

# Peace in East Asia, Relations between North and South Korea, and the Future of Cheju-do

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## I.

We are now standing at a turning point in history in that a new century will begin. In about 8 years or so, the 21th century will begin. There rises the great change, unparalleled in the annals of history, everywhere on earth.

From the standpoint of the dimension of international relationships, the old international order dominated by the Cold War in the latter part of the 20th century, is almost dissolved, and in turn there is a revolutionary change, in the midst of detente. Since the U.S.-the Soviet Union summit conference in Malta, the cold war has become dissolved little by little. It is now completely ended through declarations of nuclear disarmament by Bush and Gorbachev. As we can judge from the collapse of communism and the changes in the Eastern Europe, a threat to international peace by the expansion of communism has almost passed away.

The transition from the armament race to armament reduction by two superpower countries, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, is a new epoch-making wave that plays an important role in building peaceful system in East Asia. In the past, military confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union had brought about high state of tension in East Asia. Today, however, armament reduction by the two giants relieves the tension in this region.

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In spite of the collapse of communism and federal system itself, the Soviet Union needs to increase economic co-operation with Asian-Pacific nations as an alternative plan to get out of her stagnant economy. Therefore, for the coming years, the Soviet Union will continue her own efforts to preserve the stabilization and peace of East Asia.

Meanwhile, the U.S. is trying to reduce her own military power in Korea and East Asia, as well as tactical nuclear weapons, in order to cut down on financial difficulties and military expenditures. After the great change in the Soviet Union, the U.S. authorities have come to believe that only North Korea threatens to prevent stabilization and peace in East Asia. As a result of this, in order to exclude such a threat against peace, the U.S. is trying to bring North Korea over to responsible membership in international society through diplomatic efforts.

There is a great possibility that America will rapidly improve relations with North Korea, if North Korea accepts a nuclear security inspection and show its sincerity to advance its dialogue with South Korea.

China goes on developing its market economy and policy of economic opening, in spite of the events in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe. This means that China understands it is indispensable to improve relations with East-Asian countries, in order to develop a sustainable economy. Therefore, even during the crisis in socialist countries, China will try to extend development of relations with South Korea, while keeping them with North Korea.

Japan puts stress on its economic power in increasing its influence in the East-Asian region. Its extension of economic support for the Soviet Union and negotiations with North Korea to form a friendship are policies based on political considerations as well as economic reasons. In particular, Japan strives to play a leading role in the economically cooperative system of East-Asia, which will be set up in the near future.

From these, we may say that the four powers concerned with Korea from a new system, extending exchanges and cooperation between regional countries for the development of their own countries, removing the chance for a showdown between two poles of ideology. This new system can not established without a foundation of peace and security in East-Asia.

The economics of the East-Asia nations will form a cooperative system, dependent on each other mutually, as the international political environment changes here. The world economy has already strongly established a bloc phenomenon, seen from the EC in Europe, United States and Canada in North America, removal of a tariff wall between America and Mexico and their rapid integration into a single market.

Keeping pace with this trend of building regional walls in the world economy, the Asia-Pacific region will make every effort to build an economic community, such as an Asia-Pacific Cooperative System, marking the whole Asia-Pacific region into one, or that of a Southeastern Union among Southeast Asian countries and a Northeastern Economic Bloc among South Korea, North Korea, the Soviet Union, China, Japan and Mongolia. Especially, recognizing the importance of a foreign economy, North Korea which has taken a negative attitude toward opening doors to other countries, now shows some movement to establish a special economic region as soon as possible and is considering positive participation in the Northeastern Economic Cooperative System. Thus, it seems to be unavoidable for Northeastern Asia to be organized into a single economic bloc.

In the twenty-first century, the Asia-Pacific region will become a center of economy, to the extent of what is called the Asia-Pacific Era. This region covers 40% of the world's population, 25% of the whole land area, 50% of the world's GNP and 38% of the global trade. With this, as the trade independence of countries amounts to 67%, a cooperative system among Asia-Pacific countries has infinite potential and will be powerful development leading into twenty-first century.

