Analysis on the Reunification Experiences of Germany, Vietnam, and Yemen
Finding an ideal process and conditions towards successful reunification of Korea

A JOO KIM

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Supervisor: Professor P. Coopamah
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Abstract

The outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 divided Korea into North and South and, despite numerous attempts between North and South to reunite, Korea remains the only divided country in the world. The German reunification case is very well known throughout the world. In addition, Vietnam and Yemen reunited after decades of division. This study attempts to draw an ideal process and political, economic, and social conditions that may lead to successful reunification more likely by doing case studies on the reunification experiences of Germany, Vietnam, and Yemen. An analysis and examination on these cases in three different stages – pre-unification, during the unification process, and post-unification – yields the definition of reunification for this project and lessons that can be learned for Korea and its reunification. This study is part of a growing body of research on Korean unification in the 21st century. In using various sources of German, Vietnamese, and Yemeni history; their unification process; and the countries’ political, economic, and social situations post-unification; this project will contribute to future research on similar topics and finding direction of successful reunification of Korea.
Introduction

The outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 divided Korea, which would be under a communist regime, and South Korea, which would have a liberal democratic regime. Until today, Korea remains divided and is the only divided country left in the world. The reunification of Germany on October 3, 1990, is very well known as East and West Germany established the Federal Republic of Germany after almost half a century of division under different governments. Yemen was also another reunited country as North and South became one as the Republic of Yemen on 20 May 1990 after almost a century of division. In addition, Vietnam earlier reunited in 1976.

As Korea remains the only divided nation, this project attempts to find an ideal political and economic process and conditions that will lead Korea to achieve its reunification. In order to do so, this project carries out case studies on the reunification experience of the three aforementioned reunited countries: Germany, Vietnam, and Yemen. After studying and analyzing their political and economic situations and the process of their reunification, I attempt to evaluate each reunification case. This project is divided into two sections: one of case studies on the formerly reunited countries and the other of applying the findings from the case studies to Korea for its future reunification.

In terms of the definition of “reunification,” I have concluded, based on the study on the reunification cases and some “integration” theories, that reunification is a merger of two

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1 Korea is the only divided country in the sense that both sides are sovereign, though North and South Korea do not recognize each other’s sovereignty. The country is split into two from one whole. Each state is not governed by third country but by its own government, while in Ireland, as well as in Cyprus and Mongolia, one side is under the political control of another state or country. Thus, there is a different level of complexity between the case of Korea and that of other countries. Considering this, Korea is the last divided country left in the world after the past divided countries with one national group– Germany, Vietnam and Yemen – have reunited.
sovereign states (though they may not recognize each other – while divided) – that were once one nation-state and were politically, economically, and socially divided – into a single unit with a common government, a single political and economic system, and society with people sharing a sense of community. In addition, the analysis on the earlier reunification cases reveals that several political, economic, and social factors play a role in laying down a smooth road to reunification.

This paper, in particular, examines the reunification cases of Germany and Yemen and draws the lessons that we get from them. Each case-study will be carried out by looking at the major events or attempts related to reunification during the pre-reunification phase of the country, the actual reunification process, and the political and economic situation in post-reunification stage. According to the findings, the German reunification case was successful with a relatively smooth merger of the two states as the German Democratic Republic (the former East) merged into the Federal Republic of Germany (the former West). Although the reunited Germany faced economic downfall for a certain amount of time post-reunification, the country ultimately achieved economic growth and settled the aftermath of the reunification peacefully without further violence or conflicts within the country. The Yemeni reunification, on the other hand, was found moderately successful. During the reunification process, there were numerous violent conflicts between the two states despite many attempts of reunification through political, economic, and social cooperation. Moreover, Yemen experienced a civil war in 1994 even after the reunification and further protests in the South, known as “Southern Movement,” until recently. Though the conditions under which the reunification was achieved and the consequences were less than ideal, Yemen still achieved its reunification by giving each state equal authority through 50-50 power sharing method and remains a united country, which makes
the achievement of reunification itself a success.

This project will be continued in my senior year with the case study on the reunification case of Vietnam and evaluate its experience. The case studies on the formerly reunited countries with their experiences will ultimately lead to the conclusion of this project, finding the ideal process and political and economic conditions towards successful reunification and applying them to Korea.

GERMANY

As a consequence of its defeat in World War II, in 1945, Germany passed its sovereign authority to the allies. Through the Yalta and Potsdam Conference in 1945, the four WWII powers decided to split Germany into four military occupation zones – British in the north-west, French in the southwest, United States in the south, and the Soviet Union in the east. ² While ostensibly insisting that German unity should be preserved, Stalin tried to extend his influence to the Ruhr and other parts of the country which had worthwhile industries to be dismantled. ³ Moreover, he did not want to relinquish the control of the Soviet-occupied zone for the sake of a free, united Germany. ⁴ Thus, only the three western zones with the political leaders like Konrad Adenauer, Ludwig Erhard, Kurt Schumacher, Carlo Schmid and

² Berlin was also split into four military occupation zones.
⁴ Ibid., p. 15.
Theodor Heuss could keep a viable reunification option.

Tensions rose among the Soviet Union and the other three countries and the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany was found to serve the interests of both the Germans themselves and the western allies. Hence, in July 1948, the allies decided to establish Germany’s self-government. The fact that their motives were complementary rather than identical was illustrated by the drafting of the ‘Basic Law’ for the second German republic. Its authors, wishing to underline its provisional character (since they hoped that Germany would unify someday), deliberately avoided the term ‘constitution’. As a result, in 1949, two states emerged: the Federal Republic of Germany in the west with a parliamentary democracy and a capitalistic system; and the German Democratic Republic in the east with a system of totalitarian Stalinist dictatorship.

**Attempts at German Reunification in Pre-reunification Stage**

After the division of Germany, there were many attempts at reunification made by each side of the government in Germany and people mobilizing in the form of protests. Among all the political, economic, and social events or attempts in the pre-unification stage, this section covers only the most significant political and economic events that relate to the relationship of the two states and their reunification. A more complete list of all attempts and events is sound in Appendix.

On May 14, 1955, the Warsaw Pact was established and the German Democratic Republic joined the treaty the day after it was signed. From September 9 to 13, 1955, the West Chancellor Adenauer visited Moscow and the Federal Republic was officially recognized by the Soviet

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5 Ibid., p. 16.
Union. Moreover, the remaining 10,000 German prisoners of war and some 20,000 civilians were released by the Soviet Union. Adenauer accepted the offer from Nikita Khrushchev, Stalin’s successor, that the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union were no longer in a state of war and signed an agreement to establish diplomatic relations.

As Konrad Adenauer preferred “West-integration,” the Federal Republic had to pursue its own avenues of cooperation with Eastern Europe as the precondition for a better modus Vivendi between the two Germanys, while maintaining ties with its western alliance. On January 1, 1958, the Federal Republic joined the European Economic Community (EEC) and on August 13, 1961, it obtained its membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In the meantime, since there were significant numbers of people fleeing from West to East, the Ulbricht regime in East Germany constructed the Berlin Wall between East and West in order to keep people from fleeing. While the West German economy faced prosperity, the industry in East Germany was dismantled and the people did not have freedom within the country - churches were the only places of freedom for the people.

On March 30, 1969, the FRG abandoned the Hallstein Doctrine and Brandt began propelling “Neue Ostpolitik (new eastern policy),” which brought mutual recognition of East and West Germany. In the 1970s, the Transit Agreement was made between East and West German government and the Federal Republic of Germany started to financially support the incoming East Germans to West Germany by giving them welcome donation, travel expenses, medical fees, etc. Moreover, the Basic Treaty was signed between the FRG and the GDR agreeing to develop “normal good neighborly relations on an equal basis, to respect each other’s territorial integrity,

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and to exchange ‘permanent representations’. ” They also agreed to cooperate in trade and industry, science and technology, transport, judicial assistance, posts and telecommunications, health, culture, sport, environmental protection, and other fields. On September 18, 1973, both the FRG and the GDR became members of the United Nations.

During the 1980s, the civil protests continued to grow as well as internal and exterior pressures to reunify and finally, on November 9, 1989, the Berlin Wall fell. With the fall of the Wall, more people including the intellectuals from East Germany entered into the West and the speed of the reunification process accelerated.

At the same time, there were some external circumstances that played a significant role in bringing down the Berlin Wall. In 1979, the international political order was in cold war status. Mikhail Gorbachev, who became the chief secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in March 1985, announced his “Perestroika” in February 1986, emphasizing the openness (glasnost), new thinking, and democracy in political, economic, social, cultural, and diplomatic activities, in order to overcome the severe economic crisis in the Soviet Union and reduce the corruption within the Communist Party and the Soviet government. In addition, he held three Head Summits with President Reagan of the United States and negotiated the control on nuclear weapons and the lessening of the tension between Eastern and Western countries. The Treaty on Abolition of the Intermediate Nuclear Force between the United States and the Soviet Union in 1987 greatly affected the transformation of the international order from the new Cold War system to the new Détente system. Under the influence of perestroika, East European countries such as Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria actively carried out policy

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7 Ibid., p. 26.
reforms until the German reunification took place in October 1990\textsuperscript{10} and the *perestroika* movement led to the dissolution of Socialist regime in Eastern Europe, which eventually brought political changes in East Germany.

The Two-Plus-Four Meetings of the two German States and the four wartime allies – the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union – were held four times in 1990 and ultimately led Germany to settle exterior factors that had been hindering the reunification. The main problems that the two-plus-four countries were covering were the issues on the Oder-Neisse border recognition, the size of German troops, and the removal of the Soviet troops in East Germany. On May 18, 1990, the FRG and the GDR signed the Treaty on the Creation of a Monetary, Economic, and Social Union of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic (MESU). The MESU Treaty went into effect on July 1 and it significantly contributed to the unity of currency, economic system, and labor market.

The preparation for the formal reunification of Germany was then almost reaching completion with the unity in social and economic sectors through the MESU Treaty, the allies’ approvals on Germany’s stay in NATO, the settlement of the Oder-Neisse border, the designation of the capital, the transformation of the fourteen former East German provinces into five states, the establishment of a single Electoral Law, and the size reduction of German troops. Due to the economic crisis in the GDR, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) of West Germany urged an immediate reunification and the East German parliament, on August 22, decided to join the FRG on October 3, 1990. The Unity Treaty was signed on August 31 and the last Two-Plus-Four Meeting was held to finalize the resolutions on Germany. On September 24, the GDR officially seceded from the Warsaw Pact and was officially dissolved on October 2. The day later, on October 3, 1990, German Reunification was proclaimed.

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid. p. 26.
The unification methods provided by the Basic Law and adoption of Article 23

Despite many proposals and plans made on reunification of Germany by the chancellors of each side of Germany, such as the “Ten-Point Plan” by Chancellor Kohl and “Contractual Community” and “Step-by-Step Plan” by Modrow, the fundamental base or method of reunification was provided by the Basic Law of 1949. “The Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany (Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland)” was first drafted in 1948 and was officially written in May 8, 1949, which finally went into effect on May 24, 1959. It was, at first, validated only in the Federal Republic of Germany. However, it implied that the law would be extended and applied to “other parts of Germany,” which implies the GDR, when the incorporation took place. The principal methods of reunification provided by the Basic Law were shown through Article 23 and Article 146.

Article 23 of the Basic Law implied a reunification through incorporation/accession of the GDR into the FRG, which made the reunification process easier and quicker. Article 23 is often called “rapid reunification,” which stipulated that any new territory can adhere to the Basic Law by a simple majority vote. The article indicated that the Federal Government – the government of West Germany – has the authority on the “nation as a whole,” which includes East Germany. A part of the text is as follows:

“... (5) ... To the extent that the legislative powers of the Länder, the structure of Land authorities, or Land administrative procedures are primarily affected, the position of the Bundesrat shall be given the greatest possible respect in determining the Federation’s position consistent with the responsibility of the Federation for the nation as a whole. In matters that may result in increased expenditures or reduced revenues for the Federation, the consent of the Federal Government shall be required. (6) When legislative powers exclusive to the Länder are primarily affected, the exercise of the rights belonging to the
Federal Republic of Germany as a member state of the European Union shall be
delegated to a representative of the Länder designated by the Bundesrat. These rights
shall be exercised with the participation and concurrence of the Federal Government;
their exercise shall be consistent with the responsibility of the Federation for the nation
as a whole...."  

