

Prospects and Policy Tasks of Inter-Korean Economic Cooperation after the Summits

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I. The Economic Significance of the Summit

After over half a century of separation, South Korea's President Kim Dae-jung and North's chairman of the National Defence Commission, Kim Jong-il held historic talks in Pyongyang which culminated in the signing of 'the Joint Declaration' on June 14, 2000. Even though there have been many agreements between the two Koreas, those were signed by the delegates of both sides. However, this time, since the two heads-of-state signed for the first time since the division of the Korean peninsula, the joint declaration is considered a great historic achievement. That declaration covers following five main points; a) The two Korea's autonomous efforts toward reunification; b) Ultimate unification based on the common recognition of similarities in the two Korea's unification formulae; c) The quick resolution of issues regarding separated families and long-term political prisoners; d) The achievement of the balanced economic development of the two Koreas through expanded economic exchanges and cooperation and stepped-up exchanges and cooperation in social, cultural, sports, health, and environmental fields; e) The continuation of prompt dialogue and consultation between the two governmental authorities for the speedy implementation of the agreement. Among the main points, the most plausible and practical cooperation will begin in the economic field, the fourth point. It is in the economic field that South

Korea can provide immediate aid to North Korea, impoverished and desperate for economic aid. South Korea has consistently implemented an engagement policy, placing priority on the principle of separating business from politics, inter-Korean economic cooperation has resulted in positive outcomes, in spite of the recent political and military instability between the two Koreas. In the same vein, North Korea has endeavored to overcome its economic crisis by means of various diplomatic measures and to normalize its relationship with Western countries.

The inter-Korean summit provided the momentum for expansion of the inter-Korean economic cooperation ranged from private talks to large-scale exchanges on the governmental level, and included further discussion about possible support of social infrastructure projects in North Korea. With the high evaluation of the inter-Korean summit, it is projected that market integration between the two Koreas may be realized, as inter-Korean economic cooperation develops into an economic community. To make it possible, it is vital to consider impending issues regarding the inter-Korean economic cooperation, as well as to review the past economic cooperation between the two Koreas.

II. Current Situations of Inter-Korean Economic Cooperation

1. Achievements

Inter-Korean economic cooperation has been incessantly expanded both in size and in quality,

since 'the 7, 7 Special Declarations' by the South's then President Roh Tae-woo on July 7 1988, made it possible from 1989. In particular, the western countries including the U.S. and Japan wholeheartedly supported inter-Korean economic cooperation, highly praising South Korea's consistent implementation of the engagement policy and its principle of separating business from politics. In 2000, the volume of inter-Korean trade amounted to a record 425 million dollars, even though there was a temporary decrease in the trade due to the South's currency crisis. The Mt. Kumgang project supported by Hyundai Corp., a South Korean conglomerate, has enabled 400 thousand South Korean visits in North Korea to bring about positive outcomes; South Korean people are changing their attitudes toward North Korea and unification. Moreover, the project is believed to have contributed to enhancing inter-Korean economic cooperation. Whereas, simple processing of imported materials or trade of primary products and now it includes direct investment.

Currently, South Korea's inter-Korean economic cooperation consists of trade, such as material exchanges and processing-on-commission trade, and cooperation, including direct investment in North Korea. Materials have been exchanged between the two Koreas in forms of direct as well as indirect trade. In fact, more than 85 percent of the exchanges have been in the form of indirect trade through brokers from a third country. In the

