Social Conflict and Identity Crisis in Unified Korea

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Unification, a historic and societal event, may cause many conflicts and crises rather than bringing blessings and benefits to both Koreas if not sophisticatedly planned and properly managed. Mass migration is likely to trigger social disorder, and widening wealth gap between the two Koreas may intensify class conflict in a unified Korea. Ideological and cultural heterogeneity will even more act as a serious hindrance in integration and identity formation in a newly unified Korea. Enormous hostility and distrust will be a great burden for social integration in unified Korea. This paper argues that four possible solutions are needed to be addressed for successful integration and new identity formation. First of all, social chaos and conflict should be minimized through the remedies of economic and institutional measures; secondly, social cohesion and new identity should be strengthened by new visions, principles and values; thirdly, practical programs of conflict transformation healing and counseling should be addressed; and lastly, proper management of internet and cyber information are needed to reduce social conflict and identity crisis after unification in Korea.

Keywords: social conflict, social integration, identity crisis, identity formation, unification

Introduction

The question of unification which has historically been a prominent issue on the Korean Peninsula has emerged in recent years with a greater visibility as a key point of interest and contention within the South Korean society. In the beginning of 2014, South Korean President Park Geun-hye emphasized that the Korean unification is a bonanza bringing much blessings to Koreans and to the region. With the vision

of unification bonanza, the South Korean government has prepared for Korean unification more actively than ever. Unification will bring about peace and prosperity to both Koreas. However, pessimism overwhelms the minds of many Koreans regarding how it can be realized. It is more pessimistic to foresee the bonanza of the unification on the Korean peninsula considering the gap in values and ideology of the two Koreas. Suppose much hostility and distrust reside in the mind of Korean people in both sides, unification may even result in serious conflict of interests between the two sides of Korea rather than yielding mutual benefits.

Unification is a "clashing" of different social entities. It is a shocking process where two heterogenic states should be accustomed to the abruptly changed environment. It will also be a tough process in which a socially accustomed entity meets with entirely different human community. It leads to many conflicts in the realms of politics, economy and culture. In that sense, when it comes to unification on the Korean peninsula, it surely causes many conflicts and problems due to the long time seizure of the Korean nation with hostile ideologies of capitalism and communism, though we are not sure of when it occurs. The Confucian cultural tradition is still deeply rooted, and quasi-religious and a kind of autistic state has been formed in the North. Therefore, although the two Koreas may become a unified country through the mobilization of national sentiment, they shall suffer from a serious conflict and identity crisis in the process of unification.

Moreover, unlike Germany, the two Koreas have not actively exchanged or communicated with each other, so mutual understanding between the two is constrained. While East and West Germany had carried out people-to-people exchanges of average 3 million in general or 10 million in 1980s annually before the unification,[1] two Koreas recorded only an average of 170,000 people in human exchange yearly

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1. Ministry of Unification (South Korea), *Collections of Exchange and Cooperation between East and West Germany. Section 3: Human Exchanges and Transportation* (Ministry of Unification, 1993); Chang Suk-Eun, *Integration Process of Divided States and Its Lessons: Focusing on Vietnam, Yemen, and Germany* (Seoul: KINU, 1998), pp. 113-116.

which even reduced to almost none in recent years. Considering this situation where the level of exchanges and communications is very low between the two Koreas, the process of unification into a harmonizing community will be a very difficult task since two conflicting values and thoughts are involved.

While it is unquestionable that any developments in the course of unification between the two Koreas will have deep and lasting consequences for integration for better or for worse, it is highly likely that it will trigger a lot of discords in the newly unified nation. The issue of how to coordinate and overcome these discords will be an important criterion to judge success and failure of unification. Therefore, we need to carefully analyze the differences and similarities of both Koreas, so that the two Koreas can mobilize available resources for successful integration. In this sense, this paper attempts to analyze possible social conflict and the problem of identity crisis after the unification of the Korean peninsula, and to suggest alternative measures for promoting social integration and identity formation suitable to the newly unified Korea.

Concept of Social Integration and German Experience

The term "social integration" first came into use by the work of French sociologist Emile Durkheim. He hoped to understand why rates of suicide were higher in some social classes than others. Emile Durkheim believed that a society exerts powerful influence on individuals. He concluded that people's beliefs, values, and norms make up a collective consciousness, and a shared way of understanding of each other and of the world.[2] Social integration in this sense can be a collective social state where all members participate in a dialogue to achieve and maintain mutual understanding based on shared values. American sociologist Talcott Parsons said that social integration is maintained

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2. Emile Durkheim, *On Suicide*. Translated by Kim Chung-sun, *On Suicide of Emile Durkheim* (Seoul: Chung-A Press, 1994).

by the dynamics of both positive and negative dimensions. In the positive dimension, people are integrated into a system through the internalization of cultural values such as beliefs, languages, and symbols. In the negative dimension, people are integrated through reward and punishment and other control mechanisms.[3] As Durkheim explained, a society is more secure and stable when social integration is achieved by voluntary submission of the people to, what he called, the collective representation composed of the emotional, the moral, the holy, and the religious.[4]

The idea of social integration has been utilized in the sense that unification is not just a political event, but a process of societal transformation. In light of the experience of Germany, there has been a growing consensus within the South Korean society to view unification as a process rather than an outcome. Deepening differences in structure and thought between South and North Korea have made an environment in which the realization of unification as a single event or as an immediate, absolute synthesis is no longer rational. Furthermore, the idea of integration has been utilized more consistently as an appropriate framework for the application of the idea of "unification as a process of integration."

On the other hand, debates on unification as a process of integration in South Korea have focused primarily on political and national security concerns, and the result has been a serious imbalance in the development of thought and discussion on integration as it applies to the political, economic, and socio-cultural dimensions. Discussions of social integration, specifically relating to the formation of a shared identity between South and North Koreans, have been particularly lacking. Some scholars have viewed unification as the final stage in the process of integration, with integration providing and creating the conditions necessary for unification. Others have approached

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3. Talcott Parsons, *The Social System: The Major Exposition of Author's Conceptual Scheme for the Analysis of the Dynamics of the Social System* (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1951).
4. Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society* (New York: The Free Press, 1956), pp. 129-130.

integration as a much more general concept, one that encompasses cultural and social changes and that will continue long after the conditions of political and legal unification are realized.