This text indicates that the Federal Republic of Germany has the authority to exercise
power on the “nation as a whole,” implying that East Germany can absorb into West Germany.
In the meantime, the potential problems were: lack of preparation time, increase of economic and
social anxieties (such as unemployment, inflation, and industrial failure), tax increase in West
Germany, and chaos in the capital and labor markets. This method was supported by the
Chancellor Kohl and the CDU under Genscher, the Foreign Minister of West Germany.

The second method, provided by Article 146, to unify gradually and create a new Unity
Constitution when the reunification took place. Article 146 is often called “gradual reunification.”
The text of the article is as follows:

“This Basic Law, which since the achievement of the unity and freedom of Germany
applies to the entire German people, shall cease to apply on the day on which a
constitution freely adopted by the German people takes effect.”

This article particularly points out the expiration moment of the Basic Law mentioning
that it will lose its validity as soon as the two German states become one Germany. In addition, a
new Constitution will be created after free elections and a formation of one single Congress of
the united Germany when the reunification takes place. However, the exact date that the Basic
Law loses its validity was not predicted or decided and this is what made the reunification
process slow and gradual. While achieving unification step by step would have given the two
states enough time to fix potential problems and avoid aftermaths, it would have taken longer

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11 The Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany translated by Inter Nationes.
12 Ibid.
time for two Germanys to reunite. This idea was supported by the opposition party, the Socialist Democratic Party (SDP).

At that time, Article 23 was seen as more ideal to most people in Germany, especially to those in the East. First of all, East German people strongly demanded for reunification and the number of people fleeing East Germany continuously increased. The collapse of the economic and social system in East Germany also led to the adoption of the rapid reunification method as the government needed to protect people’s savings. Lastly, there was a possibility of the resignation of Gorbachev in the Soviet Union and the recession of the Soviet Union’s reformist policy. Thus, rather than taking the longer process of reunification, both Germanys opted to use the quicker process of Article 23 of the Basic Law. As a part of the process, East Germany, which had been unitary since 1952, re-divided itself into its original five partially self-governing states – “Bundesländer” – and agreed to make East and West Berlin into a new city-state (like Bremen and Hamburg).

**Reunification Stage: dealing with external and internal problems**

Although the official reunification of Germany was declared on 3 October 1990, the actual unification process includes relevant events immediately before and after the official German unity day. This section explains the external and internal political, economic, and social problems that Germany had faced in pursuit of reunification and their policies that were adopted to address them. As East Germany was absorbed into West Germany following Article 23 of the Constitution, the unity of politics, economy, and society was carried out similarly: the West German system was extended to East Germany.
**External Problems**

In terms of the external problems, the four World War II powers and the two German states needed to discuss the eastern boundary between Germany and Poland, the size of German military forces, and the continued presence of foreign troops in its territory.

The problem with the international boundaries involved Poland. There was no existing agreement about the boundaries of Germany at that time due to the absence of a peace treaty at the end of World War II. On 17 July 1990, the foreign ministers of the four wartime allies, and those of the two Germanys and Poland settled the boundary question at a meeting in Paris. The united Germany would remove from its laws any language that suggested or implied that the Polish-German border was provisional.\(^{13}\) The new Germany would consist of East and West Germany and Berlin confirming the Oder-Neisse line in treaty without further territorial claim. On 14 November 1990, considering Poland’s special requirements, Bonn and Warsaw signed an agreement that their common border would henceforth remain inviolable and agreed to respect each other’s sovereignty and territorial integrity.

International Alliances were also another part of military problems that the two German states confronted. While East Germany had been a member of the Warsaw Pact, West Germany was a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). After numerous debates on continuing or modifying German participation in these alliances, Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union, at a meeting between Germany and the Soviet Union on 16 July 1990, ultimately agreed to NATO membership for the united Germany. The Federal Republic and the Soviet Union agreed that neither NATO nor German military forces would be stationed in East German

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territory. Furthermore, it was agreed that the size of the military forces of the united Germany would be reduced to 370,000.\textsuperscript{14} The new Germany would renounce nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. In addition, the Soviet Union agreed to withdraw its 370,000 troops in East Germany by the end of 1994 and the Federal Republic agreed to provide financial and economic aid to the Soviet Union – the equivalent of U.S. $2.9 billion in credit and approximately U.S. $8 billion of financial support for Soviet troops during the last six months of 1990; the latter liability, valued at U.S. $750 million, had previously been paid by East Germany.\textsuperscript{15} The Federal Republic also agreed to sign an economic pact with the Soviet Union.

On 12 September 1990, in Moscow, the foreign ministers of the four wartime allies signed the Treaty on Final Settlement with Respect to Germany and relinquished their occupation rights over German territory, which had been established at the Potsdam conference of August 1945.\textsuperscript{16} This is often called the “2+4 Treaty.”

\textit{Internal Problems}

The internal problems that Germany faced before reunification included economic, political, social, and judicial differences as well as the high levels of environmental pollution and industrial hazards in East Germany.

1) Political Sector

Political questions to be settled included the size and boundaries of the states in the East German territory, the capital for the united Germany, the distribution of political power to

\textsuperscript{14} The previous size of the military forces was 490,000 for the Federal Republic and 100,000 for the Democratic Republic.
\textsuperscript{15} Harris, p. 173.
government officials, the elections and the electoral law, and the party balance in the reunited country after the incorporation of East Germany.

East Germany originally had five prewar states - Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, Saxony-Anhalt, Saxony, and Thuringia - which were abolished in 1952 and reorganized into fifteen counties.\textsuperscript{17} Following the Article 23 of the Federal Republic that helped the former German states rejoin the republic, East German politicians agreed to transform the fifteen counties into the five former states in June 1990. Thus, with the existing ten states in West Germany and Berlin, the new Germany would then consist of sixteen states.

As the size of each state affects the distribution of political power, the five former East German states, which have approximately half the population of the ten West German states, took greater representation per capita in the Bundestag, the lower house of the German parliament.\textsuperscript{18}

On 14 October 1990, the five former East German states each held elections. In the elections, the right-wing Christian Democratic Party (CDP) won 43.6 percent of the vote, compared with 25.2 percent for the Social Democrats, and obtained control of legislatures in four of the five states. The victory of the CDP contributed to the rapid process of unification.

In terms of designating the capital for the united Germany, the two Germanys selected Berlin as the capital of the unified country by signing the treaty on 31 August 1990. However, there were controversies on whether Berlin should become the center of government.

People who were in favor of continuation of Bonn as the center of administration argued that shifting the ministries would cost a lot of money; the approximately 100,000 civil servants then in Bonn will need to be moved; there would not be enough appropriate office buildings and.

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid, p. 177.
adequate housing in Berlin; there was enormous investment already made in governmental buildings in Bonn; the government in a small capital would be safer than in a metropolitan area; Berlin was previously associated with the Nazi past; and that Berlin was located only eighty kilometers away from the Polish border. As mentioned in Article 2 of the Unification Treaty, the final decision of the seat of the parliament was left to be decided after the establishment of German unity.

On the other hand, those in favor of Berlin as the heart of government asserted its historic role as the center of Germany, its symbolic value in integrating East Germany into the united country and providing a growth center for the ailing economy of former East Germany, its role as the largest city and cultural center of the whole of Germany, its position in the middle of central Europe and as a gateway to eastern Europe, and the need to counteract the economic effects of the loss of almost 180,000 jobs in the discontinued bureaucracy of the East German government in the city. Meanwhile, after a divided Berlin was unified, East Berlin needed massive reconstructions of buildings. While the West German economy was booming, that of East Germany was shrinking.

The concern with the Electoral Law and the holding of elections was settled by both sides deciding to reunite first and hold elections afterwards under the same election law. Before the unity process, East Germany lacked certain electoral regulations that existed in West Germany. Therefore, the two German states needed to decide whether they wanted to hold the general elections in both sides before or after the reunification. If the reunification takes place first, the West German electoral law would be applied to both sides since East Germany would have become a part of West Germany. The Social Democratic Party (SDP) favored this position. On

the other side, if the elections took place first, the two Germanys would need to apply their own electoral law to the elections. This idea was backed by the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) of both German sides, which wanted to weaken the political power of the Social Democratic Party. After numerous debates on the electoral law, the two German states agreed to hold elections by applying the same electoral law after the reunification. On Oct 4, 1990, the first Congress of the whole Germany was held in Berlin where 144 congress officials from former East Germany participated. On 5 October 1990, the Federal Court of Constitution in West Germany adopted a new Electoral law and confirmed to hold the general elections on December 2, 1990.

The unification of political parties was done through party mergers or widening the sphere of political action of West German parties to East Germany. There were many blocs within the Communist Party in East Germany that developed into actual political parties. As the movements towards political reforms started in East Germany in 1989 and many of the block parties began to cooperate with West German political parties, the CDU in West Germany adopted a resolution that each West German state take charge of one East German state and those two states cooperate with each other. As a consequence, the cooperation between the CDU of East and West Germany was officially started in December 1989. On 1 October 1990, the East German CDU officially joined the West German CDU. The Social Democratic Party (SDP) of East Germany, which was established on 26 September 1989, participated in the East German elections on March 13 with the support from the SDP of West Germany and, finally, joined with the West German SDP on 27 September 1990. The Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) of East Germany was also united with the West German LDP in August 1990. Therefore, while there were some cases where the West German parties extended their activities to East Germany and swallowed some of the East German political parties, the earlier coalitions of the parties of East and West Germany before
the unification ultimately brought positive effects when unifying the political parties and enabled the process to progress rather smoothly.

2) Economic Sector

The provisions concerning monetary union in the Constitution mainly talk about the currency exchange ratio, economic union deal with economic policy foundations, intra-German trade, the relationship with the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) and foreign trade, and other regulations on industries. Lastly, the provisions concerning the budget and finance regulate the principles underlying the Fiscal Policy of the GDR, limitations on borrowing and debts, financial allocations granted by the FRG, customs and special excise taxes, etc. While the process of political and administrative unity went relatively smoothly, unifying the economy and reconstructing East Germany was comparatively troublesome.

There were two methods of unifying the economy. One was to take a grace period and gradually unify the economy; and the other was to rapidly extend Western policy to East. Following the suggestion of the Economic Policy Advisory Body/Organ, the Federal Republic of Germany decided to use the latter method. Although the rapid economic unification method seemed to settle the market relatively fast, it brought with it increased short-term unification costs and the collapse of the former East German economy with massive unemployment problems.

In terms of the economic and financial problems, the main issues were the differences in the value of East and West German currencies, price level differences, contrasting development level of industries and agriculture, and dealing with property rights and privatization.
Regarding the unity of currency, the two states planned to produce 115 billion Deutsch Marks (DM) from the middle of 1990 until the end of 1994 in order to preserve 2/3 of the East German budget deficit. However, as the budget demand in East Germany increased, the amount of the whole fund increased to 160.7 billion DM.

On 18 May 1990, the two German states reached an agreement in Bonn addressing economic and financial matters: the Treaty on the Creation of a Monetary, Economic, and Social Union of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic (MESU). It was signed by the finance ministers of the FRG and the GDR and it went into effect on 1 July 1990. They agreed that the Federal Republic would exchange, within certain limits, valuable, convertible West German marks for the less valuable, nonconvertible East German marks. The MESU treaty included a list of West German economic laws to be transplanted to the GDR and a list of East German laws to be amended or abolished. The Federal Republic also agreed to take on the financial and contractual trade obligations of East Germany. As a result of the MESU Treaty, the first stage of economic unity was achieved between the two states.

However, the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SDP) was opposed to Helmut Kohl’s Rapid Unification Policy. Oskar Lafontaine, the Social Democrats’ candidate for Chancellor, said that a rapid German unification based on the MESU treaty would bring massive unemployment problems in East Germany and great burdens on the West German society. Chancellor Kohl refuted this by saying that it was the right moment for the two Germanys to reunite and suggested that East and West Germany hold elections on the same day: December 2, 1990. Despite the majority support for Article 23, the potential problems under Article 23

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eventually became the reality as the unification took place.

