintaining extensive cooperative relations with U.S. leadership and policy executives, it made frequent use of hotlines and cooperative channels and called for urgent coordination and support whenever significant incidents occurred.

If West Germany's diplomacy provides any lesson to us, it is that South Korea needs to establish and operate regular cooperative channels with neighboring countries at all levels of decision-making and for each policy-making process. At the official bilateral level, South Korea should create and operate diverse policy networks with quasi-governmental and private organizations to support a policy cooperative body and consolidate cooperative relations among the neighboring countries. For example, it should establish a more advanced policy cooperative apparatus than the U.S.-Japan-Korea trilateral coordination and oversight group (TCOG), and it should separately operate similar cooperative apparatuses with countries like Russia and China.

Cooperative diplomacy is possible only when there is recip-

rocal trust and a common vision in terms of objectives and directions. Although some issues must be dealt with in a clandestine way, diplomacy will be more effective if it can bring neighboring countries together within an open, multilateral framework. The diverse multilateral cooperative bodies of Northeast Asia should be interlinked via diplomatic networks. The existing multilateral cooperative bodies such as ASEAN+3 (ASEAN, Korea, China, and Japan), the East Asia Summit (EAS), the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), Asia Cooperation Dialogue (ACD), and Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD) should be linked and bound together institutionally.

(2) Strengthening Diplomatic Capacity

Diplomacy is a means of carrying out a country's foreign policy according to what it decides are its national interests.^{8]} Diplomatic power is the capacity to successfully carry out foreign policy. It is not independent of economic and military power, the two core elements of national power. To become a diplomatic powerhouse, a nation must have strong economic and military power to back itself up. South Korea's economic power should be used as a basis to foster confidence among neighboring countries that unification will bring economic opportunities for them. But a diplomatic capacity based on hard power cannot be acquired in a short period

8] John Spanier and Robert L. Wendzel, *Games Nations Play* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1996), p. 293.

of time; it must be built up as part of a long-term national strategy. Therefore, soft power-based diplomatic capabilities should be emphasized.

In order to reinforce the capacity of unification diplomacy, the scope of contacts with personnel in neighboring countries must be expanded. The formation of human networks comprised of high-level officials, politicians, administrative staff, and aides to congressmen is also crucial. In the U.S., lawmakers' aides such as policy aides, legislative aides, and special aides play an important role in the process of policy-making and execution. Networking with aides to U.S. congressmen involved with Korea policy is a must.

For the purpose of reinforcing the capacity of unification diplomacy, it is vital to nurture and train regional experts as diplomats. Korean nationals residing abroad are a most valuable human as they possess regional expertise and related networks; their networks and abilities should be fully utilized.

(3) Boosting International Status through Expansion of Diplomatic Scope

We should pay closer attention to various diplomatic issues in order to consolidate a unified diplomatic capacity. For the past several decades, Korea's diplomacy has mostly focused on the issues of security and unification due to the special situation of the divided peninsula. While unification diplomacy efforts should continue, more diplomatic capacities need to be committed to

non-traditional diplomatic issues such as the environment, human rights, and public welfare. If we increase cooperation with other nations and participate in finding solutions to the global issues that are part of our universal values and are drawing increasing attention in the new era of globalization, then we can spread Korea's diplomatic vision for diplomacy and build cooperative networks in the international community. Consolidating Korea's international status and improving its national image will be a critical part of securing international cooperation and support for unification of the Korean peninsula.

In order to increase diplomatic capacity toward non-traditional issues, South Korea needs to effectively utilize its soft power. While hard power is dependent on military power and is "coercive" in nature, soft power represents a country's ability to persuade other countries through the appeal of its culture, political ideology, and policies.^{9]} Soft power is directly connected with national capacity in non-traditional areas such as culture, the environment, and democracy. It can be a useful asset in building forums for bilateral or multilateral cooperation. Through a combination of hard and soft power, the North Korean threat can be contained, and a foundation for unification can be built through exchange and cooperation with the North. If South Korea enhances its "national charm" through greater soft power, its capacity for unification diplomacy will be greatly expanded.

9] Joseph S. Nye, Jr. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004).

2. Major Tasks

In order to implement South Korea's National Community Unification Formula and the Three Communities Unification Initiative, supportive diplomatic systems and strategies for unification diplomacy will be required. First, the diplomatic objectives of each phase must be clarified, and a basic foundation for clear bilateral, multilateral, and private-public cooperation should be established.