So while the conception of "unification as a process" is something with which Koreans are growing familiar, the concept of social integration is understood as a particular state of unification process. Social integration can be seen as a dynamic and principled process where all members participate in a dialogue to achieve and maintain peaceful social relations. Social integration does not mean forced assimilation. Social integration focuses on the need to move toward a safe, stable and just society by forming and mending conditions of social disintegration such as social fragmentation, exclusion and polarization; and by expanding and strengthening conditions of social integration towards peaceful social relations of coexistence, collaboration and cohesion.

The concept of social integration is commonly understood in two dimensions: institutions and values.[5] Institutional integration focuses on the legal and policy aspects of the integration process, and proceeds with official organizations and socio-economic entities. Integration in values, on the other hand, is a multi-dimensional and relatively more complicated process that plays out over a longer period of time. Because value integration encompasses changes in beliefs, attitudes, public consciousness, and culture, it is comprised of the process of subjective consciousness and national identity to the institutional integration. In the conception of social integration, it is sought to formulate a scheme that will incorporate both legal-institutional and attitudinal dimensions, and account for both institutional and value integration simultaneously.

The case of Germany clearly shows how difficult it is to achieve a successful social integration in the process of unification. Despite the improved standard of living in East Germany, from 50 percent to 80 percent of West Germany, some East German people still want to

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5. Park Jong-Chol et. al., *Measures of Building Comprehensive System for National Consensus on Unification* (in Korean) (Seoul: KINU, 2005), pp. 9-13, 129-161.

return to the old regime; two-thirds of former East German people feel they are second-class citizens, and three-fourths of them have felt discrimination.[6] The report noted that East Germans, even more than two decades after unification, possessed distinct attitudes, values, and expectations, reflective of the unequal reality of East Germany's course of development.[7] While countless reports and articles on integration were published in Germany following reunification, these proved inadequate for encouraging the actual convergence of the two societies. And the response to this insufficiency was a greater attention to social and psychological assessments of integration that would acknowledge the distinct East German identity by measuring quality of life in their ways.

Comparing with the Korean situation, nevertheless, the German unification is surely regarded as a typical example to achieve successful social integration. Germany had no civil war which might have aroused serious scars. And there were moderating people and institutions including the numerous "roundtable discussions" that brought representatives of the state and of various groups from society together and they were mostly protestant clergymen.[8] In order to make social integration successful, West Germany adopted health system and kindergarten system from East Germany, so the system of unified Germany had been standardized by East Germans in the realms.[9]

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6. Werner Pfennig, "Social Change: East-West Division, Demographic Statistics, and Consumption Behavior." Ministry of Unification, *Study of Unification and Integration in Germany: Volume 1 — Sectional Study* (Seoul: Ministry of Unification, 2014), pp. 159-167.

7. Op. cit., pp. 168-169.

8. Friedrich Winter, ed., *Die Moderatoren der Runden Tische: Evangelische Kirche und Politik 1989-1990* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1999), recited from Werner Pfennig, "Germany United Since 25 Years — Korea Since 70 years Still Divided: Some Questions and Critical Remarks Based on Experiences Made in Germany" (Paper presented at *Conference on the German Experience of Integration after Reunification Its Implication for Korea*, January 27, 2015, Seoul), p. 15.

9. Lee Eun-Jeong, "Unification Preparation from the Perspective of Unification Document in Germany," (in Korean) Workshop co-hosted by Free University of Berlin and IPUS, Seoul National University, January 28, 2015, Hoam Faculty House, Seoul National University.

Above all, West Germany had pursued so called *Ostpolitik* through which "change through rapprochement" and normalization had been actively promoted with the communist state.

Having that in mind, social integration in Korea will be much more difficult than in Germany. Unlike Germany, Korea has suffered from civil war; "change through rapprochement" by Sunshine Policy was not well received by South Korean public; it is highly unlikely that there will be a peaceful revolution in North Korea; there are no groups or institutions to possibly play a role of reform in North Korea; and there are no "neutral" personalities or institutions to moderate social conflict which might take place in the process of unification on the Korean Peninsula. To make matters worse, the two Koreas hardly share an all-Korean identity because 70 years has already passed since the division. Unlike Germany where some sentiment of German nation had been commonly shared between the two Germans rather ambiguously and sometimes strongly, the two Koreas do not seem to feel any solidarity for Korea as a whole. Rather, there seems a strong sense of voluntary identification in the people within either the ROK or the DPRK.

Social and Ideological Conflict after Unification in Korea

Mass Migration and Social Disorder

When unification takes place on the Korean peninsula, the immediate social response of the people to the abruptly changed situation will be the mass migration of population. The mass migration mainly will be population outflow from the North to the South. The world witnessed the mass outflow from people in former communist countries to the West when the system collapsed in Eastern Europe. When the communist regime in East Germany came to an end, the East German people displayed four types of responses to the changes around them. Of the four responses — compromise, seclusion, evasion, and resis-

tance — resistance was demonstrated the least.[10] It was somewhat striking because church organizations were widely present in East Germany and so the conditions were actually quite advantageous for organizing resistance. In contrast, civil organizations are totally nonexistent in North Korea today, and therefore organizing resistance against authorities would be an extremely difficult endeavor. It thus seems that escape is the only means of resistance that would be available for ordinary citizens and power holders alike, in the event of sudden unification.

It is assumed that the scale of the mass migrants will be large enough to cause a serious social problem and even may result in emergency situation in unified Korea. To cite the German case for reference, within the two months after the fall of the Berlin Wall, 180,000 East Germans fled from their homes before the population flow stabilized. The same proportion in the population of North Korea would be 260,000, or approximately 440 new escapees daily.[11] The population of East Germany was about 17 million in 1989 while the North Korean population is currently 24 million. Other estimates have predicted a similar volume of North Korean refugees, based on the high likelihood of another section of the population to escape in an emergency situation; that is, the youth and the lower class in border areas, especially those who have experience traveling overseas or have family members in neighboring countries.[12] Since the present North Korean economic situation can be considered worse than that of Germany prior to reunification, there is a high possibility that the number of migrants will be greater.