During the first two months of the MESU Treaty, East German industrial production collapsed to less than half of the level of 1989, as East German products found themselves in competition with western products overnight.\(^{22}\) East Germans refused to have most of eastern-made products and the demand for East German products collapsed dramatically. To make matters worse, collective bargaining agreements focused almost entirely on reducing East/West wage gaps with little if any regard for negative employment consequences.\(^{23}\)

Meanwhile, there was also another problem of profound differences in price levels between the two Germanys. In East Germany, prices for certain basic food products and the cost of housing were comparatively lower than in West Germany. Therefore, when the subsidies were removed, East Germans confronted economic hardships with the rise of prices. However, there were not significant countermeasures taken in order to solve such issues and most of the East German food products were replaced by those of West Germany.

Another economic problem was widespread unemployment in East Germany. After economic unification, better-quality West German products displaced a lot of East German items in the markets. Although the East German farmers received financial subsidies from the former East German government, they requested higher subsidies. Unemployment continued to spread in East Germany even after the transition period. One of the examples is the automobile industry – the Trabant automobile factory. While many people had to wait for a long time to get new Trabants in the past, the introduction of West German convertible marks dramatically decreased the demand for Trabants.\(^{24}\) As a consequence, the managers of the factory had to ask for

\(^{22}\) Ibid., p. 183.
\(^{23}\) Ibid., p. 183.
governmental subsidies in order to recuperate the huge losses and many workers at the Trabant factory lost their jobs.

The two German states also needed to make huge investments in communications, railroads, highways, and utilities. In order to make investments, it was necessary to settle land and property rights. In addition, more problems arose that were related to confiscated or expropriated properties. East German lands and properties were confiscated during three different periods: under the Nazi regime in 1933-1945, by the Soviet Union under four-power occupation rights in 1945-1949, and by the communist government in 1949-1990. The property rights of the East Germans who fled to the West and left houses behind during these periods also needed to be evaluated. The Unification Treaty stated that restitution of expropriated property is the preferred solution to property claims. Thus, the two German states, on 15 June 1990, agreed to return all the forfeited properties to the original owners unless the properties were under special circumstances or investments. It was first agreed upon in order to respect property rights and protect the citizens’ assets. However, after reunification, the principle of “return to the owners” conflicted with the field of investment to some extent in which investment was necessary in a territory that was already owned by someone. Therefore, on March 1991 and July 1992, the German government changed the regulation where they continued to keep the principle of “return to the owners” but, at the same time, drastically reduced potential problems by putting emphasis on the principle of “investment first.”

Privatization of East German government assets and securing property rights were mainly handled by the Treuhandanstalt (THA: the Trust Agency). At that time, the THA was the largest industrial enterprise in the world in control of steel works. The agency was under the command of Dr. Detlev Rohwedder, the former CEO of Hoesch steel company. He saw the necessity of

25 Ibid. p. 176.
putting experienced West German managers to main positions in the agency. However, the privatization process itself was done at a relatively slow pace.

Unifying the labor market, which was both an economic and a social issue, was done mostly by abrogating the East German system and applying the West German system to East Germany, and balancing the standard of living of people both in East and West. Before the reunification in 1990, workers in East Germany were not able to freely express their opinions or participate in administrative work of the labor union. The labor unions in East Germany could only negotiate vacation days and social security issues with the government. Working conditions and wages were decided by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED: in German, Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands) and the Executive Branch. On the other hand, in West Germany, the Labor Relations Committee, which was elected by the workers, was able to mediate the conflicts within the companies or industries by talking to the employers about working conditions, operation of the business, and wages. In fact, while East German labor unions mainly played roles of maintaining socialism in East German society, West German labor unions had more reform-oriented characteristics attempting to solve social and labor problems.

The talks on the unity of the West German Trade Union Federation (DGB: Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund) and the Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB: Freier Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund) in East Germany started in late 1989. The attempts at unifying the labor unions partially took place in November and December of 1989. The attempts accelerated after the extraordinary labor congress held on January 31 and February 1, 1990. On 27 February 1990, both East and West metalworkers’ unions in Germany (IG Metall: Industriegewerkschaft Metall, “Industrial Union of Metalworkers”) issued a joint statement on the unity of the metalworkers’ union. Both sides agreed – the actual agreement was signed on 6 December 1989 – on the
interaction between workers and businesses in East and West Germany, joint vocational trainings, and extra training for East German workers. However, the East German metalworkers’ union was highly dependent on West Germany and they eventually decided to dissolve the union and recommended the workers to join the West German metalworkers’ union. The same was done to other types of labor unions, such as the corporation of the West German Chemical-Paper-Ceramic Union (IG CPK: Die Industriegewerkschaft Chemie-Papier-Keramik) and the East German Chemical-Glass-Ceramic Union (IG Chemie-Glas-Keramik). East German labor laws were similarly replaced altogether by West German labor laws.

To address the former East Germany’s economic revival, on 3 March 1991, the Federal Republic government issued a document titled “Joint Measures to stimulate the economy.” The new Germany actively promoted the social security system and higher real incomes in order to advance the national welfare and avoid social conflicts. In order to advocate investments and create employment, the new German government invested 12 billion DM in both 1991 and 1992. Moreover, pursuing the Plan for Boosting Regional Economy, the government invested 14.5 billion DM in the field of commerce and industry and building economic infrastructure. As a consequence, the government was able to create 11,000 jobs in the early 1990s.²⁶

**Post-Reunification Stage: Germany since 1995 until today**

The post-reunification stage indicates the time period from five years after the reunification up to present day. This section covers only the economic situations of Germany from 1995 to present since there have not been significant political changes or conflicts.

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Economy

The objective of economic union after the unification was to increase the average standard of living of the former East German people to the standard of the people of the least prosperous state of the former Federal Republic. Despite the new German government’s annual investment of 25-30% of the Federal budget on the new Federal states - the five former East German states - the new Germany could not get away from the economic crisis until 2005.

As seen in the graph above, there were many ups-and-downs in the GDP growth rate. Germany weathered economic recessions from 1992 to 1994, mid-1996 to 1998, mid-1999 to 2001, and 2005 to mid-2008. The GDP growth rate of Germany was relatively low between 2001 and 2005 as Germany remained under economic crisis. Thus, the German Chancellor, Gerhard Schröder, announced his domestic reform plans “Agenda 2010” in the lower house of parliament (Bundestag) on March 14, 2003. Agenda 2010 was a series of economic and social policy reforms aimed at reinvigorating the German economy and social system, including the labor market. After Agenda 2010 was proposed, the German economy started to boom from 2006 and somewhat overcame the aftereffects of the reunification. However after June 2008, when the

global recession started, the German GDP growth rate considerably decreased.

Meanwhile, East German economy had a tremendous growth compared to its economic situation before the post-reunification stage. Although the unemployment rate in the former East Germany in 2009 was 13% - which was 8.2% higher than that of West Germany – it was also a huge achievement when comparing it to the unemployment rate of approximately 20% since 1997 until 2007.\(^\text{28}\) With the reconstruction plan of the East German economy, the annual growth rate of the East German Gross Regional Domestic Product (GRDP) increased to 11.7% in 2008 while it was 7% in 1991. While the GDP per hour worked in East Germany was 23.58 Euros in 1998, it increased by 37% to 32.42 Euros in 2007.\(^\text{29}\)

**The Total Cost of German Reunification**

The cost of the reunification of 1990 to 1994 was first estimated by the government as 11.5 billion Deutsch Marks. However, actual amount of money spent on the whole reunification from 1991 to 2000 was 2 trillion DM, which is about 1 trillion and 3.6 billion Euros.\(^\text{30}\)

So far, this paper has covered the political and economic aspects of German reunification in the pre-reunification period, during the process of reunification, and post-reunification. The following section talks about what political, economic, or social aspects that Germany and Korea have in common and what factors they do not share.


\(^\text{29}\) The GDP per hour worked in West Germany is about 44.37 Euros.

Common and different political, economic, or social aspects between Germany and Korea

The characteristics that Germany and Korea share are that the division of the country took place due to the cold war following the end of the World War II; and that reunification required that both sides conclude agreements and obtain approvals from neighboring countries. While Germany needed approvals from the four allies – Britain, France, the U.S., and the Soviet Union – Korea needs approvals from three countries – China, Japan, and the United States.

However, the four wartime allies had legal responsibility on Germany while the neighboring countries of Korea do not have any legal responsibility on Korea since Korea did not “lose” in the War. Moreover, Germany chose to hold elections first and adopt a Constitution while Korea plans to draft an agreed Constitution on reunification before holding general elections.

Lessons from the reunification experience of Germany

What can be learned from the reunification experience of Germany?

There are five main ideas that can be learned from Germany. First, it is important to form a democratic political system in at least one side of the divided nation. In this case, South Korean politics should be peacefully settled so that North Koreans have a “South Korean dream” and come together to fight for their freedom from Communism and dictatorship in North Korea. Second, South Korea should continue to develop its economy and show strong leadership. Since the reunification will cost a huge amount of money, South Korea will need to be financially prepared in order to be able to afford to build infrastructures, privatization, and any other pre- and post-reunification arrangements. The President should also show strong leadership and make
the most out of any tendency or movements toward unification when they take place just like the Chancellor Kohl did in former West Germany – “If we don’t get on the unification train right now, we will have to wait longer for the next train to come.” Third, Korea must actively prepare flexible and peaceful reunification strategies that correspond to the changes in the international political atmosphere. Fourth, it is very important to maintain good relationships with neighboring countries. In order to do so, Korea will need to cooperate with each country and build trust through peaceful diplomacy. Lastly, Korea will need to be able to resolve any concerns from neighboring countries regarding Korean unification. Germany signed the NPT, in November 1969, to abandon any armed sources. It also agreed to follow any regulations and objectives of the United Nations and CSCE, to give up ABC weapons, to remain in NATO and EC, to reduce the size of military to 370,000 by 1994, accepted a border settlement with Poland, and signed a nonaggression treaty with the Soviet Union. Likewise, Korea will need to secure peace in Korean peninsula, follow the regulations and objectives of the United Nations when the unification takes place, abandon ABC weapons, and ease the tension in Northeast Asia.

**YEMEN**

The Republic of Yemen was established on May 22, 1990 through the merger of North and South Yemen. Before the unification, North Yemen was a theocratic monarchy, governed by the imam of Zaydis Shiite community, while South Yemen was under a socialist regime. The division of Yemen into North and South occurred from a treaty between the British and Ottoman empires in 1904. In 1962, reformers in the anti-monarchist revolution abolished the monarchy in
North Yemen and proclaimed the Yemen Arab Republic (YAR) with a “free” economy with few legal barriers. In 1963 the National Liberation Front (NLF) was founded in South Yemen and, when the British withdrew from Aden on 30 November 1967, its leaders declared the birth of People’s Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY). PDRY was subsequently governed by a single socialist party with close Soviet ties, while it was also dominated by tribal, Islamic, and leftist fronts overtly and covertly supported by external Arab regimes.\textsuperscript{31}

**Attempts at Yemeni Reunification in Pre-reunification Stage**

There were various reunification attempts and steps in Yemen in the pre-reunification stage, though fewer than in Germany. The reunification attempts from the independence of the North in 1918 to the 1950s were normally carried out by those who wanted to extend their power by unifying North and South, such as Imam and Nasser from the South. In the 1960s, Yemen started establishing institutions for reunification. The pre-reunification period of Yemen that this paper covers is subdivided into three periods: negotiation period of 1972 to 1978, agreement period of 1978 to 1985, and action/practice period of 1985 to 1990. Similar to the analysis on Germany, this section covers the major events that contributed to achieving Yemeni reunification.