To proceed to the stage of reconciliation/cooperation and later on to an inter-Korean confederation, it will be necessary to keep pace with progress on a peace community and an economic community, and the diplomatic objectives in these two areas should be clarified. In the reconciliation/cooperation stage, we should develop a formula for forming a national community and a unified Korea based on system integration, and the necessary diplomatic objectives and concrete strategies should also be put in place.

First, in the stages of building a peace community, we need to build a structure of international governance for resolving the North Korean nuclear issue and a cooperative framework for establishing a peace regime on the Korean peninsula. Only after these are established can we build up multilateral cooperation in Northeast Asia and create political and diplomatic conditions conducive to Korean unification.

Second, in building the economic community the most important task will be preparing a framework of joint participation

in order to normalize the North Korean economy. In this way, the North's economy can be normalized, and substantial progress can be made toward forming an inter-Korean economic community integrated into the international economic system. In the process we must gain international accreditation of products made by the inter-Korean economic community and establish a true inter-Korean economic community in both name and reality.

Third, it is essential to secure support from neighboring countries in the process of advancing Korean unification. South and North Korea both joined the United Nations simultaneously in 1991, and thus their separate sovereignties are internationally acknowledged. Over the years, there has been growing awareness that unification initiated and led by South Korea is not only inevitable but desirable, and this should be developed into a firm international acknowledgement of unification. Korean unification will be a historic event which may fundamentally change the balance of power in Northeast Asia. It is important to secure approval of unification through bilateral and multilateral cooperation and to provide assurance to neighboring countries that the event will not infringe on their national interests. As the case of German unification showed, bilateral and multilateral international approval system such as the Two Plus Four system are crucial to this effort.

The first priority of diplomacy in the unified Korea phase will be to secure international approval. To this end we will need to consult with international partners on how to effectively uphold

the various treaties separately concluded by South and North Korea, and where the two Koreas have separate memberships in various UN organizations these will need to be combined into one unified Korean membership. All diplomatic offices in foreign countries will need to be combined, and this will require close cooperation among the host countries regarding issues of property disposition.

For the prosperity and success of unified Korea, it is crucial to maintain friendly relations with neighboring countries and build enhanced multilateral cooperative networks. One of the effective ways to heighten the international status of unified Korea would be to form a multilateral cooperative body in East Asia. Due to Korea's geostrategic location, neighboring countries have historically been concerned that it might be used as a springboard for a rival country's offensive, and this is a major cause for the division of the Korean peninsula. If this perception persists among neighboring countries, they are likely to have a negative view of the prospect of a unified Korea and to try to restrain or contain it, making it more difficult for Korea to attain prosperity. On the other hand, if unified Korea becomes the center of an economic network in Northeast Asia, neighboring countries can utilize the Korean peninsula as a tool for economic cooperation instead of an offensive tool, thus increasing the international status of unified Korea.

Establishing a multilateral cooperative body in East Asia will be no easy task. However, a focus on building of multilateral

institutions is a desirable diplomatic strategy for unified Korea as it will help to promote international cooperation and establish means to check and balance the competing systems of powerful countries.

In order to establish the sort of multilateral cooperative apparatus crucial to expanding economic exchanges and promoting security cooperation, unified Korea should not only maintain friendly relations with its four neighboring countries but also form multi-dimensional multilateral relations. Unified Korea can function as the central axis for various triangular relations, such as: ① trilateral cooperation among Korea, China, and Japan; ② trilateral cooperation among Russia, Korea, and China on Tuman River development; and ③ trilateral cooperation among Korea, Japan, and Russia on an East Pacific Rim economic zone.

Unified Korea should play a central role in building triangular relations centered on economic cooperation to create a network stitching all of East Asia together. Multilateral networks will increase economic interdependence among the nations in East Asia, which will promote multilateral security cooperation.

Meanwhile South Korea should work on constructing diverse cooperative networks at the international level to help in building its national community. Based on South Korea's national brand and its international likability, it should seek to draw out international cooperation on a socio-cultural cooperative framework to induce changes in North Korea and lead matters in the direction of unification.