The mass migration issue might instigate a very serious social

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10. Lars Hansel, "East Germany: Rationale for East Germans choosing the early unification," *Lessons from the former divided nations and its implications for the Korean context*, Peace Foundation International Symposium on the Unification 2010 (June 23, 2010), pp. 126-127.
11. Park Jin, "Refugee Management for Possible Emergency in North Korea," (in Korean) unpublished paper.
12. Kim Philo, "An evaluation on mass exodus of North Korean refugees and its countermeasures," (in Korean) *Policy Studies* (Fall 1997), pp. 245-297.

conflict in Korean context. As we all know, there are ten million sepa-
rated family members scattered in both sides of Korea. Many difficult
problems are inherent in separated family issue, such as legal disputes
regarding land and property ownership, family reunion, right of suc-
cession, and so forth. Through inter-Korean government dialogue
during the past 15 years, only about 20,000 family members have suc-
ceeded in meeting their family members, but there are still many
family members waiting who applied for seeking their family mem-
bers through inter-governmental dialogue. There are also South
Koreans who went to the North during the Korean War. They also
will seek their family members residing in the South. Families of
abductees, POWs and even 26,000 recent refugees who settled down
in the South surely will move to find their families in the North.[13]

Mass migration may enhance social tensions and chaos to the full
extent in unified Korea. The social chaos and tensions will mainly be
heightened in the northern part, but the mass migration from the
North will surely have a great impact on the southern part. Massive
inflow of the Northerners to the South may paralyze social order and
system, and sometimes it may cause serious social crimes on the
southern part of the peninsula. It may therefore result in the inability
to proper administer laws in the South. But more serious social chaos
may occur in the Northern side. North Korean society has traditionally
been controlled through clandestine surveillance on individuals by
the state and the consequent punishment of those deemed as threats
to their authority. Many North Koreans have experienced severe
punishment under this surveillance system, and some have even been
the victims of unwarranted punishment. Therefore, if unification in

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13. There are numerous number family members abducted during the Korean
    War, and also there are 516 South Korean abductees remained in North
    Korea. Since the end of the war, 3,835 South Koreans had been abducted (or
    kidnapped) among whom 3,310 were repatriated and some escaped, but 516
    are still under detention in North Korea. And about 500 South Korean POWs
    (out of 19,000 South Korean entire POWs) who alive in North Korea will
    become a social issue. Han Dong Ho, et. al., *White Paper on Human Rights in
    North Korea 2014* (Seoul: Korea Institute for National Unification, 2014), p. 550.

Korea weakens state control, it is possible that these victims, who previously refrained from acting in fear of further punishment, will seek revenge with their own hands. It is also possible that these former victims will employ violent means against the people responsible for their undeserved suffering, even seeking them out in their homes.

Widening Inequality and Class Conflict

The economic gap between South and North Korea will widen. Economic unbalance is serious problem. More than 95 percent of GDP produced on the Korean peninsula comes from the South, while the North provides only less than 5 percent. This uneven economic development condition may become a serious obstacle to unity among Korean people. This may create serious regional tensions between the North and the South and it may develop into a class conflict between rich and poor in the unified society. As discussed above, the mass migration to the South will likely occur mainly due to the food shortage in the North.

The social consequences of unification are predicted to appear primarily in the form of rapidly deteriorating humanitarian conditions around the country. Considering the poor condition of North Korea's current health and food conditions, it is likely that existing levels of starvation and the shortage of medical supplies and education resources will only be aggravated by the onset of sudden change. According to the statistics of 2013, North Korea's per capita Gross National Income, or GNI was estimated at USD 1,250, twenty times less than South Korea's estimated USD 26,000.[14] Therefore, even if living standards in North Korea improve and income increases twofold in the next several years or even in the following couple of decades, the majority of North Koreans will likely continue to live under harsh conditions.

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14. Korean Statistical Information Service, "North Korean Statistics: Major Indicators of North and South Korea," (in Korean) http://kosis.kr/bukhan/bukhanStats/bukhanStats_03_01List.jsp (February 13, 2015).

Problem of unemployment will deteriorate economic and social inequality. In the case of Germany, the unemployment rate went up to 40%. If the Korean unification is to bring about unemployment up to 30% of the economically active population of North Korea, the number of unemployment will increase as many as 3.3 million in unified Korea. South Korea had already an experience in which the number of unemployed reached up to 1.5 million during the Asian financial crisis in the late 1990s. In this context, 3.3 million people, or about 1 million urban workers are likely subject to unemployment. Therefore, the unemployment shall pay not only a huge economic expense, but also a social expense and even a greater loss of self-identity because the North Korean people had been living in a socialist system in which they had never thought of unemployment.

North Korea's chronic food shortage situation has resulted in undernourishment and devastating hardship for a quarter of the country's population (approximately five to six million people). Moreover, famine and the continuing economic recession have left medical facilities poorly equipped to provide services to the North Korean people. The number of patients suffering from contagious or curable diseases reflects the state of inadequate medical care in North Korea. According to official statements issued by the North Korean authorities, during the year before and after 2001, patients suffering from tuberculosis patients numbered around 51,000, while malaria patients numbered around 300,000.[15] The deterioration of North Korea's economic situation and the simultaneous loss of state management capacity will likely result in a greater risk of epidemics, as the healthcare to which the average citizen has access will become even more limited.

Considering the widening gap between two Koreas, it was not easy to integrate the two Koreas socially. Both Koreas did not have

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15. Korea NGO Council for Cooperation with North Korea, and Government-Civil Policy Council for Assistance to North Korea(of Unification Ministry), *White Paper on Ten Years of Assistance to North Korea* (in Korean) (Seoul: Korea NGO Council for Cooperation with North Korea, and Government-Civil Policy Council for Assistance to North Korea(of Unification Ministry), 2005), p. 180.

enough opportunities to exchange their views and thoughts with each other. When it comes to welfare integration, the conflict will become greatly tense. The Northerners may have a critical attitude towards unified Korean society if the health care system and social security benefits such as pension and various subsidies are not provided with equal amount as those of the Southerners. The relative deprivation that the Northerners may feel will hinder integration of the two Koreas into one communal body. Rather it may cause a sense of inferiority and frustration to the Northerners. If so, the socialist Northerners may refuse unification, criticizing the South as a society that the rich becomes richer and the poor poorer. If so, the North Korean people are likely to criticize the South as a snob who knows only money, whereas the South Korean people are likely to treat the North as a "beggar." It will cause serious social conflict and greatly inhibit the social integration in unified Korea.