1) Negotiation period (1972-1978)

The negotiation period starts from 1972 with the outbreak of the first border conflict between North and South Yemen. This period mostly consists of numerous negotiations made between the North and South as part of the process towards reunification. The tension between

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North and South Yemen accelerated following the border conflict in September 1972, and, through the Arab League’s mediation, the two Yemens signed an armistice. On November 26, 1972, President Iryani of North Yemen and the chief clerk (or secretary general) Salem Rubayi Ali of South Yemen held a three-day summit meeting in Tripoli, Libya, and signed the Tripoli Agreement. This agreement was made on the establishment of the Yemen Republic, Yemeni flag, the capital, state religion, official language, national ideology, etc. However, the Conservatives in North and Saudi Arabia rejected the Tripoli Agreement. Moreover, Saudi Arabia incited the heads of the tribes and military officers in North Yemen to hold anti-unification movements and pressured North Yemen with threats that Saudi Arabia would stop providing financial aid to Yemen if it continued to put efforts into unification.

The two Yemens faced conflicts again after Ibrahim al-Hamdi came to power in North Yemen through a coup d'état in June 1974 and the tensions between North and South rose. Meanwhile, Hamdi encouraged a tribe’s political activities in South Yemen and carried out political reforms in North Yemen, trying to keep a good relationship with South. The improving relationship between the two states irritated the conservatives in North Yemen and, on 11 October 1977, Hamdi was assassinated. After the death of Hamdi, Gashimi, who was supporting the conservative tribes and Saudi Arabia, came to power. However, not long after, on 24 June 1978, he died and the unification talks were ceased with the breakout of a war between North and South Yemen.

2) Agreement period (1979-1985)

The agreement period starts after the outbreak of the second border conflict on February 24, 1979, and continues until 1985. After the murder of two North Yemeni leaders, Ibrahim al-
Hamdi and Ahmad al-Gashimi, Lieutenant Colonel Ali Abdullah Saleh came into power and convened the General People’s Congress. With the North’s invasion of the South on February 24, 1979, the Arab countries urgently called the Arab League Council. On March 5, 1979, North and South signed a treaty ending the war. On March 28 to 30, 1979, Ali Abdullah Saleh from the North and Abdul-Fatah Ismail from the South held a summit in Kuwait attended by the Kuwaiti Emir and reconfirmed the goal of unity, commitments to previous unity agreements (the Tripoli Agreement), and announced unification plans, the establishment of the Constitution Committee, and held a referendum on the new Constitution and the process of reunification.

On December 2, 1981, the North and South signed a treaty of Cooperation and Coordination in the area of government, economy, education and culture, movement of people, and foreign policy. Few weeks later, on December 30, the joint constitution committee approved the draft unity constitution of the single state, which became the basis for the actual unity constitution on 22 May 1990. However, the article pursuing socialism, democracy, and nationalism as the basic national ideology was omitted. Moreover, it did not specifically define whether the institutional system would be a parliamentary cabinet system or a presidential system. It also did not mention the approximate time when unification would take place. By the end of 1985, there had been three Joint Ministerial Committees, four meetings of the Yemeni Supreme Council, and twelve other executive meetings.

3) Action/Practice period (1985-1990)

The action period starts after the discovery of petroleum. With the production of petroleum in 1985, the North Yemeni economy started to boom and there was good public momentum for the Saleh government. On the other hand, the Nasser government in South Yemen was suffering
from economic stagnation and political disorder. As a consequence, South Yemen confronted an armed conflict between the pragmatists led by Nasser and the hard-liners from January 13 to 24 in 1986, which hindered the unification talks between the North and South. On July 21, 1987, the Secretary General of the Social Party of South Yemen, Ali Salem al-Beidh, visited Sana’a to discuss unity and exile issues and the talks regarding the return of the exiles and protection of their rights continued until early-1988. From late-1987 to mid-1988, talks on military conflicts and border tensions were held between the two Yemens.

On April 16 and 17, 1988, President Saleh and al-Beidh met in Taiz, North Yemen, to settle military tensions, jointly develop natural resources, and allow people to move between the two states with identification card. Three weeks later, President Saleh and al-Beidh met again in Sana’a and agreed to continue unity steps and implementation. Both the Taiz agreement and the Sana’a agreement became practical bases for the future unification. In the meantime, Gorbachev’s reform policy in early-1989 influenced South Yemen for its reform as the Soviet Union cut the economic and military aid on South Yemen.

The draft of the Constitution of 1981 was approved and confirmed by the North and the South and the two states also agreed to implement all measures for reunification. From April 19 to 22, 1990, the North and the South signed the Sana’a Accord and announced that they would reunite on 26 May and hold general elections after a 30-month of transitional period. The Unity Constitution was ratified on May 17, 1990, by a referendum with 98.3% of people in favor of the new constitution. It affirmed Yemen’s commitment to free elections, a multiparty political system, the right to own private property, equality under the law, and respect of basic human rights. A few days later, the two Yemens unanimously voted in favor of signing the agreement of the Announcement of the Republic of Yemen. A presidential council for the Republic of Yemen
was jointly elected by the members of the Consultative Council and the presidential body of Supreme People’s Council and the presidential council appointed Prime Minister to form a Cabinet. Finally, on May 22, 1990, the Republic of Yemen was announced in Aden.

As North and South Yemen became one with its declaration of unification on 22 May 1990, Yemen started its transitional period of 30 months. The transitional period was meant “to embrace the process of preparing the future of the Yemeni state and holding general elections for the House of Representatives” and to ensure that the constitution of the single state would not be amended by any agency without such rights to do so. The following section covers the unification of politics, economy, and society and the conditions of the new Yemen. Again, due to the limited space, this section does not cover the unity of whole sectors in politics, economy, and society, but only the areas that took major roles in the reunification process.

**Political Unity**

The politics of Yemen was merged with the North and the South on equal footing. The united Yemen put Islam as its state religion and the Sharia as the main source of legislation and upheld democracy. As Yemen was the only country experimenting with democracy in the Arab peninsula, other countries, including Saudi Arabia, began to guard against Yemen in order to keep democratic movements away from penetrating into their countries. There was also a 301-seat provisional unified parliament. The first Parliamentary elections of the country were held on 27 April 1993. International groups helped organizing the elections and observed actual balloting.

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32 The Sana’a Accord, 1990.
The united Yemen has single legislative, administrative, and judicial authorities and the government consists of the Presidential Council, Parliament, State Council, and the judiciary. Under a transitional power-sharing formula that attempted to balance political power between northern and southern officials until the country’s first democratic elections, Sana’a became the seat of government since the population was a lot bigger in the North than in the South.

As stated in Article Two in the Sana’a Accord of 1990, the Presidential Council of the Republic of Yemen, which is the executive authority of government, was to be a five-person body comprising three northerners and two southerners: a president holding office for five years, a vice-president, and three committee members. Saleh, who was the former North Yemeni president, served as the interim president. The southern YSP leader al-Beidh became the vice president. The three committee members were Quadi Abdul Karim al-Arashi, the former North Yemeni chairman of the Congress; Abdul Aziz Ghani, the former North Yemeni prime minister; and Salem Saleh Mohamed, the former YSP vice-secretary general.

As Yemen has strong traditions promoting consultation and consensus in decision making, the Presidential Council is advised by a consultative council, which consisted of 24 northerners and 21 southerners.

According to the Constitution, the citizens directly elect government officials to serve for four years. The transitional government, therefore, was comprised of all 159 members of the Shura Council from the former North Yemen and 111 members of the Supreme People’s Council from the former South in addition to 31 leaders of the political parties from both sides, as decreed by the presidential council. The former South Yemeni Prime Minister – Yessin Saeed Noman – was appointed as the president of the Parliament and three southerners as vice-presidents. 17 other leadership positions were taken by 10 North Yemeni officials and 7 South
Yemeni officials.

The Cabinet of the transitional government consisted of one prime minister, four vice-prime ministers, and 34 cabinet ministers to carry out administrative work. The position of prime minister in charge of cabinet affairs was taken by a southerner, Haidar Abdallah al-Attas. For the vice-president positions, two from south and two from north were appointed. For the cabinet ministers, 19 ministers were selected from the north and 15 from the south.

According to the Constitution, armed forces are controlled by the Commander in Chief under the supervision of the head of the presidential council. President Saleh was the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces and the positions of the chief of staff and the Minister of National Defense were taken by the former South Yemeni minister of national defense and the former North Yemeni chief of staff. The size of the troops, according to the official announcement at that time, was 65,000, almost the same size as before. Although the transitional government stationed naval forces in Aden and tried to relocate the army throughout the unified Yemen, the troops remained in their former military bases in their former uniforms and the government found it hard to completely unify the troops. One of the factors that hindered military unity was that the Yemen Socialist Party continued to exercise power on the former South Yemeni troops.33

The breakout of the Persian Gulf War on 2 August 1990 also brought huge impacts on the politics of the unified Yemen. During the war, Yemen stood relatively neutral. As Yemen refused to participate in the war, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait – the countries that were not satisfied with Yemen’s unification – applied economic sanctions against Yemen and sabotaged Yemen’s attempts towards democracy. Saudi Arabia even financially supported the conservative tribal

groups and the Islamists and instigated antigovernment movements.

Moreover, terrorist attacks continuously took place in Yemen. When the leader of the Yemeni Unionist Alliance was assassinated, the socialists attempted to assassinate the son of the leader of the Islam reformists. The string of terrorist attacks continued and, until mid-1992, approximately 15 assassination attempts against the government officials such as the prime minister, members of the presidential council, and representatives of the Congress. As terrorism grew, the socialists asked the President to take firm action on political violence and incited labor union strikes. Ultimately, the government promised to hold elections on 22 November 1992 when the transitional period ended.

However, the elections did not take place until 27 April 1993 due to the tensions created by the assassination of southern politicians in Sana’a. Meanwhile, the number of the candidates (3,627) exceeded by ten times the number of the positions (301). In addition, violence erupted during the election period and the voter turnout was less than 50%. Responsibility for the killings was never clearly established, but rumors ran rampant; those accused ranged from northern security forces to mujahideen returning from Afghanisan and venting their anti-Soviet anger on former Marxist officials.

As seen in the Graph 1, the election results were inconclusive: Saleh’s General People’s Congress (GPC) gained 40% of the seats in parliament; Islah, a northern Islamist party whose name means “reform,” was the direct descendant of

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an Islamic front Saleh created in the 1970s to stanch the spread of southern Marxist influence and it gained 21% of the seats; the YSP gained 18% of the seats; and the remaining seats were won by independent candidates and small parties.\textsuperscript{36}

After the election, YSP leaders asserted that they should rule the South and proposed a new federal constitutional system with decentralized political power. In order to avoid antigovernment movements, Saleh asserted to create a three-way coalition government by cooperating with the Islam Reformist Party and YSP, with the General People’s Congress (GPC: the governing party) holding a majority position. However, YSP leaders rejected Saleh’s proposal but insisted on the 1:1 sharing of political power. Although Yemen started out the unification process by adopting the 1:1 balanced unification method, the national institutions were merged so mechanically that they lost coherence. Al-beidh appointed a close associate to be oil minister, but oil revenues were controlled at the ministry of finance, where Saleh’s minister kept the upper hand.\textsuperscript{37} Ultimately, with the continuous impasse, in late April 1994, armed conflict broke out at the cross-border bases between the two armed forces, which were not placed under a single command, and the fighting escalated into a full-scale civil war. President Saleh promised the southerners that he would decentralize government and hold the election of provincial governors and district managers. However, most of Saleh’s post war initiatives were calculated to concentrate power in his own hands.\textsuperscript{38} He amended the unity constitution in mid-1994, removing institutions of joint rule and broader distributions of power and granting himself more executive authority to rule by decree.\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., p. 5.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., p. 4.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., p. 6.
Economic Unity

As the Unity Constitution of 1990 states, the economy of Yemen follows the principles of the Islamic social justice in production and social relations, the establishment of a developed public sector, and the preservation of private ownership and the basis of fair compensation according to the law. Thus, the socialist economic system that denied private ownership was destroyed but the mixed economic system of non-public and public economy was adopted.

In order to unify the economy, Yemen established a special economic committee that consists of five government financial departments, three government-run banks, and seven business companies. The united government decided to use both Dinar (currency of the South) and Rial (currency of the North) during the transitional period; and the exchange rate remained at 1:26 as previously.