Diplomatic cooperation at each phase should proceed in diverse directions, taking into account bilateral/multilateral cooperative frameworks, the ROK government, and private actors such as enterprises, civic groups, the media, individuals, and international and supra-national civil-society organizations. Concrete tasks for diplomacy are listed in the following table.

Table 3. Major Tasks for Unification Diplomacy in Building the Three Communities

	Diplomatic Objectives	Bilateral Diplomacy	Multilateral Diplomacy	Frameworks for Private-Public Cooperation
Diplomacy for the peace community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Building an international governance structure to resolve the North Korean nuclear issue • Organizing a cooperative framework to establish a peace regime on the Korean peninsula • Preparing a foundation for multilateral cooperation in Northeast Asia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seeking North Korean denuclearization and a peace agreement based on the ROK-U.S. alliance and ROK-PRC strategic partnership • Securing support to abolish NK's nuclear programs and establish a peace regime by strengthening ROK-Japan and ROK-Russia relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishing a multilateral direction to resolve North Korean issues beyond the Six-Party Talks and the nuclear issue • Confirming the parties involved in building a peace regime and securing peace on the Korean peninsula within a multilateral framework 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continuing diplomatic efforts for denuclearization through civilian-governmental cooperation • Establishing a foundation for an economic community through settlement of a peace regime • Harmonizing humanitarian assistance and civilian diplomacy on the North's nuclear issue

	Diplomatic Objectives	Bilateral Diplomacy	Multilateral Diplomacy	Frameworks for Private-Public Cooperation
Diplomacy for the economic community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Building international participation within a joint framework to assist in normalizing the North Korean economy • Pursuing international recognition for the inter-Korean economic community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Securing the consensus and support of neighboring countries for economic cooperation with NK • Persuading international organizations to aid NK 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishing a multilateral framework for North Korean economic assistance • Drawing up diplomatic agreements on foreign trade and aid and securing specific business plans for the inter-Korean economic community • Securing recognition from the FTA and others for products jointly produced by the two Koreas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drawing active participation from enterprises and the private sectors in building the economic community • Activating civilian (people-to-people) diplomacy to promote aid to the economic community from international society
Diplomacy to construct the national community and the unified Korean state	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Securing international recognition for unified Korea • Securing neighboring countries' support for unified Korea 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Securing the neighboring four countries' support for unified Korea • Securing diplomatic assistance and support for ROK-led unification of the Korean peninsula 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acquiring recognition from the UN and other major international organizations for unified Korea • Participating in international conventions and conferences as a unified Korea and pursuing unified policies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishing an international cooperative network for values integration and socio-cultural integration

Conclusion

The national community unification formula which South Korea pursued from the late 1980s contained the following problems which need to be addressed. First, as North Korea has developed its nuclear programs, the denuclearization issue has emerged as the biggest obstacle to unification. Second, the various structural changes in North Korea in the post-Cold War era require active consideration. The North is now faced with hardships on a scale which would have been unimaginable in the late 1980s. Third, when South Korea's national community unification formula was suggested in the late 1980s, the national power gap between the two Koreas was not as big as it is now, and the international diplomatic situation surrounding North Korea was far different. Over time the national power gap between the two Koreas has grown, and international views toward the North have also changed. Fourth, the national community unification formula was mostly concerned with interactions at the national level. Given the changing environment, we need an approach to governance that engages more diverse actors. Fifth, our policy needs to consider the social changes in South Korea. As post-national, global trends have become dominant in South Korea, a need has arisen for completely new viewpoints and approaches to unification. Sixth, issues in international politics should also be taken into consideration.

Based on an awareness of these problems, this research aimed

to suggest new approaches and strategies for South Korea's national community unification formula. By analyzing the formula itself, evaluating inter-Korean relations, and examining the implications of German unification, this paper sought to formulate new approaches and strategies for unification. The old unification formula has problems related to functionalist integration theory, community theory, the inter-Korean confederation idea, the international environment, and the lack of interest in international cooperation. Problems related to inter-Korean relations include the North's nuclear development programs, the unresolved issue of a peace settlement, the lack of change in the North Korean regime, the limitations of inter-Korean economic cooperation, an inter-Korean dialogue apparatus that is not properly systematized, and the lack of linkage between inter-Korean relations and international cooperation. The implications from the East German case include the effects of gradual improvements in relations, efforts at community building, the potential East Germany had for change, and efforts at unification diplomacy.