## II.

The time for South and North Korea's activities in the United Nations has been opened by South and North Korea's simultaneous entry into the U.N. It simply means that the international society admits the existence of two political entities in Korean peninsula. The time of co-existence in the Korean peninsula, if so, seems to have begun in appearance. Also, the fact that entry into the U.N. means mutual admission between South and North Korea implies the possibilities of North Korea's positive

change.

North Korea already has pronounced to sign a nuclear safeguards agreement with the IAEA. It must be a new development, like pursuing normalization of diplomatic relations with Japan since last year and a series of contacts for normalization with the U.S.A. in Beijing. Also it suggests that Pyongyang makes efforts to cope with the Great Change of Socialism, to recover a sinking economy, and to adapt to newly structured world affairs. North Korea has taken a highly defensive position in a series of situations, such as the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union since 1989, and East-Germany's absorption into West-Germany in 1990. North Korea, under growing pressure from the external change, has taken a strong reaction with the following slogan, "To live at our own will".

Economic and diplomatic pressure on North Korea, however is so heavy that she cannot cope with the change of Socialism only with that slogan. The successful result of South Korea's Northern policy imposed a heavy diplomatic isolation on North Korea. Also, as China, North Korea's strongest friend seems to change her position on normalizing ties with South Korea, North Korea is taking positive actions about surrounding countries.

Since the Summit-Talks between Gorbachev and Roh Tae-Woo were carried out on Cheju Island the change in economic relations between the Soviet Union and North Korea has been brought about and it has been a serious problem in North Korea. For example, the Soviet Union requests method current in the cost of continual oil-supply not by the purchasing method current in the commercial world but in cash, that is, convertible hard money being used in international society. As the oil-supply from the Soviet Union was not delivered due to the severe lack of convertible hard money in North Korea, the crisis ratio of energy affairs of North Korea has risen to 50% in comparison with last year's level.

As a result, North Korea is faced with a lot of severe problems in production method. The Soviet Union has occupied 59% of North Korea's foreign trade balance but now cannot provide North Korea (her partner) with economic aid only out of friendship.

North Korea's economy, as such, has no other choice but opening to expend eco-

conomic co-operation with Western Countries to relieve her economy.

From now on, North Korea's leadership has deeply considered the problem in that the great change of socialism is caused not by outer powers but by inner motives. It appears that the anxiety of pyongyang's leadership makes the government take an unprecedentedly flexible position in its recent relations with South Korea and with foreign countries. North Korea has considered it the most urgent problem to maintain its socialism, which has been maintained and developed over a long time. The awakening to their crisis makes kim Il-sung promote the great turnover of established policy to diplomacy, participating in international society. Also it expects that North Korea in the matter of unification will concentrate on her efforts, not for unification through communism, but for construction of the existing system, and in economic matters will accelerate opening to the outside world-enlargement of tourism, establishment of special economic zone, and participation in the economic cooperation system of Northeast Asia.

### III.

According to the new order of Northeast Asia in which four countries - Korea, Japan, China and U.S.S.R. - interchange and work together acceleratedly Cheju-do is an important crossroads. Furthermore Cheju-do will play the role of a bridge which links Northeastern Asia countries to the Pacific countries.

Nowadays, Cheju-do transfers from having been the edge of the Korean Peninsula in the past to being the forward window of Korea leading the Pacific Era in the twenty-first century. So, Cheju-do is standing at the center of a new interational order in East Asia.

#### 1. A peace-oriented place like Geneva

When the news that the Korea-U.S.S.R. summit conference would be held in Cheju-do in April, 1991 was reported all people around East Asia were surprised. Since the successful result of the summit conference, however, Cheju-do rose as a suitable

place in which to grope for the peace of East Asia. We can imagine Cheju-do transforming into "A Second Geneva", in which various peace-oriented international organizations and a reserach center to promote the peace of East Asia.