Privatization was operated within the limits. In fact, while small factories and land were privatized, land that belonged to foreigners or to great landowners remained nationalized. However, during the privatization process, the government was not able to afford the compensations for the former owners of the properties due to the financial circumstances. Meanwhile, in order to resolve the economic gap among people in the North and the South, the government raised the wages of South Yemeni people to equal level as North Yemeni people.40

After the outbreak of the Persian Gulf War, Iraq cut off economic aid to Yemen due to its own financial difficulties. The United States reduced its aid to Yemen from 22 million dollars in 1991 to 3 million dollars in 1992.41 Saudi Arabia and Kuwait stopped giving financial aid to Yemen and repatriated one million Yemeni workers to Yemen by force. Until then, the former

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North and the South Yemen had been highly dependent on foreign aid – specifically from the Arab countries – and remittances from the workers abroad. Thus, the return of the workers to Yemen brought a huge loss of the means of acquiring foreign currency (which was about four hundred million dollars a year) and the population and unemployment rate rapidly increased.\textsuperscript{42} The Rial currency value also fell as the currency exchange rate with Dinar changed from 14:1 to 35:1. As a consequence of the Gulf War, Yemen had economic loss of approximately 1.8 billion dollars and the inflation increased to 100\textsuperscript{43} compared to 34\% in 1990.

In order to restore the economy, Yemen requested the International Development Association for loans of 33 million dollars and designated Aden a free trade zone to attract foreign investments. Moreover, the government discovered a massive natural gas field in Hadhramaut region and increased the financial revenue from the oil industry by permitting foreign companies to drill. Thus, while Yemen produced 23,000 barrels of oil per day in 1992, it started to produce 30,000 barrel per day after September in 1993 (quotation needed). However, the discovery of the largest oilfield in Hadramaut and the crude oil production at al-Maseela field elevated tensions among the North and the South prior to the civil war in 1994.

Social Unity

As the constitution states, the unified Yemen guarantees the freedom of scientific research and achievements in the fields of literature, arts, and culture. Though Article 19 declares that the state guarantees equal opportunities for all citizens in the fields of political, economic, social, and cultural activities, some social issues with women’s rights arose after reunification.

Before reunification, South Yemen had a monogamous marital regime and encouraged


\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., p. 222.
women to participate in social activities while North Yemen had polygamy and limited women’s activities in the society. Although Article 27 of the 1990 constitution states that “all citizens are equal before the law… and no discrimination shall be practiced based on sex, color, ethnic origin, language, occupation, social status, or religion,” after the unity of Yemen, the state limited women’s social activities pursuing the Islamist culture with polygamous marital system and limited rights of women. While the PDRY required all divorces to go through the courts, denied men automatic child custody, and banned talaq (divorce by the husband’s decree), the circumstances were not anymore the same in the newly established Yemen. The South Yemeni women, whose rights became restricted, started staging protests on the street for the guarantee of their rights.

Additionally, people’s Qat consumption was a big social issue in Yemen. While the socialist South Yemeni regime restricted the consumption on Qat but allowed drinking alcohol before the unification, the Islamist North Yemeni regime did not strictly regulate the Qat production but restricted alcohol. The distribution of Qat per day reached up to worth five million dollars in the mid-1990s and wasted 30~40% of a family’s income. While the consumption on Qat hurts the economic and social development in Yemen, the unified government could not control the production of Qat but only restricted alcoholic drinks following the Sharia.

Additionally, the two states have been using the same history textbooks and allowing people to freely move between North and South since the agreement on education, culture, and communication field was made in 1981. With the establishment of joint schools on the border area, the creation of common textbooks and television or radio programs, people in Yemen had

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less hostility among them after reunification.

However, after the Gulf War broke out and the workers were repatriated to Yemen, the unified state confronted more social problems of housing shortage and electricity and water availability. In addition, after Saudi Arabia and Kuwait stopped giving financial aid to Yemen, the government could not afford to pay the wages of the school teachers and 30,000 foreign teachers had to move to other countries. Some schools in North Yemen were not able to operate properly.

Post-Reunification Stage: Yemen since 1995 until today

Politics

The Supreme Elections Committee that consists of seven members selected by the president supervises the provisions of General Election Law 27 of 1996. The main parties in Yemen are the General People’s Congress (GPC) and Islah (Islamic reform Party). Other parties include the Yemeni Socialist Party (YSP), the National Arab Socialist Baath Party, and the Nasserite Unionist Party. The second elections for parliament occurred in April 1997 and the parliament selected the president of Yemen until 1999. In the April 1997 elections, the GPC won 189 seats, the Yemeni Congregation for Reform (Islah) 52, the Nasserite Unionist Party 3, the Baath Party 2, and

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independent candidates. While the GPC continued to hold the majority seats, some parties pushed for certain programs. The Islamists, for example, pushed for legislation mandating Islamic banking practices, forcing President Saleh to pressure GPC members to sustain his veto of the measure. Today, the Yemeni parliament still is short of the resources necessary to challenge the executive and internal divisions between parties in parliament limit its effectiveness as a viable political challenge to the executive. The parties growing under certain personalities with power and not as institutions, is one of the factors that hinder democracy in Yemen. However, recently, party policy is increasingly shaped by democracy inside the party and not by the dictates of the party leader.

Meanwhile, Saleh continued to be the President of Yemen until April 2012. As Longley noted, “Saleh had a free hand to use public funds for his campaigns and to promote the GPC in general … services poured into poverty stricken areas in the name of Saleh and his party.” The tumult of the Civil War in 1994 reverberated, even until recently, in the action of the Southern Movement. People, even the southern tribal leaders who held the president’s confidence, soon lost trust in Saleh as they realized that he intended to keep power. When Saleh attempted to build a patronage system in the South, the tribal groups did not participate in Saleh’s tribal politics, but instead, joined other leading social figures to put more pressure on Sana’a. A group in the South – the “Public Forum for the Sons of the Southern and Eastern Provinces” – even wrote a letter of complaint to Saleh speaking for the people’s grievances in their regions.

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50 Ibid., p. 183.
51 Ibid., p. 183.
52 Qtd. in Sorenson, David. P. 181.
In May 2007, former southern military officers, who had been forced into early retirement after the 1994 war, began holding weekly sit-ins on the street asking for better compensation. Their participation in the Southern Movement symbolized South Yemen’s loss of statehood in 1994 with the North’s military victory. The protests gained further momentum since Saleh was not able to pit tribe against tribe and faction against faction in the south and eventually, the protests grew from hundreds to tens of thousands.

While the early movements demanded “equal citizenship” and increased powers of local government, by the end of 2008, the objectives became radical and the protestors asked for “southern independence” and secession. In April 2009, Sheikh Tarq al-Fadhli, a former southern ally of Saleh who assisted Saleh’s GPC during its showdown with the YSP in the early 1990s, announced his participation in the Southern Movement, which meant more than a break with Saleh’s regime. Al-Fadhli clearly changed the character of the Southern Movement, which grew more violent and militaristic after his joining in the opposition leadership in 2009.

**Economy**

In March 1995, the government cut the subsidies on oil and electricity and doubled the prices. Violent protests immediately followed. More subsidies, including water and oil, were ended in January 1996 and the government cut fuel subsidies in 2006, leading to more protests especially by farmers who were dependent on subsidies.

The economy of Yemen in the post-unification stage was still in stagnation. Yemen has attracted international developmental aid of 191 million dollars from the International Monetary Fund.

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54 Ibid., p. 8.
Meanwhile, Yemen also has a significant external debt. In 1996, Yemen borrowed 80 million dollars from the World Bank to reform trade policy, privatization, and the phasing out of price controls. The same year, the World Bank advanced another 365 million dollars in loans over a three-year period to 1999 and the European Union also granted approximately 62 million dollars to Yemen. However, the economic reforms were carried out slowly. Thus, in December 2005, the World Bank reduced its assistance to Yemen by 34 percent, concluding that Yemen had failed to combat corruption and, moreover, skewed subsidies from oil revenues disproportionately away from Yemen’s poor. However, Yemen’s access to external rent continued. In 2009, Saudi Arabia directly paid 2.2 billion U.S. dollars to Yemen and the United Arab Emirates followed by lending 700 million U.S. dollars to Yemen.

Yemen has little oil and limited gas reserves (around 4 billion barrels of oil and 16.9 trillion cubic feet of natural gas), and has been developing an infrastructure to produce and export petroleum products. Oil and gas account for approximately 90% of Yemen’s exports and almost 75% of government revenues. As the state lost the remittances and developed the oil industry, the balance of power rapidly switched from a remittance-rich (relatively autonomous) citizenry and a poor state, to a poor (relatively economically dependent) citizenry and an oil-rich state.

According to 2010 statistics, Yemen has a high population growth rate, swelling its

57 Ibid., p. 187.
58 Ibid., p. 187.
59 Ibid., p. 187.
60 Ibid., p. 186.
population of 21 million by 3.5 percent each year, and a high unemployment rate of 35 percent. Privatization is still under process.

Social Aspects

Along with Article 27 of the 1990 constitution, the General Election Law of 1996 allowed women to vote and run for political positions. Islah has welcomed women members, though it has no platform to advance them to higher positions within the party. Nowadays, women hold 18% of Islah’s total party membership, 10% quota in the GPC, and 30% in the Socialist Party, while the Nasserite party supported proportional membership over a quota. Women have been able to have partial access to the government through the Women’s national Committee that was founded in 1996 as a consultative committee and they also had membership, though only thirty-three positions out of seven hundred, in the Permanent Committee of the GPC. However, there are no women in the thirty-member cabinet. The highest ranking woman in government is Undersecretary of Information Amax Aleem al-Sosowa, who objected to a measure lifting the ban on marriage for girls under fifteen. In fact, numerous women who attempted to run for parliamentary elections or enter politics were often personally attacked or divorced.

Qat production not only caused economic problems but also social problems in Yemen. Qat leaves produce a mild narcotic stimulation when chewed in large quantities, and the habit permeates Yemen. According to a survey by the Central Statistical Organization in 1999, qat and cigarettes together take 17.3% of the total family budget on average and the north has high

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63 Ibid., p. 185.
64 Ibid., p. 185.
65 Ibid., p. 185.
66 Ibid., p. 185.
67 Ibid., p. 187.
levels of importation of food since a lot of its land is planted with qat.\textsuperscript{68} In fact, qat is produced in one-fourth of the irrigated land in Yemen. Concerning further social and economic problems, the government prohibited the public officials’ use of Qat in 2010.

**Common political, economic, or social aspects between Yemen and Korea**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Common Features</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Yemen</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Homogeneous population</td>
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<td>- Same language</td>
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<td>- Long history</td>
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<td>- Strong national consciousness</td>
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<td>- Colonial period $\rightarrow$ independent (militarily confronting situation)</td>
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<td><strong>Korea</strong></td>
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**Different political, economic, or social aspects between Yemen and Korea**

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<th>Different Features</th>
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<td><strong>Neighboring countries</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Yemen</strong></td>
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\textsuperscript{68} Ibid., P. 187.
Mediations by Arab countries in war-status

Korea

U.S. vs Soviet Union (cold war status), No mediations by neighboring power-states on peacemaking efforts between North and South Korea

Stronger social control power

N: The communists’ liberal social reform
Dictatorship → no changes in regime

S: Liberal Democracy, Strong government, Economic growth/successful

N: economy grew to a certain point → stagnation
S: industrialized country (almost developed country)

Prohibited movement of people, More strict social control, Contrasting ideology and North lacking civil liberties

N: Ruling elites in different class itself

Common characteristics between North Yemen and South Korea; South Yemen and North Korea

<table>
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<tr>
<th>North Yemen &amp; South Korea</th>
<th>South Yemen &amp; North Korea</th>
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| - Democracy (different political ideology BUT before they became democratic, had a long period of military regime)  
- In earlier stage, political anxiety existed  
BUT later, overcame the conflicts and achieved economic development | Prepared to unify by force if necessary |

Meanwhile, there are two things that commonly take place in both countries before the reunification takes place. One is that each side tries to undermine the government of the other side by encouraging the dissents in effort to de-legitimatize the other side. The other is that each side considers that the legitimacy of the nation’s history is on its own side.
Lessons for Korea from the reunification experience of Yemen

What are the lessons that can be deduced from the reunification experience of Yemen? First, just like Germany, it is very important to build good political and economic cooperation-relationship with exterior powers. Regarding Yemen, the Arab countries often mediated the conflicts between North and South Yemen and provided financial aid when necessary. They even considered Yemen unity as Arab unity. In the case of Korea, the exterior powers would be China, Japan, and the United States. Although none of the three countries actively promotes Korea’s reunification, there are many political and economic cooperation attempts between Korea and these countries. Second, each side of a divided nation needs to recognize the other side as a sovereign state and build trust. Currently, despite membership in the United Nations, North and South Korea does not recognize each other’s sovereignty but rather hostility exists between the two governments. Third, the two states should continue economic and social cooperation and regularly hold reunification talks in peaceful manners. Lastly, not only the agreements should be reached between the governments, but also between the people. No matter how many times the governments call for reunification, if the desire for reunification is not in the people, it would be hard to build a sense of community among people.