Ideological Gap and Cultural Heterogeneity

Ideological gap and cultural difference will surely cause social conflict in the unified society in Korea. Two different and heterogenic systems of ideology, capitalism and communism had been formed and developed in each part of Korea for the past 70 years. It is not an easy task to integrate the two heterogenic societies at all. According to the survey of Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University (IPUS), the people in both North and South Korea think there are enormous differences between the two societies.[16] Based on the survey in 2014, as seen in Table 1 below, an overwhelming majority of South Koreans believe that there are great gaps between the two Koreas in election systems (91.0%), standard of living (93.6%), historical perception (83.6%), language (83.6%), customs and lifestyle (83.3%) and sense of values (91.8%).

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16. Park Myoung-kyu, et al., *Survey on Unification Conception in 2014* (in Korean) (Seoul: Institute for Peace and Unification Studies, Seoul National University, 2014), pp. 93-94.

Table 1. Awareness of Differences between two Koreas in 2014 (in percentage)

	South Korea	North Korea
Political Election	91.0	97.3
Living Standard	93.6	98.7
History	83.4	95.3
Language	83.6	97.3
Customs and Lifestyle	83.3	91.9
Values	91.8	93.3

Source: Park Myoung-kyu, et, al., *Survey on Unification Conception in 2014*; Kim Philo, "Conception on the South and the reality in North Korea by North Koreans," *Changes of North Korea and the Residents in 2014: How We Evaluate the Change in North Korea during the two years of Kim Jong Un* (IPUS, SNU, August 27, 2014, Seoul).

North Koreans are also aware of wide differences in political elections (97.3%), living standards (98.7%), historical perception (95.3%), language (97.3%), customs and lifestyle (91.9%), and sense of values (93.3%).[17] No remarkable changes were detected in time-series observation.[18] Both North and South Koreans are acutely aware of the cultural differences between them, which poses a serious problem in their readiness for unification and internal social integration. Increased material exchanges and human visits between the two sides do not guarantee mitigation of political, economic and cultural differences. In fact, more exchanges could possibly cause more troubles.

Cultural heterogeneity will also cause a serious social conflict

17. Kim Philo, "Conception on the South and the reality in North Korea by North Koreans," (in Korean) *Changes of North Korea and the Residents in 2014: How We Evaluate the Change in North Korea during the two years of Kim Jong Un* (IPUS, SNU, August 27, 2014, Seoul).
18. Song Young-Hoon, Kim Philo and Park Myoung-kyu, *Survey on Unification Conception in North Korea in 2008~2013: Focusing on North Korean Refugees* (in Korean) (Seoul: Institute for Peace and Unification Studies, Seoul National University, 2014).

between two Koreas. While traditional values prevail in the North, modern and commercial values have enrooted in the South. People in both sides of Korea will be faced with culture shock when it comes to unification. However, the traditional culture in North Korea is being changed recently by the contact with the South Korean culture. The figures indicate that the rates of exposure to South Korean culture grew sharply in the North, namely, 57 percent in 2009 to 85.9 percent in 2014.[19] In view of the closed system in the North, the survey results are somewhat surprising even if we consider the fact that samples were North Korean defectors settled in the South. But it is natural that the cultural preference flows from the modern and commercial to the pre-modern and traditional. Therefore, the open, commercially entertaining South Korean pop culture has strong appeal to North Koreans.

Although the cultural inflow in North Korea may help North Koreans adapting to the new society, the cultural difference in two Koreas will surely hinder in realizing successful integration in the unified Korea. We have already seen that North Korean defectors living in South Korea are greatly suffering from such heterogenic lifestyles, a life too busy, overuse of the English languages, abstruse legal terminologies, express buses, airplanes and so forth, which make the North Korea defectors greatly difficult in social adaptation in South Korea.[20] Conversely, North Korean defectors are not friendly accepted by the South Korean citizens. To South Koreans, North Koreans are those persons of stubborn, double-minded, and unthankful. It is criticized that North Koreans are too strong in self-esteem and they take it for granted the things that are supported by the government. South Koreans may be surprised by finding that traditional Confucian values such as loyalty to the nation and filial piety prevail in the

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19. Song Young-Hoon, Kim Philo and Park Myoung-kyu, *Survey on Unification Conception in North Korea in 2008-2013: Focusing on North Korean Refugees*; Kim Philo, "Conception on the South and the reality in North Korea by North Koreans."
20. Song Young-Hoon, Kim Philo and Park Myoung-kyu, *Survey on Unification Conception in North Korea in 2008-2013: Focusing on North Korean Refugees*.

North and also by seeing the undeveloped North far worse than they thought.

Identity Crisis and Hostile Sentiment in Unified Korea

ROK(Hanguk) vs. DPRK(Chosun)

Sudden unification on the Korean peninsula will increase great tensions and conflict between the two Koreas. Tensions and conflicts are likely to occur with regards to various issues, including the progression of North-South negotiations and the decision on the part of South Korea of whether or not to accept North Korean institutions. Today, the two Koreas possess very distinct understandings, particularly regarding the national history, national identity, the *Juche* ideology, origins of the Korean War, Kim Jong-un's achievements, and so on. Most North Koreans today possess only a distorted knowledge of *Namchosun* (North Korea's nomenclature for South Korea), and are unaware even of the existence of the Republic of Korea. Such disparities constitute great risks for the future of the Korean Peninsula, as even the smallest dispute may lead to a mass conflict in the case of unification. The Republic of Korea is in need of a policy that can accurately convey to the North the realities of the South and simultaneously build inter-Korean affinity.

As the state of division persists year after year, the statehood has become stronger than ever in both parts of Korea. Two Koreas have shown their own loyalty to their nations by their own national flags and national anthems. Fifty-three percent of South Koreans do regard North Korea as a different state.[21] The language, culture and living habits of the two sides diverged and these have been mobilized for the nation-state building for their own purpose. The conception and interpretation of Korean history have diverged; school system and

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21. Park Myoung-kyu, et. al., *Survey on Unification Conception in 2014* (in Korean), p. 425.

educational philosophy became different. Both Koreas see the origin of Korean nation differently. South Korea believes in the *Han* tribe as their original genealogy while North Korea rejects it. Instead, North Korea claims the *Mac* tribe is the real origins of the Korean nation. South Korea has given its legitimacy of history to *Shilla* dynasty, whereas North Korea finds its roots in *Goguryo* dynasty.[22]

The most difficult obstacle is the name of the country itself, ROK, or Republic of Korea and DPRK, or Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The name "Korea" in English is not a problem. But the name in Korean remains different. South Korea calls it *Hanguk*, while North Korea calls it *Chosun*. In these days, some people use the English word "Korea" directly. North Korea in this context strongly believes that they are descendent of *Chosun* dynasty, rejecting the claims of *Han* nation, while South Korea believes without any doubt that they are descendent of *Han* nation. The two Koreas do not share the name of Korea or Korean nation in Korean language.