The following are some important elements to consider.

First, finding a resolution to the peace settlement issue is of the utmost importance. Although the national community unification formula was based on functionalism, with emphasis on economic exchange and cooperation which would later expand into matters of politics and security, it failed to resolve the peace settlement issue. North Korea's nuclear programs and asymmetric offensive forces pose a major military threat to peace on the Korean

peninsula. Thus, denuclearization and a peace settlement should be given a priority in any new approach to a unification formula.

Second, inducing change in North Korea should be a policy objective, and various means should be pursued to this end. The functionalist approach aimed to induce North Korean change through exchanges and cooperation, but the North merely used this to acquire benefits while maintaining tight control of its system by selectively agreeing only to some exchange and cooperation projects. Given that changes in East Germany were a decisive factor in German unification, it is clear our unification policy should place priority on promoting change in North Korea.

Third, our unification formula needs to formulate a realistic operational plan for constructing an inter-Korean confederation. The national community unification formula suggested a one-on-one approach to operating an inter-Korean confederation. Considering the remarkable gap in national power between the two Koreas, it is crucial that we bear this situation in mind when formulating practical plans for operating the inter-Korean confederation. Our past experiences in inter-Korean relations underscore the necessity of devising realistic plans for system integration.

The fourth point is the importance of the international environment and unification diplomacy. Instead of considering the international environment, the national community unification formula focused mostly on integration of the community unit. Policy toward North Korea and foreign policy for international cooperation have not been linked organically. The importance of

unification diplomacy in creating a favorable international environment for unification has been vividly demonstrated by the “2+4” diplomacy during the process of German unification.

As described above, the policy directions that have emerged from the national community unification formula, together with an evaluation of inter-Korean relations and the implications on German unification, will help us to understand the theoretical and practical background behind the Three Communities Unification Initiative.

The Three Communities Unification Initiative incorporates various former policies toward North Korea and reorganizes them around the objective of unification. This initiative reflects the new focus on unification and the various efforts that have been made since the inauguration of the Lee Myung-bak government to establish a new paradigm for inter-Korean relations.

This study suggests a new plan for implementing the Three Communities Unification Initiative by linking the three stages of reconciliation/cooperation, inter-Korean confederation, and unified Korea which were presented by the National Community Unification Formula. These three communities should not be implemented in separate stages but rather should be advanced together throughout each stage of the unification process. The peace community, economic community, and national community should be comprehensively implemented through the three stages of reconciliation/cooperation, inter-Korean confederation, and unified Korea.

Based on the policy direction laid out above, this study has presented the objectives, strategies, and tasks for each of the three communities at each stage.

First, in the peace community, the objective is to guarantee security and peace on the Korean peninsula. To achieve this, the most urgent issue is denuclearization. In addition, a new peace regime must be put in place. Establishing a peace regime on the peninsula means moving beyond passive security assurances such as deterrent capability to encompass more active measures for peace such as removing the structural elements that may lead to the outbreak of war.

The strategies for the peace community include the Grand Bargain for denuclearization and a new initiative for establishing a peace regime. The Grand Bargain is a package settlement plan which provides unequivocal security assurances and solid international assistance in return for eliminating key parts of the North Korean nuclear program. The new peace initiative is a comprehensive package for eliminating the North's nuclear weapons, implementing international aid cooperation programs once denuclearization has been achieved, holding high-level inter-Korean talks to establish an economic community, conducting economic cooperation projects in the North in five key areas, and comprehensively implementing conventional disarmament agreements between the two Koreas.

The peace community will take the lead in the reconciliation/cooperation phase, and its first priority must be to achieve denu-

clearization and a peace settlement. The tasks for the peace community in the inter-Korean confederation phase will be arms control and disarmament, and the tasks for the unified Korea phase will be military integration and reorganization.

Second, in the economic community, the objectives are to develop the North Korean economy and prepare for inter-Korean economic integration. Development of North Korean economy means opening and domestic reform. Improving the North Korean economy is an indispensable pre-condition to raising the living standard of North Koreans, and it is also a necessary part of preparing for unification by narrowing the inter-Korean economic disparity. Economic development is also essential to increasing North Korea's autonomy and openness toward the international community. Other objectives of the economic community are building a foundation for greater economic interdependence and preparing for inter-Korean economic integration.

