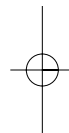
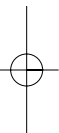
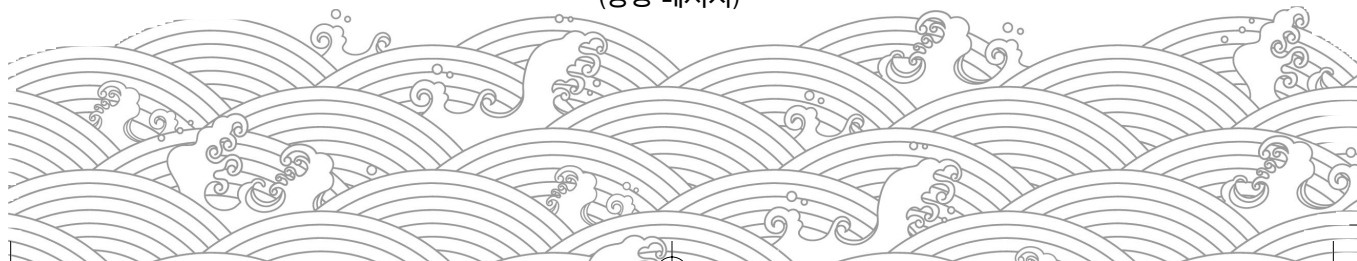


Special Addresses of World Leaders
세계 지도자 특별연설



Mikhail Gorbachev, Former President of the Soviet Union, Russia
(Video Message)

러시아, Mikhail Gorbachev, 前 소비에트 연방공화국 대통령
(영상 메시지)



Greeting Address

Mikhail Gorbachev

Former President of the Soviet Union, Russia (Video Message)

Dear President Kim Dae-jung, Dear Friend,
Distinguished participants in the Conference,

I extend to you my warmest greetings. I think it is a very good idea to meet on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the summit between the top leaders of South and North Korea.

It was indeed a landmark event. Before it, there had not been any serious contacts at the highest level for fifty years. This meeting set in motion a process of thinking and searching for ways of going forward, of working together in ways that would respond to the hopes not only of Koreans in the North and in the South, but also of people living in this region and in the world as a whole. After all, the divided Korean Peninsula is a big problem, inherited from the past years and still unresolved.

Meanwhile, over the years since the end of the Cold War, many issues have been resolved, and a new stage in international relations has been ushered. I am not quite happy about the state of the world today, about how we have used the opportunities that emerged following the end of the Cold War. Nevertheless, this is a new era - and also a different century, when we are living in a global world and we are dependent on one another and need cooperation.

All this I believe must instill in us a hope that even such an admittedly complex problem as the division in the Korean Peninsula must be resolved and will be resolved.

Let me recall that before Perestroika, before the appearance of new ideas and new approaches put forward by the Soviet leadership in the second half of the 1980s, it had seemed that nothing could in fact be changed, that we were heading towards the abyss. Suffice it to recall the arms race, in particular the nuclear race. It seemed that that deadly

train was unstoppable. However, we did succeed in solving this problem. This is a very important precedent. Therefore, when today we look at the situation on the Korean Peninsula, however complicated it is, we must not fall into some kind of despair or even panic. I believe eventually approaches to solving this problem will be found.

Of course, if we had properly used the chances that opened up after the end of the Cold War, we would have conditions more conducive to solving your problem as well. The beginning was a very promising one. There was a military disengagement in Europe; the Vienna Treaty on reduction of conventional weapons was signed. The European Charter was adopted at the highest level - in effect a political platform for Europe. Everyone started talking about a new security structure, about new relations in Europe, about a new world order that was needed after the end of the Cold War. The expectations were high.

Then came the demise of the Soviet Union. It was caused by our domestic problems, by the bitter political strife, when the destructive forces managed to take advantage of the complicated situation and cause the breakup of the Union. This had an enormous impact not only on the situation in our country, in the former Soviet republics, but on international politics as well. We saw the resumption of fighting for spheres of influence, we saw reemergence of geopolitics. As a result we got in Europe a war in Yugoslavia, with the gravest consequences in human lives and destruction. This shameful affair was the disgrace of world politics. And if we look at Iraq, we see a similar disaster, a political mistake that was made.

It is good that the great powers - Russia, Germany and France - have continued dialogue with the leadership of the United States. This is very important: to maintain the dialogue that was born in difficult efforts during the second half of the 1980s. It has to be expanded, as no cooperation can exist without it.

I think now that we've been burnt by such developments as in Iraq and Yugoslavia, a somewhat different approach, a different attitude is starting to emerge, albeit with difficulty, in international affairs. A new hope is rising. It is already clear that to follow the path of domination, unilateralism and diktat is futile, it just leads to an impasse.

It is in this context that I view the situation on the Korean Peninsula, which remains very complicated, even though one can see a glimmer of hope for cooperation. I

think that the United States, China, Russia and Japan, and of course the two Korean states themselves, bear great responsibility and must play an important role here.

That is why it is important today to recall the inter-Korean summit that took place five years ago. I believe its potential can make an enormous impact on the processes of settlement in the Peninsula - on how relations between the Koreans themselves, living in the South and in the North, will develop and grow. This is very important.

You will discuss it in detail during the Conference. I believe that the policy, the approach set by President Kim Dae Jung can serve as a reference point. The significance of this policy has been recognized not only by the people living in the Peninsula. It has been recognized in the world, as reflected in the fact that President Kim Dae Jung was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

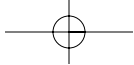
It is very important to give serious thought to all that is related to this policy, to draw lessons from the first meeting of the Korean leaders and from the developments that followed.

It is in this context above all that I would like to greet your Conference. I think it is a remarkable fact that points to some important developments that are taking place and that will ultimately lead to positive changes in the Korean Peninsula.

I would like to wish you fruitful discussions, meetings and dialogues. Perhaps, as a result, some proposals might emerge for that negotiating process, which is now going on with difficulty, with complications and delays.

Though we have heard much speculation and reproaches addressed to the North Korean leadership, I do not believe that they are contemplating some local war, that they are bent on using weapons, etc. More likely, they are concerned with their future, and with the future of the Peninsula, they are thinking how to avoid a situation when their weaknesses could be exploited. That is what I think as a person who has been involved with this region for a long time, as a politician who has had to address a lot of international issues.

Let me wish you success. I very much regret that circumstances are such that I cannot be with you now. This year is special for me - 20 years since the start of Perestroika. I am in a situation when my schedule is fully committed eighteen months going forward



and nothing can be changed. I think you will understand me. However, your Conference will be attended by Vadim Medvedev, one of the most active participants in Perestroika, a colleague and a friend of mine, whom I trust and with whom I have a common position on many issues, including the problems to be discussed at this conference. He will make a speech and present in more detail our views as to what is happening with respect to the Korean Peninsula and on Russia's policy in the region.

My best regards to you, and wishes of every success.

