

**5<sup>th</sup> Summit Council for World Peace**  
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RAPPORTEURS' report

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With the demise of the former Soviet Union and the development of liberal-democratic governments throughout much of Eastern Europe, the Cold War has ended. Yet, divided Korea remains a vestige of East-West rivalry. The challenge of reuniting this nation has become the central focus of the fifth meeting of the Summit Council for World Peace.

The event opened August 22, 1992, at the Hotel Lotte with Executive Director Antonio Betancourt explaining the Council's objective mission and its commitment to promoting world peace.

Summit Council President Dr. Bo Hi Pak then addressed the distinguished individuals in attendance, including 22 former heads of state and other distinguished individuals with a long career of public service. He observed:

This is an unprecedented gathering of world leaders from five continents. We are gathered here to focus our combined efforts toward the achievement of world peace. Peace can only be achieved by cooperation, understanding, and knowledge.

Dr. Pak then outlined the issues and concerns to be addressed by the Fifth Summit Council.

In his opening remarks, His Excellency Abdel M. Hegazy, former Prime Minister of Egypt, praised the gathered assembly for its quest to explore the problematic underpinnings involved in realizing the reunification of Korea. He applauded this effort to promote and realize a "new world order." He called upon the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to seek open and constructive dialogue and described the partition of Korea as "unnatural and unjust." He then asked the Summit Council to serve as a motor for Korean reunification.

In the Founder's Address, the Reverend Sun Myung Moon told the Council that when God and man cooperate in the sense of joint ownership over creation and in the ideal of true love, humankind, for the first time, can come to enjoy true freedom, true happiness, and true peace:

The basic principle capable of unifying North and South Korea can work only when true individuals who have achieved unity of their minds and bodies come together to form families. The basic conflict on the Korean peninsula exhibits characteristics of a conflict between the advanced

and less developed nations as well as characteristics of the conflict between the Eastern and Western cultures....The unification of the Korean peninsula is indispensable for the achievement of world peace and is an important signpost toward resolving the issue of a unified world culture.

"As we approach the twenty-first century, there is a need for the world community of nations to cooperate as an organic whole," he added.

In his Keynote Address, the Rt. Hon. Sir Edward Heath, former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, observed that "our quest for a new world order still finds us facing a 'new world disorder.'" In stressing the need for realism in our deliberations, he commented on the need to face the many problems that must be resolved to replace disorder by order.

Sir Edward stressed the paramount role of diplomatic relations, particularly between nations that disagree. He said that the reunification of Germany taught several valuable lessons. First, in order to achieve unification, both sides must truly desire it. Second, both sides must resolve themselves to a period of economic adjustment. Third, both sides must resolve to get together to solve common problems as they arise. He found that interreligious conflicts have no place in modern society. "Religions should assist in formulating a common approach to problem-solving," he said.

In the evening question-and-answer session with Sir Edward, he further elaborated on topics he had touched upon or alluded to in his Keynote Address. He lamented that since 1985 the flow of the "fruits of development in the Third World" has changed, with such fruits no longer staying there but returning to the developed nations. He decried this phenomenon as something that cannot be justified "morally, economically, or politically."

He discussed the need for greater understanding on the part of the developed world in terms of its moral, economic, and political support of the developing world. He foresaw the possibility of the reunification of Korea in our lifetime but again warned of the need to be realistic and observed that with Korea's reunification, the defense and economic obligations of a number of major powers will be significantly reduced. He expressed caution, however, noting that the gap in the standard of living and development between the North and South will increase should reunification be a long and drawn-out process. He foresaw that ultimately North Korea will distance itself from communism.

Sir Edward expressed optimism about resolving what he had described as the "new world disorder" because of trends such as the European Community and the North American Free Trade Agreement, noting that such supranational entities will contribute to a greater harmonization of political and economic standards.

In commenting on the New World Order he noted that no one knows what it is. As a framework for its realization, he noted the importance of seeing "the moral and economic aspects of each problem as well as the political."