Meanwhile, there are theories on integration to further examine the past reunification experiences. There are five “integration” theories that I have encountered: Deutsch’s Theory, Functionalism, Neo-functionalism, Leon Lindberg’s Theory, and Federalism.
“Integration” Theories

1) *Deutsch, Security Communities and the Pluralist Model*

Karl A. Deutsch (1912-1990) was a 1938 German-Czech refugee. He, in Political community and the North Atlantic Area (1957), employs the pluralist/transactionalist model in order to explain an integration theory framework. He and the collaborators compared “ten historical cases of integration” and concluded that “successful integration required a sense of community – a ‘we-feeling’ – among the populations of the integrating territories, a core political area around which this community could coalesce, and a rise in administrative capabilities to meet the challenge of an enlarged domain.”

Deutsch’s model is resolutely top-down in its view of political agency and it fails to explain what role non-political-elite and non-state actors play in integration process.

2) *Functionalism and Neo-functionalism*

Contrasting to Deutsch and the pluralists, the functionalists and neo-functionalists advocate a bottom-up approach to integration and emphasize “the economic, social and technological factors which, by much less direct processes, are said to bring about political change.” For functionalists and neo-functionalists, institutional factors are important for integration.

David Mitrany, a functionalist theorist, stresses the role of mid-level bureaucrats, technocrats and businessmen, envisioning the proliferation of “flexible, task-oriented

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international organizations” to formalize political integration at regional level.71 In this process, political elites are postulated to have less driving role but a supervisory one.

The neo-functionalists are typically associated with the liberal theory of international relations and do not postulate integration extending to military matters. Ernest Haas, a neo-functionalist theorist, in The Uniting of Europe (1958), suggests the concept of spill-over of integration and defined political integration as “the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities towards a new center whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states.”72 Haas’ spill-over logic explains the emergence of defense cooperation through the logical expansion of integration from economic and political fields to security and defense.73 Haas asserts that changes in the attitudes of key decision-makers and interest groups are what derive the spill-over of integration.

3) **Leon Lindberg’s Theory**

Leon Lindberg, in his study of the early EEC, The Political Dynamics of European Economic Integration, defines integration as: (1) the process whereby nations forgo the desire and ability to conduct foreign and key domestic policies independently of each other, seeking instead to make joint decisions or to delegate the decision-making process to new central organs; and (2) the process whereby political actors in several distinct settings are persuaded to shift their expectations and political activities to a new center.74

72 qtd. in Ismail, Sharif (see Haas 1958: 16).
74 qtd. in Laursen, Finn (see Lindberg, 1963:6).
4) **Federalism**

Federalism advocates federal principles and is the broadest category of integration theories. Amitai Etzioni, a German-Israeli-American sociologist, defines integration as a process leading ultimately to the creation of new political communities.\(^75\) For him, “a community is established…when the maintenance of its existence and form is provided for by its own processes and is not dependent upon those of external systems or member units…[it] is thus a state, an administrative-economic unit, and a focal point of identification.”\(^76\) He asserts that a political community is a community that involves three types of integration:

- It has effective control over the use of the means of violence (though it may ‘delegate’ some of this control to member-units);
- it has a center of decision-making that is able to affect significantly the allocation of resources and rewards throughout the community;
- it is the dominant focus of political identification for the large majority of politically aware citizens.”\(^77\)

While integrating power – which may be coercive, utilitarian, or identitive – is the key factor in political integration, Etzioni also emphasizes that integration is in the control of political elites. On the other hand, his theory does not cover whether or not non-elites play an active role in integration.

**Application of the theories and evaluation**

Although each of these theories has its own term of integration, however, none of them fully explain the reunification cases of this project. The theories mentioned above are more likely

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\(^76\) qtd. in Ismail, Sharif (see Etzioni 2001:4).
\(^77\) qtd. in Ismail, Sharif (see Etzioni 2001:4).
explaining the integration of multiple nations, such as the formation of the European Union. The reunification that this project is looking into is distinct from the integration that these theories describe and it is defined as “a merger of two sovereign (though each state may not recognize each other before in division-status) states – that were once one nation-state and were politically, economically, and socially divided – into a single unit with a common government, single political and economic system, and society with people sharing a sense of community.”

In addition, while the theories emphasize more of the roles of the elites in the integration process, the German and Yemeni reunification cases were not exactly achieved by the roles of the elites, nor the middle-class people, nor the institutions in the country. In Germany, the civil movement played a big role in bringing the dictatorship down in the South before the reunification took place. Although the characteristics and objectives of the protests varied as time went by, the active participation of the people in the protests greatly influenced the political, economic, and social atmosphere in Germany in pre-reunification stage. In the case of Yemen, the exterior powers – mainly the Arab League – had great impacts on bringing the two Yemens together. The less-restricted movement of people through the border also kept people with strong national consciousness and homogeneity, which ultimately made it easier to bring unify the society after the reunification. Thus, the theories’ emphasis on the roles of the elites in unification process does not apply to the reunification cases of Germany nor that of Yemen.

Meanwhile, there are some ideas from the theories that can be applied when explaining reunification. The “sense of community” emphasized by Karl Deutsch as an important factor of “integration” is one of them. He defines it as “a belief on the part of individuals in a group that they have come to agreement on at least this one point: that common social problems must and
can be resolved by processes of ‘peaceful change.’"78 I agree with his idea to the level that it is necessary for the people of a newly unified group or nation-state to share feelings of community and “together-ness” in order to avoid conflicts due to the social and cultural differences. Thus, the existence of “sense of community” among people is an important means of peaceful adjustment towards a successful reunification of a nation.

When applying my definition of reunification to the German case and Yemeni case, I can conclude that the reunification of Germany was successful. Although the method taken for reunification was mainly to absorb the GDR into the FRG by extending the West German authority to the East, Germany stabilized the reunited country with common government and single political, economic, and social system. Although whether or not people shared a sense of community cannot be exactly measured, it can be assumed that the people somewhat accepted the “new community” since there was no civil war between the former East and West people nor against the government.

On the other hand, the reunification of Yemen was relatively unsuccessful. The main reason can be found in the outbreak of the civil war in 1994 after the reunification in 1990. Although the country reunited with 50-50 power sharing method, Saleh regime took over the majority of the power. The military was not under single but separate control, which eventually led to the border conflict in 1994 as the initiative of the civil war. The agreement on joint development of petroleum somewhat helped establish a common economic system in the country, however, the people in Yemen were not able to build a complete sense of community as the Southerners started protesting against Saleh regime, asking for the secession and the independence of the South. Although the government seemed to solve more internal conflicts in

2000s, the continued Southern Movement until recently clearly reveals that the reunification of Yemen was not “successful.”

Conclusion

As shown all above, Germany and Yemen went through numerous meetings, conferences, and agreements in attempts to reunite. The process of German reunification proceeded much more rapidly than it had been anticipated. However, it was still a peaceful reunification. Due to the willingness of the Soviet Union to give up its control on East Germany and the disintegration of the communist government in East Germany made the reunification even more likely. The strong West German economy played a significant role in rebuilding the new German society and in financially supporting in the repatriation of Soviet troops. The majority of the political and economic problems were settled before the declaration of the united Germany and the aftermaths of the reunification were gradually solved despite several economic crisis in Germany.

Yemen’s unification process was heavily influenced by the discovery of oil in the North in 1984 and by internal divisions that weakened the South in 1986. As Stephen Day evaluates in the Carnegie Paper series, Yemen’s oil deposits near the North-South border were modest by the standards of the region, but they provided incentives for the South to cooperate in joint exploration.79 The power-sharing formula during the transitional period of thirty months that intended to balance political power between North and South until the country’s first democratic elections did not seem to properly work out as the country faced a Civil War in 1994. Moreover,

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the Southern Movement, which became a violent political movement in attempt to secede and obtain independence of the South, clearly proves the imperfect reunification process in the 1990s. Although President Saleh resigned, the Southern Movement in Yemen represents the necessity of a political solution, instead of using military or counterterrorism, and a peaceful national reconciliation. However, despite the conflicts, Yemen ultimately achieved reunification without one side actually seceding from one whole and the achievement of reunification itself makes the experience of the country “moderately successful.”

With the lessons learned from the reunification experience of Germany and that of Yemen, Korea will need to set ideal political, economic, and social conditions and an ideal process toward unity in order to achieve a successful reunification in the future. The political, economic, and social conditions that will lead to successful reunification, which were found by examining each reunification case, are maintenance of good diplomatic relationships with neighboring countries, continuous cooperation or peaceful arrangements between the two states in political, economic, and social sectors, recognition of one’s sovereignty as a state, formation of democratic political atmosphere and economic development (at least in one of the two states) and build of trust, and mutual agreements between the governments and the people.

In order to complete the project, I will be carrying out the last case study on the reunification of Vietnam, evaluate its experience, and find lessons for Korea. Ultimately, I will be studying the political, economic, and social conditions of Korea and seek for an ideal path or plan towards successful reunification, considering the lessons from the former reunification experiences of Germany, Vietnam, and Yemen.
Appendix A – Timeline for German Reunification

• March 10, 1952: Stalin’s note to the western powers.
• June 17, 1953: brutal demonstrations for more freedom and better living conditions took place in East Berlin and expanded to other 272 cities and towns
• July 1, 1953: Chancellor Adenauer submitted an emergency measure of unification to the Bundestag
• October 23, 1954: Nine-nation talk was held in Paris and agreement on the Federal Republic’s accession to NATO was made.
• May 9, 1955: The Federal Republic’s reacquisition of sovereignty and its accession to NATO
• May 14, 1955: The Warsaw Treaty was established.
• May 15, 1955: The German Democratic Republic joined the Warsaw Pact.
• July 18, 1955: The Summit Meeting in Geneva of “The Big Four (Britain, France, U.S., and the Soviet Union) – discussions on peace and the two Germanys
• September 9-13, 1955: the Chancellor Adenauer visited Moscow and (not only the Federal Republic was officially recognized by the Soviet Union but also) the remaining 10,000 German prisoners of war and the repatriation of some 20,000 civilians were released.
• September 20, 1955: The treaty – Treaty of Friendship – on relations between the USSR and East Germany.
• September 22, 1955: Chancellor Adenauer clarified his power of representation and the Hallstein principles in the Congress
• January 1, 1958: The Federal Republic joins the European Economic Community (EEC)
• March 25, 1959: De Gaulle advocates the unification of Germany keeping the Oder-Neisse border
• June 30, 1960: Herbert Wehner’s statement in the Bundestag regarding German foreign policy.
• August 13, 1961: The Ulbricht regime constructed the Berlin Wall in order to keep people from fleeing into the West and prevent East Germany’s demographic and economic depletion. West Germany’s membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).
• August 16, 1961: The movement of East German people to West Germany was prohibited.
• November 15, 1961: The Stasi archive, in which the records of East Germany’s political violence are stored, was established in Salzgitter. The archive held documents on Politburo decisions and directives that might prove crucial in prosecuting the former East German party hierarchy. 80
• June 6, 1962: Adenauer proposed to the Soviet ambassador in Bonn “a kind of ceasefire for ten years.”
• December 17, 1963: A treaty on the Berlin border pass was made and the West Germans were permitted to visit their relatives in East Germany
• December 31, 1966: Ulbricht announced his Ten Point unity plans
• March 18, 1968: Chancellor W. Brandt from the FRG recognized the Oder-Neisse border

line (W. Brandt became the Chancellor or the prime minister in October 21, 1969)