Related to this, a campaign to designate Cheju-do as the Island of Peace, began last June, sponsored by the Cheju International Council.

## **2. A center for air and maritime transportation**

The indication appears that Cheju-do may play a connecting rlle to the formation of an economic community in Northeastern Asia. Korea and the U.S.S.R. made an arrangement for Cheju-Khabarovsk-Moscow-St.Peters -burg air route at the Korea -U. S.S.R. air conference. If Korea and China agree to a Cheju-Peking-Shanghai route, Cheju-do will become a crossroads in a Northeastern Asia Community. Cheju-do will become a crossroads in a Northeastern Asian Tour Course.

If developers reach Cheju-do to transform it into "A Second Hongkong or Singapore", imagine the island securing its place as a center of air and maritime transportation connecting Northeastern Asia, Southeastern Asia, America and Europe. It could focus on less environmentally toxic industries such as tourism, banking, trade, communication and the state-of-the art imformation indursty.

## **3. An academic and cultural exchange center in the East Asia Community**

Cheju-do, a central place of East Asia, retains its original cultural form in the fields of language, folklore and society. Therefore, it is a suitable place for studying several fields of learning, such as dialect, folklore, society and international culture. The mild climate and beautiful nature of Cheju-do offer a favorable situation in which scholars and artists may work. Thus, cheju-do will greatly contribute itself to forming a Cultural Community of Asia-Pacific as a center for exchange of learning, culture and art among the Asia-Pacific countries.

It is true that Korea's leadership in this community is small, for its national power is relatively weaker than that of America, Japan, Soviet Union and China, which are great powers in the aspects of politics, economics and military.

However, as it is desirable for Korea to concentrate its energy on forming a socio-cultural community, Cheju-do is expected to play a role of an exchange center for learning, culture and art among the Asia-Pacific countries.

In this respect, we cannot help thinking that the future of Cheju-do is related to that of East-Asia. The present international order shows an era of developing the whole East Asia into one. It is necessary to keep pace with this trend.

Cheju-do is twice as Hongkong and three times as Singapore. It depends on our efforts whether Cheju-do will be a developmental and blessed island in the future or it will fall in the depth of retrogression.

With the purpose of making Cheju in the twenty-first century by our hand, it is necessary to seek counsel and consent of inhabitants in Cheju-do as to what they must do or not do, what is more important is raise up talents for meeting the needs of the international era, to improve laws and systems, to expend the facilities of transportation, to encourage Cheju people to participate in developmental areas and not to increase the number of problems of Cheju-do to be solved.

The desirable future of Cheju-do doesn't depend on a rainbow-colored dream itself, but on the perspective eye for tomorrow and on today striving to tomorrow.

## 동아시아의 평화와 남북한관계 그리고 제주도의 미래

고 성 준

세계적 차원에서의 냉전질서의 붕괴는 89년 몰타에서 있었던 미-소간의 정상회담에서 비롯되나 최근 미·소의 "핵감축선언"은 이제 냉전시대는 돌아올 수 없는 강을 건너갔음을 뜻한다. 바야흐로 미·소관계는 전반적으로 대립과 분쟁을 지양하고 협력과 안정을 기반으로 전개되고 있다.

이러한 미·소간의 새로운 데탕트는 그동안 두나라가 침묵하게 대립해온 동아시아의 국제질서에 큰 영향을 미치고 있다. 또한 소련과 중국의 화해와 일본과 소련의 관계개선이 이루어지면서 동아시아에서도 새로운 질서가 구축되고 있는 것이다. 유럽에서의 빠른 데탕트흐름에 비추어 보면 동아시아의 새로운 질서는 아직은 데탕트로의 전환기에 머무르고 있다고 볼 수 있다. 그러나 동아시아의 평화를 정착하기 위해서는 한반도의 평화정착이 기본적인이라는 인식을 미·일·중·소 네나라가 모두 같이하고 이를 위한 노력을 경주하고 있어 동아시아의 화해적 협력구조는 전망이 밝다고 할 수 있다.