In the morning session of August 23 on "The Prospects for Korean Reunification," Professor Dae-Sook Suh of the University of Hawaii stated that he was somewhat pessimistic or reserved about the prospects of Korean reunification. He noted the polemical character of North-South interfacing and pointed out the tendency of both sides to interpret agreements and treaties in the context of their respective views of reunification.

Professor Suh pointed to the positive developments over the past five years that could potentially contribute to the improvement of North-South relations. These included the demise of the Soviet Union, improved relations between China and South Korea, and the decision of North

Korea to allow International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) inspectors to visit North Korean nuclear power plants, as well as the cancellation of U.S. land-based "Team Spirit" military maneuvers.

He criticized both the North and South for developing and subscribing to reunification plans largely based upon absorbing their rival into their particular ideological perspective. Suh saw predictions of the imminent collapse of the North as "unrealistic." He noted that the citizens of North Korea support Kim Il Sung.

Suh called for a "feasibility approach" to Korean unification. He called for five fundamental changes to take place in both North and South Korea. These were:

- 1) The democratization of both North and South.
- 2) An effort to promote the balanced economic growth of both the South and the North.
- 3) Both countries moving toward a pluralistic ideological orientation.
- 4) Military reductions on both sides.
- 5) Both sides seeking points of commonality in order to enhance bilateral relations.

Dr. Joseph Chung of the Illinois Institute of Technology spoke on "The Prospects for Economic Integration in Korea." Professor Chung downplayed predictions of the imminent collapse of North Korea, although he said that if this is a ten-year projection, such an assessment might be realistic in the case of the North Korean economy. He noted that "an immediate collapse of the North Korean economy would force a German-style unification by absorption."

Professor Chung noted that relative to other developing countries, North Korea had made significant economic achievements. He said that life expectancy is high in North Korea. There is also a high rate of literacy and general health services are readily available.

Professor Chung called for the adoption by both sides of a gradual approach based on economic goals and objectives, perhaps similar to the European Community model of integration. Dr. Chung advocated a "functional approach" to economic integration based upon five steps:

- 1) An initial phase with simple and easy forms of economic exchanges.
- 2) A joint venture stage.
- 3) The formation of a customs union: Going beyond removing all tariff and non-tariff barriers in inter-Korean trade, each Korea under such an agreement would impose identical trade restrictions against all other countries.
- 4) The removal of all impediments to eventual integration and minimizing various problems associated with the final economic union of the two divergent economic systems.
- 5) Bona fide integration of the economies.

In his presentation, Dr. Ivan Frolov, former editor-in-chief of Pravda, stressed that he believed in the eventual unification of the Koreas. He emphasized the need to avoid ideological polarization. He noted the important role that Mikhail Gorbachev and his policies of perestroika had played in these areas:

- 1) Ending the worldwide ideological and military threat.
- 2) Advancing global security measures and greatly reducing the threat of nuclear war.
- 3) Placing the individual before the system.
- 4) Bringing an end to totalitarian rule.

5) Leading to the re-establishment of relations between Russia and South Korea.

The Hon. John Spellman, former Governor of Washington State, emphasized the need to look at the causes of Korea's division, rather than merely seek solutions to hasten reunification. He noted the need to increase communication between the countries. He also inquired as to the role the United Nations should play in reunification.

Governor David Cargo of New Mexico, who recently returned from North Korea, observed that the leadership in North Korea seemed credible and sincere. He pointed out that there is a lack of easy access to information and that virtually no Americans have interfaced with Kim Jong Il, Kim's Il Sung's chosen successor.

Former Congressman Robert Leggett of California noted that with the introduction of market principles in North Korea, other changes will quickly follow.

The Honorable Sardar Singh, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of India, expressed the need for more hard economic data on North Korea. He noted that South Korea needs to come to an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of its northern rival. The same is true for the North in its approach to the South.

The Honorable Pierre Ceyrac of France spoke of the importance of the moral question, noting that the North is not interested in inheriting the West's moral decadence and corruption.

In his luncheon address, the Honorable Frank Carlucci, former U.S. Secretary of Defense, spoke on the expansion of technology and the recent sharing of economic power, making it impossible for any modern nation to remain isolated. He noted that four of the remaining communist powers are in East Asia.