The strategy for the economic community is to implement the ideas proposed by the Denuclearization-Opening-3000 plan. This means making progress on denuclearization while working to transform the North into a normal country and also carrying out economic cooperation projects in five major areas for North Korean economic development.

The tasks for economic community in the reconciliation/cooperation stage are to increase the North Korean standard of living and support their education and vocational training in tandem with progress on denuclearization. In order to implement

denuclearization, energy cooperation and a comprehensive threat reduction (CTR) program are crucial. CTR is comprehensive economic and technological-support program for dismantling nuclear programs, used to dismantle the nuclear program in Ukraine; it involves providing education, training, and social resettlement for technicians involved in nuclear weapons development. CTR will be an essential part of implementing North Korean denuclearization. In the inter-Korean confederation stage, assistance for North Korean economic growth and investment in North Korean SOC will be necessary to build a foundation for inter-Korean economic integration. In addition, transforming the North Korean military industry into a civilian industry will be an essential task in the process of arms control and disarmament.

Third, in the national community, the objectives are to prepare for substantive unification based on the achievements of the other communities. Tasks for the community include removing systemic obstacles to unification in each area and creating a legal and institutional foundation for unification. An additional objective is to guarantee the dignity, freedom, and basic rights of all Koreans.

The strategy for the national community is to accumulate steady achievements in each area. The integration of systems and values must proceed side-by-side in order to unite Koreans as one nation. System integration is an external form of integration which involves unifying the legal, political, economic, and social systems through physical integration of the nation. Values integration is an internal form of integration that involves establishing a unified

cultural base, homogeneous social norms, and an individual and group sense of community in the political, social, and economic areas. It is important to implement system and values integration simultaneously in order to create a national community.^{10]}

System integration tasks for the national community in the reconciliation/cooperation stage include political confidence-building and full consolidation of laws and institutions; the tasks for values integration include providing humanitarian assistance and resolving humanitarian issues. We can make a solid start on these tasks in the inter-Korean confederation stage. System integration tasks for the national community in the inter-Korean confederation stage include operating an inter-Korean confederation and laying the foundation for legal integration of the two Koreas. Values integration tasks include assisting in the creation of civil society in the North, resolving North Korean human rights issues, and forging a national identity. System integration tasks for the national community in the unified Korea stage include establishing legal and institutional procedures in preparation for unification and achieving legal integration; values integration tasks include forging a national identity, managing internal conflicts, and achieving social-cultural integration.

In order to realize the National Community Unification Formula and the Three Communities Unification Initiative, we will need to

10] For more on system and values integration for the purpose of social integration, refer to the following. Jong Chul Park et al, *The National Integration Formula for Dissolving Tensions after Unification* (Seoul: KINU, 2004), pp. 105-115.

establish a supporting diplomatic system and strategies for unification diplomacy. The diplomatic objectives for each stage should be clarified, and a basic direction should be established regarding how to build a foundation for bilateral diplomacy, multilateral diplomacy, and civil-governmental cooperation.

First, in the process of implementing the peace community, we must build a global governance structure for dealing with the North Korean nuclear issue and consolidate a cooperative framework for constructing a peace regime on the peninsula. Only when a foundation for multilateral cooperation in Northeast Asia is established will the political and diplomatic conditions for future unification be made possible. Second, in the process of implementing the economic community, we must build a joint framework of mutual engagement to assist in normalizing North Korean economy. Third, we must secure neighboring countries' support for unified Korea. In the unified Korea stage, the most important diplomatic task will be to secure international recognition for unified Korea. In order to heighten the international status of unified Korea and secure its prosperity, it will be crucial to maintain friendly relations throughout the region and form networks for closer multilateral cooperation.

A variety of cooperative networks will need to be established at the international level in order to build the Korean national community. Based on South Korea's improved national brand and international likability, we should take the lead in working to induce change in the North Korean system and secure international

cooperation in establishing a social-cultural cooperative framework for unification. Diplomatic cooperation by stage should develop in multiple different directions through bilateral and multilateral cooperative frameworks, the Korean government, and civilian actors such as enterprises, NGOs, the media, individuals, international organizations, and supra-national civil society organizations.

**A New Approach to the National Community Unification Formula:
Focusing on the Three Communities Unification Initiative**

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