- October 28, 1969: Brandt began propelling “Neue Ostpolitik” (new eastern policy), which brought a mutual recognition between East and West Germany.
- August 11, 1970: The Treaty of Moscow
- December 7, 1970: The Treaty on Normalization of the Diplomatic Relations between West Germany and Poland was signed. The Oder-Neisse border line was recognized.
- September 3, 1971: The Four Power Agreement on Berlin
- December 17, 1971: The Transit Agreement between East and West Germany
- April 12, 1972: A trade agreement was made between East and West Germany
- May 17, 1972: Bundestag decided the basic principles on German political policies and foreign policies
- July 1, 1972: The Federal Republic of Germany started to financially support the incoming East Germans to West Germany (Welcome donation, travel expenses, medical fees, etc.)
- July 24, 1972: The FRG set up telephone services in 32 regions in East Germany
- August 16-September 11, 1972: Germany’s participation in Munich Olympics as a unified team (Germany had been forming a unitary team in Olympics from 1956 to 1964)
- August 26, 1972: East and West Germany discuss joining the United Nations together
- December 21, 1972: The Basic Treaty was signed between East and West Germany. They also agreed to cooperate in trade and industry, science and technology, transport, judicial assistance, posts and telecommunications, health, culture, sport, environmental protection, and other fields.
- January 4, 1973: The treaty on tourism was signed between the two German states.
- January 31, 1973: The border committee of the FRG and GDR held a meeting to clarify the border line
- June 12, 1973: The GDR applied for its membership in the UN.
- June 15, 1973: The FRG applied for its membership in the UN.
- September 18, 1973: Both Germanys became the member of the UN.
- November 23, 1973: A meeting on environmental protection was held.
- November 27, 1973: A meeting on cooperation in culture and technology was held.
- December 19, 1974: The agreement on the Berlin border pass was signed.
- March 30, 1976: The Postal and Phone Service agreement
- October 13, 1980: In Gera, Honecker suggests the Four Gera Requirements to normalize the relations between the FRG and the GDR.
- December 11-13, 1980: Chancellor Schmidt visited the GDR. The third German head summit was held.
- October 1, 1982: Helmut Kohl was appointed as Chancellor
- April 28, 1983: Honecker from the GDR cancelled his visit to the FDR under the pressure from the Soviet Union
- November 15, 1983: The New Postal and Phone Service agreement was made
- July 25, 1984: A bank in the FGR provided the GDR the loans of 95,000,000 DM (9.5 hundred million DM).
- January 15, 1985: 168 East German citizens in the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Prague were exempted from punishment and were repatriated to East
Germany

- September 18-20, 1985: Billy Brandt was invited to visit Honecker in East Germany
- November 31, 1985: The automatic dischargers and the mines on the border were removed
- May 6, 1986: The Agreement on the Culture was made.
- June 7-9, 1987: A conflict between the East German youths (who wanted to listen to the radio broadcast on a rock concert in West Germany) and the police broke out. Two days later, 3,000 East Germans staged protests asking for the removal of the Berlin Wall and shouting Gorbachev slogans
- June 12, 1987: President Reagan from the United States visited the FRG and urged to remove the Wall
- August 26, 1987: The FRG raised the “welcome donation” from 30DM twice a year to 100DM per year
- September 7-11, 1987: Honecker visited the FRG
- September 8, 1987: Agreements on Science and Technology, Environment, and Radiation Research were made
- November 9, 1987: The Cultural Cooperation Agreement was made
- August 15, 1988: The GDR builds a diplomatic relationship with the EC
- October 24, 1988: Chancellor Kohl visited the Soviet Union
- January 15, 1989: A protest of hundreds of people asking for freedom of assembly and press in Leipzig. 80 people were arrested.
- March 11, 1989: Gorbachev reaffirmed to abolish the Brezhnev Doctrine with the Secretary-General of Hungary during his visit to the Soviet Union
- May 2, 1989: The removal of the Hungary-Austria border. More East German people crossed the border and went into West Germany
- June 12-15, 1989: President Gorbachev visited the FRG
- August 19, 1989: 600 East German youths escaped to West Germany through Austria.
- August 25, 1989: Chancellor Kohl promised Hungary to supply loans of 500 million MD and agreed to abolish the Travel Agreement with the GDR.
- September 4, 1989: The first “Monday Protest” was held in Leipzig and 1,200 protesters asked for freedoms of travel, press, and assembly.
- September 10, 1989: The first East German civic group “Neues Forum” declared its formation
- September 11, 1989: Hungary opened its border to let East Germans move to West Germany
- September 24, 1989: During the United Nations Conference period, Genscher held a meeting with the representatives of the Soviet Union, Poland, and Hungary in order to negotiate the East German people’s exit permit.
- September 25, 1989: National protests broke out under Neues Forum’s management in Leipzig
- September 27, 1989: Another massive protest took place in Leipzig
- October 2, 1989: Approximately 20,000 people participated in “Monday Protest” in Leipzig. The East German police responded violently.
- October 4, 1989: Another protest took place in Leipzig.
- October 7, 1989: Gorbachev attended at the 40th National Foundation Celebration and urged East Germany for its reforms. More protests took place in a number of cities in East
Germany.
• October 9, 1989: Approximately 70,000 people participated in the protest in Leipzig with the slogan “Wir sind das Volk (We are the People).”
• October 10, 1989: East German political parties started to criticize Honecker
• October 16, 1989: Another protest of 120,000 people in Leipzig took place. Despite Honecker’s command to violently react to the protest, the police did not obey his command.
• October 18, 1989: Erich Honecker, the long-time, hard-line communist leader of East Germany resigned and Egon Krenz was elected as the successor on October 24, 1989.
• October 23, 1989: 300,000 people participated in the Leipzig protest.
• October 31, 1989: Krenz visited the Soviet Union
• November 4, 1989: At the Assembly on Culture and Arts in East Belin, the biggest protest of 2 million people took place, asking for reforms, freedoms of press and assembly, free elections, abolition of the dictatorship in the Socialist Union Party, and the creation of opposition parties.
• November 9, 1989: The Fall of the Berlin Wall. Guenter Schabowski, a member of the East German Politburo mistakenly reported at a news conference that the border would be immediately open. More intellectuals from East Germany moved to West Germany.
• November 10, 1989: The foreign policy minister of the Soviet Union held a four-nation talks in order to discuss the situation of Germany
• November 11, 1989: West Germany urged East Germany for its national, economic, and social reforms
• November 12, 1989: Gorbachev promised to provide aid in lifting the border
• November 13, 1989: About 200,000 people participated in the Leipzig protest asking for free elections. Modrow government was established and Modrow suggested establishing “Vertragsgemein-schaft (Contractual Community Relationship)” between East and West Germany. More than 3 million East Germans crossed the border and West Germany paid each of them with 100 DM.
• November 17, 1989: 100,000 people protested in East Berlin. 30,000 people protested in Prague.
• November 18, 1989: 100,000 people protested in Bulgaria.
• November 20, 1989: 500,000 people protested in Leipzig. The first German Unification slogan appeared.
• November 22, 1989: People protested in Leipzig with the slogans of “Wir sind ein Volk (we are one people)” and “Deutschland einig Vaterland (Germany, the unified nation).”
• November 28, 1989: The Chancellor Helmut Kohl announced his “Ten Point Plan” for German unification.
• December 1, 1989: The East German constitution was amended and the article on dictatorship was abolished.
• December 3, 1989: Krenz and the Politburo resigned. Honecker and Schtow were also expelled from the party.
• December 7, 1989: East Germany agreed to hold free elections on May 6, 1990.
• December 9, 1989: President Mitterrand insisted that Germany should unify following the Helsinki principles.
• December 12, 1989: Secretary of State James Baker visited West Germany and stated that
West Germany’s loyalty to NATO and the EC is the precondition of German Unification.

- December 14, 1989: The EC asked Germany to recognize the Oder-Neisse border.
- December 19, 1989: Chancellor Kohl from the FRG and Chancellor Modrow from the GDR held a meeting in Dresden and agreed to build a “Contractual Community.” Kohl promised to provide financial support to East Germany.
- December 21, 1989: East German government decided to allow West Germans travel to East Germany only with their identification card from December 24, 1989.
- December 25, 1989: Brandenburg in Berlin was open.
- December 31, 1989: A festival was held on the East-West German border.
- January 5, 1990: During the meeting of SED-PDS, the party leaders showed their willingness to create a German community.
- January 22, 1990: More protests broke out in cities, including Leipzig, for German Unity.
- January 23, 1990: The first Joint Economic Committee of Germany was held in East Berlin and the FRG promised the GDR to provide loans of 6 billion DM.
- January 30, 1990: A meeting between Modrow and Gorbachev was held in Moscow. Gorbachev announced that the Soviet Union is not in opposition of German reunification.
- February 1, 1990: Modrow announced his “Four-step Unification Plan” and neutralization of Germany. (Chancellor Kohl welcomed the unification plan but opposed to the neutralization of Germany) Meanwhile, Baker also put out the Four Principles supporting German unification.
- February 3, 1990: Chancellor Kohl held an unofficial meeting with Modrow and discussed the financial aid to Germany.
- February 6, 1990: Chancellor Kohl suggested to unify the currency by bringing West German currency
- February 10, 1990: Kohl visited the Soviet Union. Gorbachev stated that German unification should take place by considering the whole context of Europe and inter-German relationship, while the decision on how and when the unification takes place relies on the two German states.
- February 13, 1990: A meeting of the foreign ministers of the four major Second World War allies and those of East and West Germany was held in Ottawa in order to set a framework of the 2+4 meeting
- February 15, 1990: Chancellor Kohl announced that Germany should unify as fast as possible after the parliamentary elections take place in East Germany
- February 20, 1990: The East German parliament approved the new electoral law and enabled to hold free elections in the GDR
- February 24, 1990: Chancellor Kohl and President Bush held the Camp David meeting and agreed Germany’s stay in NATO.
- March 6, 1990: Modrow visited Moscow and held a summit meeting with Gorbachev.
- March 10, 1990: An agreement was made on the repatriation of the troops of the Soviet Union stationed in Hungary by June 30, 1991.
- March 18, 1990: The parliamentary elections were held in East Germany with the voter turnout of 93.38%.
- March 20, 1990: The West German government announced that the unity of currency, economy, and society will be complete before the summer of 1990.
- March 29, 1990: Chancellor visited the U.K. and held a meeting with Prime Minister
Thatcher.

- April 1, 1990: The 2:1 currency exchange rate suggestion from the federal bank sparked the East German people’s opposition and the parties.
- April 12, 1990: The coalition cabinet of Lothar de Messier began in East Germany.
- April 16, 1990: The ambassador of the Soviet Union in the GDR sent a letter to de Messier stating that the Soviet Union is not in favor of “rapid unification” through Article 23 of the Constitution of the FRG.
- April 19, 1990: de Messier adopted the unification method of Article 23.
- April 20, 1990: President Bush and Mitterrand held a meeting in Florida agreeing to German unification.
- April 21, 1990: At a meeting of foreign ministers of the EC in Dublin, the accession of the GDR to NATO was permitted.
- April 24, 1990: Both Germanys agreed to unify the currency, economy, and society on July 1, 1990.
- April 29, 1990: Lothar de Messier visited Gorbachev. Gorbachev mentioned that the accession of the united Germany to NATO can be considered when there is a change in the Western Alliances.
- April 30, 1990: The FRG and the GDR agreed to establish a “Joint German Unification Committee.”
- May 2, 1990: The FRG and the GDR agreed to unify the currency.
- May 5, 1990: The first 2+4 Meeting was held in Bonn
- May 6, 1990: The first free local government elections were held in East Germany.
- May 10, 1990: The FRG established the Committee of German Unification within the Parliament.
- May 16, 1990: The FRG and the state governments agreed to raise a German Unification fund. Meanwhile, the Secretary of State of the U.S., Baker, visited Moscow and discussed the German accession to NATO
- May 17, 1990: Chancellor Kohl visited Washington D.C. and held a meeting with President Bush to discuss German unification.
- May 18, 1990: The FRG and the GDR signed the Treaty on the Creation of a Monetary, Economic, and Social Union of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic (MESU)
- May 30-June 3, 1990: The summit meeting between the U.S. and the Soviet Union was held in Washington D.C. The unified Germany’s membership in NATO was not agreed upon.
- June 8, 1990: Chancellor Kohl held a summit meeting with President Bush in Washington D.C.
- June 11, 1990: Chancellor Messier visited the United States and met President Bush.
- June 15, 1990: The FRG and the GDR announced that the property rights issue should remain unsolved.
- June 17, 1990: The East German parliament adopted the agenda that the GDR will dissolve into the unified Germany.
- June 18-19, 1990: Chancellor Messier visited France
- June 19, 1990: The coalition parties agreed to hold joint elections.
- June 20, 1990: The FRG and the GDR voted for recognizing the Oder-Neisse border and
urging the treaty between Germany and Poland.