It is a quite contrasting situation when Germans had shared the name of German nation even in divided period. West Germany called itself *Bundesrepublic Deutschland*, whereas East Germany calls itself *Deutsche Demokratische Republik* in German. Germans used *Westdeutschland* for the West Germany, and *Ostdeutschland* for the East Germany in German. It clearly shows that the German people had shared the same German word *Deutchland* for their own nation regardless the division of the country. However, the two Koreas do not share the Korean word for "Korea or the Korean nation." This will, in fact, worsen identity crisis and lead a serious problem in the process of identity formation and integration of two Koreas after unification on the Korean peninsula.

The national identity in unified Korea is nowadays a hot issue in

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22. History Institute of Social Science Academy in North Korea, *Full History of Chosun Korea, Vol. 2: Ancient* (in Korean) (Pyongyang: Comprehensive Encyclopedia of Science Publishers, 1991), pp. 10-13, 129-134, 180-182.; Son Young-jong, Park Young-hae and Kim Yong-gan, *Thorough History of Chosun Korea, The First Volume* (in Korean) (Pyongyang: Social Science Publishers, 1991), pp. 33-43.

preparing unification in the South. Some South Korean right-wing adherents try to establish the ROK identity in preparing for unification, which collides with the identity of DPRK. There currently exists great tension whether the current liberal democracy should be preserved in the unification of Korea. North Korea on the other hand will not give up the socialist identity of their nation in the unified Korea. South Korea is likely to have an orientation of diffusing the ROK nationalism, or *han* nationalism while North Korea will intend to expand their DPRK nationalism, or *chosun* nationalism. North Korea on the basis of the *Juche* idea will attempt to expand their version of Korean nationalism, or what it calls "Chosun Korea nationalism-first policy (*Chosun minjok jaeil ju-i*)."

When the socialist ideology in Russia and Eastern Europe suddenly disappeared, people could not immediately adapt to the democratic environment. While some turned to religious extremism, others were most inclined towards extreme nationalism. If the collapse of North Korean system results in the case of unification of the two Koreas, the North Korean socialism will tend to take a form of extreme nationalism. Considering *juche* as a component of North Korea's political system, it will become an obstacle to integration in unified Korea.[23] According to the IPUS annual survey of pride of *juche* is relatively strong and the loyalty of North Korean residents toward Chairman Kim Jong-un is also strong; 57.0 percent of North Koreans have pride in *juche* ideology in 2014 and the Chairman had 64.4 percent support in 2014.[24] The relatively high level of internal-

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23. *Juche* ideology has been developing from a simple ideology to religious belief. North Korea performs worship service of meeting and study in, what it calls, "Study Room for *Kimilsungism*" like a church building in Christianity. It is estimated that there would be at least more than 100,000 of those places nationwide. The place is regarded as solemn and sacred location distinguished from ordinary or profane locations because the place is believed to be deeply related to Kim Il Sung. Kim Philo, *Religious Nature of North Korea: A Comparison on Religious Forms of Juche Idea with Christianity* (in Korean) (Seoul: Korea Institute for National Unification, 2000).

24. To the question of "Do North Koreans have pride in the juche ideology?" 57% said "yes," while 43% said "no" in 2014. Kim Philo, "Conception on the South

ization of the *juche* ideology and royalty among North Korean residents will be a serious hindrance in integration of the two Koreas. The reason that the neighboring countries worry about Korean unification may be the possibility of a unified Korea pursuing extreme nationalism. For Japan, for example, it will be a great fear and threat if the extreme nationalism develops in the unified peninsula.

It will be also a difficult problem to strengthen the new identity of diplomatic relation in unified Korea in the sense that the two Koreas have preferred a different country for their own part. The most favorite neighboring state to South Korea is the U.S., while that to North Korea is China. 74.9 percent of South Koreans regard the U.S. as the most favorite neighboring state to South Korea in 2014 whereas 79.2 percent of North Koreans regard China as the most favorite state to the North.[25] This trend has not changed for the past several years.[26] The most threatening states to each Korea are, on the other hand, different from each other. To South Koreans, North Korea is the most threatening states, while to the North the United States is the most threatening power. From this figure, it is predictable that Koreans should be very cautious in preparing for Korean unification because North Korea prefers China, whereas South Korea prefers the United States. So, North Korea may not request any serious help from South Korea in the case of unification. Instead, North Korea may ask China for any imminent need. Therefore, it is highly likely that any events like sudden change or collapse will not lead to automatic unification, considering diplomatic orientation and national identity on the Korean

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and the reality in North Korea," *Changes of North Korea and the Residents in 2014* (IPUS, SNU, August 27, 2014).The share of positive responses stood at 63.8% in 2012 and fell to 51.9% in 2013, but rebounded to 57.0% in 2014. These figures represent a drop of some 20 percentage points from 1994, when some 80% professed pride in the ideology.

25. Park Myoung-kyu, et. al., *Survey on Unification Conception in 2014*, 177; IPUS, "How We Evaluate the Change in North Korea during the two years of Kim Jong Un," (in Korean) *Conference of IPUS on Changes of North Korea and the Residents in 2014* (August 27, 2014), p. 112.

26. Song Young-Hoon, Kim Philo and Park Myoung-kyu, *Survey on Unification Conception in North Korea in 2008-2013: Focusing on North Korean Refugees*, p. 106.

peninsula. This inclination would seriously spark the dispute on the issue of globalization including expansion of English usage and economic openness.

Hostility and Distrust

There are other obstacles to bother integration and identity formation in unified Korea. That is, hostility and distrust which had been piled up over the 70 years history of the Korean division. This will be the most challenging issue in the unified Korea. Koreans underwent civil war and still suffer from ideological confrontation. The war and confrontation have left serious scars and wounds in the minds of Korean people, although the two Koreas have held dialogues, exchanges and cooperation after the end of Cold War.