For Secretary Carlucci, the region is far too wide and diverse for the existence of one single alliance. The new world order requires multilateral security and economic arrangements. He noted:

In the past two years, I have seen progress that I would never have imagined. But problems remain. The presence of a strong military in the communist nations is one. The lack of open communication is another. The possibility of nuclear capability is another. ... It is important that the Koreans get on with the notion of bilateral nuclear inspections. The U.S. will not renew relations with North Korea until that happens.

He predicted that "the unification of Korea will happen. The question now is when and how." He observed that the strategy should involve dialogue, diplomatic pressure, and economic incentive. Seoul is approximately 50 kilometers from the DMZ. Thus, there is no other place in the world where deterrence is more important.

For Carlucci, it is also important that the Republic of Korea continue to expand its dialogue with the PRC. North Korea must not forget that it is operating under the combined, watchful eye of the rest of the world. Unification is a desirable goal, but it is a goal that only will be realized as a result of the free will of both Koreas.

In his presentation on "U.S. Policy and Korean Unification," Dr. William Taylor of the Center for Strategic and International Studies maintained that the U.S. commitment to the security of the Republic of Korea is stronger than ever, adding: "The U.S. considers Korean unification to be primarily a North-South enterprise and is determined to follow the ROK lead. There are some disagreements between the U.S. and the ROK, but we continue to talk and to negotiate."

He added that "the combined policy of the ROK/U.S. toward the DPRK has been especially effective for the past two to three years. Now is the time to 'fine-tune' that policy." With regard to the nuclear issue, he said, "The burden of proof is on the North, inspection of North Korea's known and suspected weapons facilities is one immediate obstacle that must be overcome."

Based on three visits to North Korea, Taylor maintained that talk in the South and in the United States of the abysmal living conditions in the North is unfounded.

In discussing the "Russian Role in Korean Unification," Professor Vladimir Li pointed out that for more than four decades the Kremlin carried on with surprising persistence its official recognition of only North Korea. "Now Russia is a successor to the former Soviet Union and has developed official relations with both Koreas. This unique reality gives Moscow additional reserves of positive external influence on the process of reunification of the Koreas."

Without the peaceful reunification of Korea, it would be practically impossible to balance the great powers (U.S., Russia, China, and Japan) and create a system of regional security that takes into consideration all of the interests of all of the peoples of the Pacific Basin. Russia's balanced position on an all-Korean peaceful settlement has been worked out in rather intense dialogue not only with the DPRK and ROK but also with Japan and the United States.

Russia's concept to ensure peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region is naturally tied in with the reasonable interests of the DPRK and the entire Korean peninsula, Li believes.

The Honorable Michio Ochi of Japan stated: "We [Japan] are pleased to see various efforts being made recently to bring about the reunification of Korea. The Japanese government conducted normalization talks with North Korea several times during the past few years, although we have so far only recognized the government of South Korea."

Furthermore, he said, "The three nations, China, Korea, and Japan, share a common culture. In order to solve the problems that resulted from over forty years of division, a considerable time and a huge amount of economic resources may be required. In that case, it is thinkable that Japan may be requested to offer some form of assistance and cooperation. I believe that Japan, as their nearest neighbor, should respond to that request in the spirit of mutual trust and friendship."

Ambassador Ke Hwa of China observed that "we must not continue to overemphasize the myth of China's influence over North Korea.... We hope the process of unification will take place as a process of dialogue. The process must take place among the Koreans themselves without foreign pressure. The Koreans must leave behind their past differences. As brothers, they can survive through thick and thin."

Offering an African perspective, His Excellency Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia noted that knowing the North's weaknesses, we should not hesitate to point them out in discussions with the North. He also felt that the Summit Council for World Peace should sponsor a delegation to visit North Korea for this purpose, and his proposal was received favorably by the participants.

Conference Chairman Hegazy concluded the observations by noting that there appeared to be a consensus that all four superpowers support the process of reunification. He also asked Dr. Taylor why the United Nations is not playing more of a role. Taylor responded that the United States and the ROK cannot fully rely on the IAEA's analysis and conclusions on nuclear development in the North because it had previously failed to detect hidden Iraqi nuclear programs.