북한은 최근 사회주의권의 변화와 어려운 경제사정의 타개 그리고 새롭게 구축되고 있는 세계질서에 적극 적응하기 위해 대외정책의 변화를 보여주고 있다. 유엔에의 단독가입, 일본과의 적극적인 수교교섭, 미국과의 접촉과 교류의 확대 등은 새로운 외교정책임에 틀림없다. 89년부터 일기 시작한 사회주의권의 변혁에 북한은 대단히 방어적인 태도를 견지해 왔다. 즉 북한은 외부의 변화압력에 대해 '우리식대로 살자'는 전략을 내세워 대응해 온 것이다. 그러나 최근의 내외환경의 변화가 초래한 경제 및 외교적 도전은 '북한식 사회주의'의 방과제를 위협할 정도로 벅찬 것이 되었다. 북한이 '홀로서기식'정책을 고수하면 할수록 1990년대의 로빈슨 크루소에 지나지 않음을 보여줌을 북한의 지도층은 인식하게 된 것이다. 북한은 그동안 지키고 발전시켜 온 사회주의 체제를 유지시켜 가는일이 급선무라고 판단하고 있다. 이와 같은 위기인식은 북한으로 하여금 적극적인 대외경제개방화와 일본 그리고 미국에의 적극적인 접근노력을 기울이게 하고 있다. 또한 통일문제에서도 공존체제에 보다 주력하는 방향을 북한은 나아갈 것이다.

동아시아의 평화와 한반도의 긴장완화라는 새로운 정치적 흐름은 동아시아지역의 경제상호의존성을 높이는 협력체제를 구축하게 하고 있다. EC와 미-캐나다 자유무역지대등과



같은 세계경제의 <지역울타리 쌓기>추세에 발맞추어 아시아-태평양협력체제구상에서부터 동아시아경제권 형성에 이르기 까지 여러가지 형태의 경제공동체 형성노력이 나타나고 있다.

동아시아국가간의 교류와 협력이 가속화되는 동아시아의 새 질서속에서 한·일·중·소·미국이 서로 교차하는 제주도의 국제적 위상은 크게 변화할 것이 틀림없다.

지난 4월 고르바초프는 제주방문이후 제주도자체에 대한 동아시아시대의 지정학적 내지는 경제지리적 가치 등이 새롭게 조명되면서 동아시아의 변화에 따른 제주도의 국제화에 대한 관심이 고조되고 있다.

우선 제주도는 앞으로 동아시아의 평화와 안정을 정착시키는 '제2의 체네바'와 같은 역할을 수행해 나갈 것이다. 국제평화기구, 국제분쟁조정기구, 평화박물관 등이 제주도에 설치되어 동아시아의 평화를 정착시키는데 크게 기여할 것이다.

둘째로 동아시아 경제공동체 형성과 관련하여 제주도가 그 연결고리의 역할을 하게 될 것이다. 소련·중국·일본을 잇는 극동권과 동아시아지역과 태평양연안국가 그리고 유럽을 잇는 해운·항공교통의 중심지로 제주도가 각광을 받을 것이다. 이는 제주도가 동아시아에서의 국제교역의 센터로 발전되어 갈 것을 예고하는 것이다.

셋째로 제주도는 지리적·문화적 특성으로 인해 동아시아의 사회·문화 공동체형성에 이바지할 학술·문화의 교류센터로서의 역할도 기대된다.

이렇듯, 동아시아의 변화는 제주도의 국제화를 촉진하고 있다. 이에 대한 준비물 도민의 중지와 합의를 바탕으로 그리고 중앙정부와의 연계속에 착실히 진행시켜야 할 시점에 와 있다.