In Korean War, about 850,000 people were killed in the South, and about 1.2 million people were claimed to be killed in North Korea.[27] Meanwhile, the antagonism has solidified in both parts of Korea. While the antagonism nestled sporadically in the lower stratum of the South Korean society, it had been strongly rooted in the upper class in the North. Since the North Korean regime had given much benefits to the victims and their families suffered from the war, the upper class in North Korea are mostly those who directly suffered from Korean War. Their feeling of strong enmity had been shaped not only by brain-wash education, but by their family education and family heritage. The structure of "systematic antagonism" in both Koreas remains as a difficulty to derive a fully integrated unification.[28]

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27. As for the human damage and the structuration process of antagonist sentiment of the Korean War, refer to Kim Philo, "Human loss of Korean War and the change of class policy in North Korea," (in Korean) *Unification Policy Studies* 9, no. 1 (2000), pp. 219-242.

28. Within this structure of "systematic antagonism" I would call, North Korea has pursued regional self-reliance system since early 1960s which has a military purpose. This is the unique idea of Kim Jong-Il, who had raised a county-based self-reliance strategy in 1964 to defend the system in case of war. In this context, North Korea tried on purpose to evenly disperse the industrial facilities nationwide, shunning from being paralyzed in war-time. This has

The 2014 survey showed that both South and North Koreans regarded each other mainly as partners for cooperation (45.3% and 55.7%, respectively). On the other hand, the levels of apprehension (or watch-out) and hostility were 22.8 percent and 13.9 percent, respectively, in the South, and 10.1 percent and 20.1 percent, respectively, in the North. This means that about 30 to 35 percent of each side of Korean population has enmity against each other.[29] It is very interesting that the perception on the other side is quite symmetrical. If the perception of cooperation is increasing in the South, the same feeling of cooperation is increasing in the North. The perception of viewing the other as an enemy is mutually increasing in each side of Korea in recent years. This perception toward South Korea has increased from 12.8 percent to 20.1 percent among North Koreans during the past year. One could say that the perception on the other side of Korea is greatly affected by the situation of the inter-Korean relation.

In 2014, 74.9 percent of South Koreans believed that North Korea's another military provocation against South Korea is possible. Over the past years, the rate of concerns about the North's military action changed from 68.9 percent in 2012 to 66.0 percent in 2013.[30] The figure jumped in 2009 when North Korea conducted its second nuclear test, and jumped again in 2011 after the incidents of ROKS *Cheonan* and Yeonpyeong Island took place, and then jumped again in 2014 when the inter-Korean relation went into extremely tense situation. North Korean defectors were asked if they thought an attack from the South was possible when they lived in the North, and they expressed such concerns existed among people in North Korea. Concerns of military provocation from the South rose sharply to 63.8 percent in 2014 from

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been done to improve the capability of military defense. After the post-Cold War era, North Korea has furthermore resorted to the self-reliance strategy of local mobilization. Kim Philo, *Regional Self-Reliance System in North Korea* (in Korean) (Seoul: KINU, 1999).

29. Park Myoung-kyu et. al., *Survey on Unification Conception in 2014*, p. 75; Chung Eun-Mee, Kim Philo and Park Myoung-kyu, *Survey on Unification Conception in North Korea in 2014*. Seoul: IPUS, 2014, p. 59.

30. Park Myoung-kyu et. al., *Survey on Unification Conception in 2014*, p. 88.

45.9 percent in 2013.[31] In the 2008 survey, 31.4 percent said they had thought the possibility was high, but it felt likewise in 2011 after the sinking of the ROKS *Cheonan* and the shelling of Yeonpyeong Island in 2010, which also could affect the insecure feeling for North Korean people in the following years. The serious confrontation between the two Koreas in recent years may affect the sense of insecurity among both Koreans in 2014. These data show that the two Koreas still have distrust and anxiety against each other.

Recommendations for Successful Social Integration

Economic and Welfare Remedies

The economic cooperation between two Koreas and South Korea's assistance to the North should be conducted in the direction of improving the North's economic capability and income levels. Otherwise, the affluence gap between the South and the North will grow further, and national consensus for unification will be more difficult to be made. Aforementioned, South Korea generates more than 95 percent of the entire GDP produced in the Korean peninsula, whereas North Korea provides only 5 percent. This is an enormous imbalance of production on the Korean peninsula. If this situation continues, the social tensions between the North and the South will be intensified to its extreme degree even after unification.

The South Korean economy tends to be undervalued by the potential North Korean threat. Therefore, Seoul needs to establish stable economic cooperation with Pyongyang in order to create peaceful and secure environment. The South Korean government needs to create and expand common interests of both Koreas through the exchange of complementary industrial products, and to establish a regional market in North Korea. In addition, the construction of social over-

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31. Kim Philo, "Conception on the South and the reality in North Korea by North Koreans," p. 100.

head capital will bring about much benefits of transportation to China and Europe by saving transportation cost, which may reduce unification cost in the long run.

At the same time, it is necessary to make efforts to break down the psychological wall especially by carrying out humanitarian assistance to the poorest layer of up to 6 million starving North Koreans. Health, sanitation and food support can affect the most vulnerable members of society. Inefficiency in food distribution can lead to chaos and conflict at all levels and within all the sectors of society. These people will find survival extremely difficult without the distribution of immediate food supplies. A deadlock in food provisions can cause former North Korean companies and factories to become dissolved, as members set off individually in search for food. Therefore, special attention must be paid to ensure that schools, hospitals and sanatoriums located in poverty-stricken areas receive necessary aid. By performing material support, the South Korean government needs to save lives in the North and release the enmity emotion that they might have against the South as well as the possible absorption by the South.

In order to avoid social chaos and economic downturn caused by mass migration from the North to the South, it is highly recommended to promote a policy for separation of labor market between two regions for a certain provisional period. It is very important to keep separate labor market in order to stabilize the national economy in the times of turmoil like a sudden unification. For this purpose, it is necessary to pursue a policy to give priority of ownership to those who reside in their house during certain period of time, i.e. 5 years or 7 years. In addition, the unified Korea should prepare measures for the unemployed including various measures for expanding employment.

If the situation is allowed, the unified Korea should promote gradual privatization, while maintaining the state ownership of the means of production in major properties in the Northern region in order to minimize the regional inequalities. It is also recommended to enforce a license of usage rather than ownership of land and house, and also such policy is recommended as compensation rather than the return for the South Korean holders of the North's land documents.