At Sunday's dinner, Ambassador Jos, Marja Chaves presented the members of the International Commission for the Peaceful Reunification of Korea and introduced former Costa Rican President Rodrigo Carazo Odio, the Commission Chairman. Chairman Carazo praised the

presenters and presentations of this Fifth Summit Council and reminded the audience that both the south Koreans and North Koreans are Koreans, one people. He also outlined the duties and goals of the Commission, setting forth the basis for future projects and activities of the Commission.

Session III dealt with "The Positive Role of the Middle East in Korean Reunification." Dr. Ashraf Ghorbal, former Egyptian ambassador to the United States, said that Arab policies toward Korea are based on the following:

- 1) The right to self-determination
- 2) Preservation of peace
- 3) Arab national interest

Today, said Dr. Ghorbal, all Arab states except Syria and Egypt have diplomatic missions in Seoul (Syria and Egypt do have a consul general). The indicated approach is to spotlight areas of commonality between the two Koreas and then see if other areas of additional commonality can be found.

One suggestion by Dr. Ghorbal was a special international committee to help in the negotiations in an unbiased way. Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen could be included.

Dr. Young Sop Ahn of the Republic of Korea, said that Middle Eastern countries have been considered too distant. This notion must change. Middle East pressure can join in the effort on nuclear neutrality. These countries can contribute to the reduction of economic obstacles to permanent stability.

There must be an awareness, he said, that nations of the Third World must cooperate more closely than ever before for their own survival and prosperity. A unified Korea will be able to better serve the interests of the Middle East.

Session IV dealt with "A Unified Korea and the Pacific Century." Ambassador Jos, Marja Chaves said that the unification of Korea is the most important factor and the foremost component of the twenty-first century which will be the century where liberty and democracy will be accepted all over the world as a preferable form of government. The Oriental peoples, already the majority of humankind, will become dominant in the world. Its geographic center will be the Korean peninsula.

Ambassador Chaves proposes an eight-point plan for the unification of Korea:

- 1) The United Nations in the role of negotiator
- 2) Achievement of existing agreements on disarmament
- 3) Elimination of the partition line near the 38th parallel
- 4) Recognition by all nations of Korea as one indivisible ethnic unit
- 5) Replacement of U.S. forces by a token U.N. presence
- 6) The 1980 North Korean plan and the 1989 South Korean plan accept the existence of the two systems
- 7) Creation of plural binational executive and administrative boards to facilitate the integration process
- 8) A unified Korean parliament similar to the European Parliament

Dr. Ki-Shik Hahn of Korea University also addressed this theme. He discussed the role and place of a unified Korea in the Asian-Pacific region. He said there could be different approaches to stabilizing the Korean peninsula:

- 1) Peaceful coexistence between the south and the north
- 2) Full attainment of peaceful unification can be attained through three modes:

- (a) Absorbing North Korea into the South
- (b) Absorbing South Korea into the North
- (c) Unifying the two regimes by creating a newly unified institution after abolishing the two conflicting regimes.

Dr. Hahn concluded that the only realistic approach to the peaceful reunification of Korea is to facilitate mutual dialogue, increased exchange, and cooperation, abandoning the willful intention of undermining or destroying the other regime.

Chairman Hegazy then reminded the participants of the five P's:

- 1) Power
- 2) People participating
- 3) Poverty and prosperity
- 4) Peace (as a goal and belief)
- 5) Progress

The morning session closed with ceremonies of investiture awarding the Gold Cross of Liberty to H.E. Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, former President of Zambia, by the Association for the Unity of Latin America (AULA).

The final luncheon featured a special session/report on the Federation for World Peace chaired by Ambassador Phillip Sanchez, publisher of Noticias del Mundo of New York and Los Angeles, and Dr. Thomas Ward, Executive Director, the American Leadership Conferences, the World Leadership Conference, and CAUSA International. The audio-visual presentation outlined the Federation for World Peace as a worldwide effort to promote peace throughout the world.