inter-Korean economic cooperation, processing-on-commission trade means that North Korea imports raw or subsidiary materials from South Korea, processes the into finished or semi-manufactured products, and exports them to the South again. Cooperative business is the most developed form of inter-Korean economic cooperation, through establishing South Korean investment corporations in North Korea. The cooperation consists of joint management, joint ventures, and independent investment businesses. The Minjok Sanup Chonghoesa (National Industry General Corp.) established by Daewoo Corp., a South Korean conglomerate, is a model of joint management. A scallop-cultivation industry of LG・Tae Young Fishery Corp. has been run by the North Korean people in the form of a joint venture. The Mt. Kumgang project, the first example of independent investment and operated solely by the South, has been implemented by Hyundai Corp, until now even though the future of this project will be uncertain due to the financial crisis of Hyundai. Other South Korean conglomerates have kept a close eye on the project. As a matter of fact, North Korea has insisted on the joint venture in form of North-South joint investment and North's sole management. However, such a joint venture is hardly expected to realize business profits, because the North Korean management style would not be conducive to improving productivity and making profits.

COMMENT

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李相萬教授の「サミット以後の코리아間経済協力の展望と政策的任務」と題された報告は、準備されたペーパーはペーパーとして、ご自身の経験をも踏まえた最新の情勢に基づいた南北両코리아

の経済交流分析の口頭報告であった。教授の報告は、2000年6月の劇的な金大中大統領の「訪朝」以後、次官級会談が数度開催され、交流が一步踏み出されたところで、同会談は中断されて9か月、

おりしも金剛山で再開された時期になされた。ここでいう「ご自身の経験」とは、北側のエネルギー（電力）供給の整備にあられたことをさす。2001年8月に二度目の訪朝をした教授は、技術交流が自由に行われ目覚ましい変化が起きていることを目撃されたと語った。

2000年6月から12月までの間に確認された成果と方向とを、教授は次のようにまとめられた。均衡発展、統一経済として発展する目標。統一は願っているが、当面、協力のための実践。高位級会談などもこの協力実践に含まれる。北の開放を誘導するのではなく、自ら開放するよう支援するための南北生活共同圏の形成。高位級会談のもとの実務者会議として南北協力推進委員会がおかれ、持続的チャンネルができた。

逆に負の側面については以下の通りである。金正日総書記の「訪韓」が実現されないこと、アメリカにブッシュ政権が誕生したこと、韓国経済が悪化したことの3点をあげて、経済協力関係が違う方向へ進むことを懸念された。そのために改善すべき関係の次元を3つ列挙された。第1に、南北関係。南が北を信頼しなければならない。第2に、南南関係。経済悪化と「訪韓」の中止で国内世論は悪い方に傾きつつある。支援するためにも国民合意が必要とされる。第3に、国際関係。アメリカなどの支援が必要である。しかし、教授自身の最近の情勢認識については楽観的な部分が披露された。暗い関係が転換すれば良いという認識

である。すなわち、第1に、金正日総書記の「訪韓」の実現、第2に、南の政府の強力な指導力の発揮、第3に、韓国経済が好転すれば国民にも心の余裕ができるというものであった。

これに対する筆者のコメントは、まず最後の3点の見通しが、決して明るいものではない事を指摘した上で、改善すべき関係の次元は、4次元であることを述べた。すなわち北北関係があるからこそ、次官級会談が中断されたり、「訪韓」が実現しなかったりするのであって、この点の分析が欠けてはいないかという問題提起である。

もう一点問題提起したのは、国際関係の次元で、三角形を想定するか、四角形か、ペンタゴンか、いずれにしても、日韓関係は、日朝関係を想定すれば重要な三角形の一辺であり、日中関係を想定すれば重要な支えである点の認識が、東アジアの安定を考えた場合必須である。

さらに細かい質問は、経済協力委員会の設置によって南北関係の政治と経済の分離が可能となったと述べたが、では統合はどのようにするのか、持続的チャンネルが出来たというがその保障はどこにあるのかという点などであった。

時間の関係上、教授のお答えは、改善すべき関係の次元は、4次元である指摘を受け止めるという点にしぼられた。なお、フロアーから、筆者が、南北の協力の一例としてあげた「ハンマウム」の製造・販売は、すでに中止されている旨、事実関係についての指摘が、嶋田洋一会員からなされた。