- June 22, 1990: President Mitterrand and Chancellor Kohl held a meeting and agreed to propose the EC’s aid to the Soviet Union. The second 2+4 Meeting was held.
- June 28, 1990: Chancellor Messier visited the United Kingdom.
- July 1, 1990: The Treaty on the Creation of a Monetary, Economic, and Social Union of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic (MESU) went into effect. All the boundaries between East and West Germany were abolished.
- July 15-16, 1990: Chancellor Kohl visited the Soviet Union. Germany’s stay in NATO was approved along with other necessary factors for German unification. Chancellor Messier mentioned that designating Berlin as the capital of the unified Germany is the precondition of signing the unification treaty.
- July 17, 1990: The third 2+4 Meeting was held in Paris and the Oder-Neisse border issue was settled.
- July 22, 1990: The East German Electoral Law was amended, which allowed the unity of East German parties and West German parties.
- July 23, 1990: Following Article 23 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic, the law on transforming the 14 former East German provinces into 5 states was passed.
- July 26, 1990: The East and West German parliament agreed to hold a joint meeting of the Committee of German Unification in Bonn and to hold elections on 2 December 1990 following the unitary Electoral Law.
- August 3, 1990: Due to the economic crisis in the GDR, the CDU of West Germany urged an immediate unification.
- August 22-23, 1990: East German parliament decided to join the FRG on 3 October.
- August 29, 1990: Chancellor Kohl discussed the Unity Treaty with state governors and named October 3rd, the German Unity Day.
- August 30, 1990: Genscher asserted that the size of the troops of the united Germany is limited to 340,000.
- August 31, 1990: At 2:08 a.m., Wolfgang Schäuble, Bonn’s Interior Minister and East Berlin's State Secretary Günther Krause initialed the Treaty for Unification, which extended the West German legal system to the accession states of the former GDR. At 9 a.m. the Unity Treaty was ratified at the Council of State. At 1:15 p.m. the Unity Treaty was signed at the Palais Unter den Linden in East Berlin.\(^1\)
- September 12, 1990: The fourth 2+4 Meeting was held in Moscow and the Treaty on Final Resolution on Germany was signed.
- September 24, 1990: The GDR officially seceded from the Warsaw Pact.
- October 1, 1990: A meeting of the four WWII powers was held in New York. The Foreign ministers of the four countries declared that the four WWII powers lose any responsibilities on Germany and Berlin on 3 October 1990 until the 2+4 Treaty goes into effect.\(^2\)
- October 2, 1990: The GDR proclaimed the Unity Treaty in the Constitution and officially decided to dissolve the German Democratic Republic.
- October 3, 1990: German Reunification was proclaimed.

\(^2\) Ibid., p. 401.
Appendix B – Timeline for Yemeni Reunification

1) Negotiation period (1972-1978)
   • In 1972, North Yemen supported an armed group led by the South Yemen Liberation Front to get rid of the socialist regime. Saudi Arabia, on the other hand, trained the armed group led by South Yemeni tribal groups.
   • September 1972: The tension between North and South Yemen accelerated following the border conflict and, through the Arab League’s mediation, the two Yemens signed an armistice.
   • October 28, 1972: the Chancellor Mushin Almad al Ayni from North and Ali Nasser Muhammad from South held prime ministerial talks in Cairo, Egypt, and agreed upon the unification principles and the armistice-status. The agreement was made relatively smoothly since North was under Ayni government who actively supported unification of Yemen and was opposed to the interference of exterior powers in Yemen; and South wanted to decrease military pressure from Saudi Arabia and increase the power base of the National Front.
   • November 26, 1972: President Iryani and the chief clerk(or secretary general) Salem Rubayi Ali held a three-day summit meeting in Tripoli, Libya, and signed the Tripoli Agreement (Agreements made on the establishment of the Yemen Republic, Yemeni flag, the capital, state religion, official language, national ideology, etc). However, the Conservatives in North and Saudi Arabia rejected the Tripoli Agreement. Moreover, Saudi Arabia incited the heads of the tribes and military officers to hold anti-unification movements and oppressed North Yemen that Saudi Arabia will stop providing financial aid to Yemen if Yemen continues to put efforts on unification.
   • December 21, 1972: North and South Yemen, along with the attendance of the Algerian President, Libyan President, Arab League Secretary General, held the first meeting in Sana’a over setting an action plan
   • December 28, 1972: Iryani made Ayni resign and appointed Qadi Abdullah al-Hajri to prime minister. After Hajri became prime minister, South Yemen started to secretly support the leftists’ movements in North. As a result, the Tripoli agreement was flawed and the tension rose within North Yemen.
   • April 15, 1973: second meeting in Aden over implementations of the Dec 21 meeting agendas
   • September 4, 1973: the head of North and South Yemen held a summit talk reaffirming the importance of accelerating committees’ unity attempts
   • November 10, 1973: the presidents of North and South met in Hudeidah and Taiz to find methods of unifying the economy of the unified Yemen
   • March 14, 1974: fourth committee (of the personal representatives of the two presidents to implement agreements of the unity) meeting in Sana’a
   • February 15, 1977: Ibrahim Mohammed Al-Hamdi (chairman of the leadership council) and Salim Robiáá Ali (chairman of the Presidential Council) held a Joint Cabinet meeting in Ibb of Northern Yemen and agreed to hold meetings every six months
   • August 15, 1977: President Salim Robiáá Ali visited Sana’a

2) Agreement period (1975-1985)
   • February 24, 1979, the North invaded the South and the second border conflict broke out.
As a consequence, the Arab countries urgently called the Arab League Council. On March 5, 1989, North and South signed a treaty ending the war.

- March 28-30, 1979: Ali Abdullah Saleh and Abdul-Fatah Ismail held a summit in Kuwait attended by Kuwaiti Emir and reconfirmed the goal of unity, commitments to previous unity agreements (the Tripoli Agreement), and announced unification plans.
- October 02, 1979: President Ali Abdullah Saleh and President Ali Nasser Mohammed held a summit in Sana’a (Later in 1979: the PDRY began sponsoring an insurgency in the YAR and Saleh had to stop unity negotiations and resume attacking the National Democratic Front under the pressure from the tribes and Saudi Arabia – despite the agreement on armistice between North and NDF)
- May 03, 1980: President Ali Nasser Mohammed and Premier Abdul-Aziz Abdul-Ghani held a meeting in Aden.
- April 21, 1980: Ali Nasser Mohammed (South) asked North for reconciliation, stopped supporting the National Democratic Front (NDF), and resumed unity talks.
- June 13, 1980: President Ali Abdullah Saleh and Ali Nasser Mohammed agreed to strengthen security and stability in two Yemen; and agreed to jointly cooperate and coordinate in areas of education, culture, and information.
- September 26, 1980: President Ali Nasser Mohammed attended at the 26th anniversary of the Revolution of the North in Sana’a.
- September 15, 1981: Saleh and Nasser agreed in to implement the 9th article of Tripoli Agreement.
- November 23, 1981: Saleh and Nasser held the 2nd summit in Kuwait under the mediation of Kuwait Emir Sheikh Jabir Al-Sabah.
- November 30, 1981: Saleh and Nasser held a summit in Aden and agreed to form a Presidential Council and the Joint Constitutional Committee announced the draft unity constitution.
- December 2, 1981: North and South signed a treaty of Cooperation and Coordination in the area of government, economy, education and culture, movement of people, and foreign policy.
- December 30, 1981: The joint constitution committee approved the draft unity constitution of the single state, which becomes the base of the actual unity constitution on 22 May 1990.
- May 6, 1982: Saleh and Nasser agreed to go beyond the instability situation between the North and the South.
- November 29, 1982: the first joint Ministerial Committee between the North and the South was held in Aden.
- August 5, 1983: the first round of the Yemeni Supreme Council took place in Sana’a and hosted activities on August 15 (a unitary history textbook was published and started to be in use in every schools in Yemen).
- August 6, 1984: the third joint Ministerial Committee was held in Aden.
- December 4, 1984: the second Yemeni Supreme Council was held in Sana’a.
- March 5, 1985: Saleh and Nasser met in Sana’a.
- December 10, 1985: the joint Ministerial Committee allowed free movement of citizens between the North and the South.
December 24, 1985: the third Yemeni Supreme Council took place in Sana’a

3) Action/Practice period (1986-1990)

- July 2, 1986: President Saleh and Haidar Abu Bakr al-Attas (chairman of the Presidential Body of the People Council in South Yemen) held a three-side meeting with Libyan leader Moamar al-Qadhafi in Tripoli, Libya, and agreed to continue unification talks
- July 21, 1987: Secretary General of the Social Party of South Yemen, Ali Salem al-Beidh, visited Sana’a to discuss unity and exile issues (and the talks regarding the return of the exiles and protection of their rights continued until early-1988)
- November 1987 – February 1988: Ministerial talks were held for four times in order to avoid military conflicts between the North and the South at the border area where petroleum is produced
- March 1988: As both the North and the South stationed its troops on the border area and the tension between them, the North Yemeni prime minister visited Aden and suggested to demilitarize the zone and to cooperate.
- April 16-17, 1988: President Saleh and al-Beidh met in Taiz to settle military tensions, jointly develop natural resources, and allowed people to move between the two states with identification card
- May 3-4, 1988: President Saleh and al-Beidh met in Sana’a agreeing to continue unity steps and implementations (Both Taiz agreement and Sana’a agreement became practical bases for the future unification)
- July 1988: People started to move freely between the North and the South and look for jobs
- Early-1989: Gorbachev’s reform policy influenced South Yemen for its reform and the Soviet Union cut the economic and military aid on South Yemen (As a result, South Yemen starts its political and economic reforms)
- October 31, 1989: Committee of the Unified Political Organization held its first meeting in Taiz
- November 29-30 1989: President Saleh arrived in Aden to attend at the celebrations for the 22nd anniversary of Independence and a summit meeting with the head of the South Yemeni government. The draft constitution of 1981 was approved and confirmed by the North and the South and the two states also agreed to implement all measures for unification
- December 24, 1989: a press statement by the two states was issued, which included the regulations of the meetings
- January 20, 1990: the first cabinet meeting of the two parts was held
- February 18, 1990: President Saleh and al-Beidh met in Abyan to discuss the unity process
- March 1, 1990: a joint Prime Minister meeting was held (the border was completely open)
- March 20, 1990: the second cabinet meeting was held in Aden
- April 19-22, 1990: the North and the South signed the Sana’a Accord and announced the Republic of Yemen. They agreed to unify on 26 May and to hold general elections after the 30 months of transitional period.
- May 1, 1990: The presidents held a bilateral meeting in Sana’a and discussed issues related to unification in Aden
• May 10, 1990: President Saleh and al-Beidh signed the joint work agreement in Taiz
• May 17, 1990: The Unity Constitution was ratified by a referendum with 98.3% of people in favor of the new constitution. It affirmed Yemen’s commitment to free elections, a multiparty political system, the right to own private property, equality under the law, and respect of basic human rights.
• May 21, 1990: The two Yemens unanimously voted in favor of signing the agreement of the Announcement of the Republic of Yemen. A presidential council for the Republic of Yemen was jointly elected by the members of the Consultative Council and the presidential body of Supreme People’s Council and the presidential council appointed Prime Minister to form a Cabinet.
• May 22, 1990: The Republic of Yemen was announced in Aden
Reference


