# PEACE, A NEW START ISSE, MESSANS

2018 INTER-KOREAN SUMMIT 2018 남북정상회담

# 2018 Inter-Korean Summit April 27, 2018 Peace House, Panmunjeom

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2018 Inter-Korean Summit

# 1 Milestones of the Agreement to Hold the 2018 Inter-Korean Summit

Journey toward Peace Undertaken in PyeongChang

Peace, A New Start 2018 Inter-Korean Summit

On June 24, 2017, President Moon Jae-in first urged North Korea to participate in the PyeongChang 2018 Olympic Winter Games during his congratulatory speech for the 2017 Muju WTF World Taekwondo Championships. From that day onward, he continued to deliver the message of the South's aspiration for permanent peace on the Korean Peninsula through various speeches, including his speech given in Berlin on July 6, 2017 upon the invitation of the Körber Foundation of Germany, his commemorative speech for the 72<sup>nd</sup> National Liberation Day on August 15, 2017, and his address at the 72<sup>nd</sup> U.N. General Assembly on September 21, 2017.

On January 1, 2018, the North finally responded. In his New Year's address, Chairman Kim Jong Un of the State Affairs Commission of North Korea expressed his willingness to dispatch a delegation to the PyeongChang 2018 Olympic Winter Games and improve inter-Korean relations. An inter-Korean high-level meeting was held for the first time in over two years on January 9, followed by a working-level meeting. The two sides discussed the North's participation in the event and agreed to have their athletes march together during the parade of nations at the opening ceremony and form a unified women's ice hockey team. The North Korean delegation of 500 members visited PyeongChang. The North's head of state under its constitution (Kim Yong Nam, President of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly) visited the South for the first time since national division. First Vice Department Director Kim Yo Jong of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea (WPK), who accompanied President Kim Yong Nam, delivered Chairman Kim Jong Un's personally handwritten letter to President Moon, which reportedly included an invitation for President Moon to visit Pyeongyang. President Moon sent his special envoy to Pyeongyang in a reciprocal visit, and the two sides agreed to hold an inter-Korean summit in April.

I. 2018 Inter-Korean Summit

#### Results of the Visit of the Special Envoy Delegation(headed by Chung Eui-yong)to North Korea (March 6, 2018)

- South and North Korea reached an agreement to hold the 3<sup>rd</sup> inter-Korean summit in the Peace House at the truce village of Panmunjeom in late April. To this end, both sides agreed to proceed with working-level consultations in detail.
- South and North Korea agreed to install a hotline between the two heads of state to defuse military tensions and facilitate close consultations. The first telephone conversation between the two leaders will take place prior to the 3<sup>rd</sup> inter-Korean summit.
- The North made clear its commitment to the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and that it has no reason to possess nuclear weapons should military threats against the North be removed and the safety of its regime be guaranteed.
- The North expressed its intent to engage in candid dialogue with the United States on the denuclearization and the normalization of Pyeongyang-Washington relations.
- The North clearly stated that it would not resume any strategic provocation, including any additional nuclear test and ballistic missile test-launch, while engaged in dialogue. At the same time, the North vowed that not only nuclear weapons but also conventional weaponry would never be used against the South.
- The North invited a taekwondo demonstration team and an art troupe of the South to Pyeongyang with a view to carrying on the amicable mood of reconciliation and cooperation between the two sides created for the PyeongChang Winter Olympics.