It is crucial to maintain the social welfare service in North Korea at least as it is now. This means that the welfare level in North Korea should not be curtailed down even after the unification. Welfare system itself in North Korea is regarded relatively well established in comparison to that of South Korea. Fortunately, however, it will not entail much cost to maintain the present welfare services because the actual quality of benefit is very low in current North Korea. For this reason, maintaining the current level of welfare benefits seems to be no big financial burden. Therefore, it is needed to secure proper funding to absorb the social welfare system in order to expedite social integration in unified Korea.

Value Integration and Identity Formation

Koreans should confirm a couple of social principles and some directions in order to promote solidarity of its members in unified Korea. A unified Korea will need a new identity formation because it will be totally new system different from the old regime. That is, people in unified Korea will have to get used to new values and ideology, and they will also be requested to share emotional ties and a sense of pride among themselves as members of a unified Korea. Therefore, Koreans should build these new values and ideology pertinent to the newly unified system. General direction of value integration is suggested as follows: Strengthening and magnifying the vision of unified Korea as a main source of integration, while managing the social conflict to the minimal extent, not to hinder the North-South integration.

In more concrete terms, Koreans should actively promote the social and cultural activities to form a sense of inter-regional community while reducing culture shock between the two regions. For this purpose, it is important to create a national consciousness and national feeling on the basis of ethnic identity and ethnic ties; on the other hand, it is also important to acknowledge a heterogeneous entity as that of diversity in unified society. Koreans could build the national consensus through the history of Dangun and Japanese colonial experience for example. The most preferred direction is that the DPRK is absorbed

by the value of the Republic of Korea. However this is not possible in reality. North Korea has presented *Corea* as an alternative national identity which is worth consideration. Both Koreas can also share social cohesion when they eat *kimchi*, wear *hanbok*, and play *yutnori* (a traditional folk game). In all, it is very important to understand and acknowledge the heterogeneity as a diversity since the two Koreas had been much differentiated during the 70 years of division. So that Koreans should be careful to avoid the heterogenic elements disturbing social integration in unified Korea, while promoting national pride and national consciousness as a force of social cohesion.

In order to successfully overcome value conflict in unified Korea, it needs to address the high level of vision, discourse and strategy for new identity formation. As indicated in the German unification, unsuccessful management of psychological conflicts between the two Koreas can result in a huge social cost. In this regard, a unified Korea will need to adhere to the principles and directions in order to build core social values needed in the unified society.

First principle would be promotion of communication and coexistence. This is the principle not only needed after unification but also in the process of it. In order to achieve successful integration, it is essential to understand that the two Koreas have disparate systems, and to build a new attitude and culture of acknowledging different norms and values. In this regard, it is no doubt to say that the promotion of communication and coexistence is the first and the foremost principle for the successful identity formation in the unified Korea.

Second principle would be the development of universal values such as democracy, markets and openness. Though coexistence and communication should be the basic starting point for social integration, they are not enough to achieve a full unification when one thinks of identity formation after unification. It needs further efforts to prepare and create universal values and institutes as of the unified version. Only then Koreans will be able to ultimately achieve unity and the purpose of social integration. In order to promote identity with social cohesion after unification, it will take place at least the homogeneity in institutions and will create a shared value between the North and the

South residents. This practically means that North Korean socialism should be transformed into more democratic, marketized, and opened systems in unified Korea.

Third principle would be building capacity for integrated identity. In order to enhance integrated identity in unified Korea, it is not satisfied to simply expand the universal values and institutions to the North. Rather, Koreans should enhance capacity building of integration by creating and enlarging new social and cultural assets in the unified society. Strengthening social capacity in this sense means new identity should be positive sum, not unilateral institutionalization. In other words, it means that the integration policy should not hamper cultural assets of unified Korea, sticking to the principle of institutional homogenization. Unification shall be meaningful as far as it is the result of creating a "bigger Korea" to create sustainable growth engines and so as to expand its national assets in economic, social, and cultural terms. In this sense, how to rebuild the vulnerable social and cultural identity and assets of North Korea has been emerged as a challenge. It is also urgent task how to accumulate diplomatic identity and socio-cultural assets through human and cultural exchanges with China and the United States after unification.

The fourth and last principle would be the green and peace-oriented value. As for the direction of new identity formation in a unified Korea, a green and peace-oriented value is highly recommended. Unified Korea may basically have two fundamental challenges: One is to create a cultural model that can lead to coexistence with nature beyond the growth-oriented development approach; the other is to create a social model that can lead to peaceful life in which a member of the community is promoted to the good of all. Both are closely connected to each other. How to integrate the qualitatively new core values into a social system is the main challenge and goal of the 21st century in the unified Korean peninsula. "Green peace" shall be the core value of integrating various social groups in unified Korea. The idea of joining green into peace is embedded in the word of green peace. Green has been already a trending value in philosophical thinking in these days and therefore will be the most critical elements

to constitute a sustainable form of human beings in the unified Korea. Peace is also an emerging value as a very urgent task of human being too. After the Cold War, ethnic, regional, cultural, and religious conflicts are bringing about a variety of conflict, violence and hatred, and it has become an urgent task to manage nationalism, ethnic sentiment, racism, and religious conflicts. In this, the value of green and peace will be the dominant paradigm of identity that the future Korea should build together in newly established fatherland.

Conflict Transformation and Healing Programs

After the unification, social conflict between the North and the South will incur serious problems in many aspects, and this conflict is likely to be further amplified through political and social empowerment based on local sentiment. If such a serious conflict occurs, intervention of a third party may be a very realistic option as an arbitration mechanism to mitigate the conflict among them. There will be a great need for a mediator or mediation mechanisms to solve the various conflicts of ideological, cultural and social ones deeply rooted in between the two Koreas after unification. Traditionally, the conflict is understood as that can be "resolved" or "managed" by special methods. But more recently people have argued that it cannot be "resolved" or "managed" in a way that the sources of conflict are completely eliminated. Rather it should be solved by the method of conflict transformation, focusing on the relationship among conflicting parties. In many cases, conflicts cannot be treated in the way of "management" or "solved," rather, they are able to be treated only through redefining "relationship." Therefore, in the case of such a conflict, it is necessary to strive to find creative sympathetic elements in the process of dealing with conflict resolution and to build a constructive relationship better by focusing on the "relationship" between groups of conflict rather than focusing on the conflict itself.

In this respect, conflict mediation and the specialized agencies can be utilized in addressing social integration in unified society in

Korea. It may help operating a national program to seek a psychological consultation. Millions of North Koreans lost their families because of hunger, and witnessed their family members' deaths. They should receive psychological counseling. It may also help operate conflict transformation programs such as "Peacemaker" and "conflict mediation."[32] In particular, we should prepare a training program for the North Korean people. If the two Koreas do not reconcile with each other fortified by the hatred and sense of revenge of the Korean War, unified Korea will not able to a step forward for successful social integration. And also, it should carry out democracy training program. Some values of authoritarian attitude will be important factors to hinder the integration of a unified Korea, given the nature of North Korean society that the "monolithic ideological system" and undemocratic behavior prevail in current North Korea. In this regard, it is essential to carry out democracy training programs to tolerate diversity and to recognize the entity of others in order to realize a successful social integration in unified Korea.

Information and Cyber Management

Unification will lead to a serious social crisis. The so-called unification crisis in Korea can lead to public unease in the Korean peninsula. The events following the sinking of ROKS *Cheonan* and capsizing of *Sewol* ferry demonstrated that people in South Korea can access news about the incident very quickly via the internet, even before official government statements are made. In the same way, news of a political situation in North Korea are likely reach the domestic and overseas Korean masses first through internet sources rather than through the South Korean or a unified authority. Taking into account that today's South Korean citizens perceive internet sources as being more reliable than official information provided by the government, it is

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32. For example, refer to Peace-maker program, http://www.hispeace.or.kr and to conflict resolution program, http://www.kadr.or.kr.

vital that the unified Korean government find improved ways to accurately and efficiently transmit information concerning unification news to all Korean public.[33] Failure of the government to do so will lead the public to feel greater distrust towards the government and ultimately hamper the government's efforts to promote its policies on unification.

To ease tensions, the unified Korean government will need to formulate an effective accommodation policy for North Korean refugees. Yet, even despite positive intentions, passive approach by the unified Korean government may only encourage continued mass chaos if most Koreans tend to resort to groundless rumors and false reports. Nonetheless, it is crucial for the unified Korean government to take an active role in controlling the crisis. In the current information age, the government must prepare to take action with the awareness that the ability of ordinary citizens to access information is similar to that of field experts. This may apply to unification crises on the Korean peninsula as well. It is no longer possible for the government to manage its people by attempting to restrict information; this will only cause the people to distrust the government. In order to gain the people's trust, the government must turn to a system through which it can share information efficiently through the internet and persuade the people by engaging with and openly challenging opposing views online. Therefore, without clear and accurate guidelines from the unified Korean government, social chaos in unified Korea will be difficult to avert.

Conclusion

Unification as a historic and societal event may cause many conflicts and crises rather than blessings and benefits to both Koreas without sophisticated plans and proper management. Preparation for unifica-

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33. Suh Jae Jean, "Social Consequence of North Korean Contingency," (in Korean) *IIRI Working Paper Series 02* (June 2010), pp. 10-15.

tion is not an issue confined to a task of immanent political and military challenges. It is an issue of the societal and historic agenda of the entire Korean peninsula in the 21st century that requires great transformation in national identity and various social realms including economy, education, culture and so forth. The vision and plan for the process and strategies of unification will determine the fate of the Korean peninsula, and therefore, it should not be dealt with using any nationalistic sentiment, populism, or political force. Well organized plans and analyses based on institutional changes and people's awareness in the two Koreas are needed. In this sense, efforts should be made to seriously evaluate what the current status and trends of the inter-Korean division and integration situation signify.

Mass migration is likely to trigger social disorder, and widening economic gap between the two Koreas may intensify the class conflict in unified Korea. Ideological and cultural heterogeneity will be even more serious hindrance in integration and identity formation in newly unified Korea. And enormous hostility and distrust will be a great burden for social integration in unified Korea. This paper suggested four possible solutions that must be addressed for successful social integration and new identity formation after unification in Korea. First, social chaos and conflicts should be minimized through the remedies of economic and institutional measures; second, social cohesion and new identity should be strengthened by new visions, principles and values; third, very practical programs should be addressed; and fourth and finally, proper management of internet and cyber information are needed to reduce social conflict and identity crisis after unification in Korea.

A shift of policy paradigm will be needed to ease tensions and conflict after unification on the Korean peninsula. Economic and welfare issue will be vital for social integration in unified society. The problem of how to distribute the economic and welfare benefit will be crucial whether it is able to create social cohesion and national unity after unification. Value integration will be also critical for social integration in unified society. For this, communication and mutual understanding is basically needed, and development of universal

values such as democracy, markets and openness is essentially important. And so-called green peace value will also be crucial to form social cohesion with a new identity. The newly unified society will require new citizenship needed for new system and new institutions. It is a crucial task to make the younger generation realize the importance of new identity formation after unification because they will be the major citizens in the unified era. The approach to perform this task should not be a unilateral promotion of policy. Rather it is mutual understanding and better communication needed for substantial improvements in the new identity formation in unified nation. Flexible and organized efforts must be made to rebuild a new social identity for unified Korea while comprehensively understanding a variety of changes in new systems and orientation in the newly established Korean society.

Acknowledging the reality of divided Korea is the starting point to achieve this long-term goal. Not only the participation of South Koreans but also of North Koreans is all the more important to make preparations toward successful social integration. What is more essential than sheer communication and exchange is to convince the North Koreans that their future lies in the unified peninsula and the integration of the two Koreas is far more beneficial than maintaining the current status of division. Therefore, widening economic gap between the two Koreas and the rising sense of crisis and distrust toward each other should receive more attention from policymakers and scholars as well.

The current South Korean administration emphasizes the recovery of national homogeneity and proposes that the cooperation between South and North Korea on setting agendas for humanity, co-prosperity and integration.[34] It is not easy to achieve such a vision considering continuing conflicts and confrontation. But it is fortunate that positive notion regarding the other side as partners of cooperation still

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34. In an address, "An Initiative for Peaceful Unification on the Korean Peninsula" in Dresden, Germany, on March 28, 2014, President Park Geun-hye presented three proposals to lay the groundwork for peaceful unification.

exist in the minds of at least 45.3 percent of South Koreans and 55.7 percent of North Koreans. This is a positive sign for successful social integration. Two Koreas remember and share the common culture even though the content has been changed. Both sides can communicate with each other with shared memoirs. We can promote social cohesion and create new identity by utilizing this shared memory. For this goal, inter-Korean dialogue and cooperation must be encouraged at both civilian and governmental level.

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