# Milestones of the Agreement to Hold the Summit

2018 Inter-Korean Summit



2017, June 24	President Moon Jae-in first urged North Korea to take part in the PyeongChang 2018 Olympic Winter Games during his opening remarks for the 2017 Muju WTF World Taekwondo Championships.
2017, July 6	President Moon outlined his initiative for peace on the Korean Peninsula during his speech at the Körber Foundation in Berlin, Germany (Berlin Initiative).
2017, August 15	President Moon emphasized that the South and North must join hands to make the PyeongChang 2018 Olympic Winter Games a true legacy of peace during a speech on the 72 <sup>nd</sup> National Liberation Day.
2017, September 21	President Moon gave an address at the U.N. General Assembly and again urged the North to take steps to resolve the nuclear issue peacefully and participate in the PyeongChang 2018 Olympic Winter Games.
2018, January 1	During his New Year's address, Chairman Kim Jong Un of the State Affairs Commission of North Korea expressed his willingness to dispatch a delegation to the PyeongChang 2018 Olympic Winter Games and engage in dialogue.
2018, January 1	The Cheong Wa Dae spokesperson announced that Cheong Wa Dae welcomed the North's proposal for inter-Korean talks.
2018, January 2	The South Korean Minister of Unification proposed to the North to hold a meeting of relevant authorities.
2018, January 3	The hotline in the Joint Security Area of Panmunjeom was reopened.
2018, January 5	The North accepted the South's proposal for Inter-Korean high-level talks.
2018, January 9	Inter-Korean high-level talks were held and a joint press statement was adopted at Peace House in Panmunjeom.
2018, January 15	Inter-Korean working-level talks were held at the Tongilgak building on the North's side of Panmunjeom to discuss the visit of the North Korean performers to the South.
2018, January 17	Inter-Korean working-level talks were held at Peace House on the South's side of Panmunjeom to disucss the North's participation in the PyeongChang 2018 Olympic Winter Games.
2018, January 20	The IOC approved the North's participation in the PyeongChang 2018 Olympic Winter Games.
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2018
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Summit

2018, January 31	Joint training of athletes of the two Koreas was conducted at Masiknyong Ski Resort in the North.
2018, January 25-February 7	The North's athletes, performers, taekwondo demonstration team and journalists came to the South in succession.
2018, February 9	The North's high-level delegation headed by Kim Yong Nam, President of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly, came to the South.
2018, February 9	The Olympic delegations of the two Koreas marched in together during the parade of nations at the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games.
2018, February 10	President Moon and the North's high-level delegation had a face-to-face talk and Special Envoy Kim Yo Jong delivered Chairman Kim Jong Un's personally handwritten letter, which reportedly included an invitation for President Moon to visit Pyeongyang.
2018, February 10 / 12 / 14	The unified women's ice hockey team played in matches.
2018, February 11	The North's Samjiyon Orchestra and the South's K-pop star Seohyun performed together. The North Korean high-level delegation returned home.
2018, February 25	The North Korean high-level delegation headed by Kim Yong Chol, Vice Chairman of the Central Committee of the WPK, came to the South.
2018, February 25	President Moon and the North's high-level delegation had a face-to-face meeting. The North announced that it is ready to engage in dialogue with the United States. The PyeongChang 2018 Olympic Winter Games ended.
2018, February 26	The 299 athletes, cheering squad members, and journalists from the North returned home.
2018, February 27	The high-level delegation from the North returned home. Working-level talks for the PyeongChang 2018 Paralympic Winter Games were held.
2018, March 5	The South's special envoy delegation headed by Chung Eui-yong, Director of National Security, visited Pyeongyang and sat together with Chairman Kim Jong Un.
2018, March 6	The South's special envoy delegation announced the decision to hold an inter-Korean summit in Panmunjeom at the end of April.
2018, March 7	The North Korean athletes for the PyeongChang 2018 Paralympic Winter Games came to the South. $ \\$
2018, March 9	Director Chung Eui-yong announced the decision to hold the U.SNorth Korea summit by May.
2018, March 15	$\label{thm:conditional} The North Korean athletes for the Pyeong Chang 2018 \ Paralympic \ Winter Games \ returned \ home.$
2018, March 16	The first meeting of the Inter-Korean Summit Preparation Committee was held.
2018, March 21	The second meeting of the Inter-Korean Summit Preparation Committee was held.
2018, March 29	Inter-Korean high-level talks for the 2018 inter-Korean summit were held at the Tongilgak building on the North's side of Panmunjeom.
2018, March 29	The 66-member South Korean advance team went to Pyeongyang on a chartered plane via a West Sea route to prepare for the scheduled K-pop and taekwondo performances.
2018, March 30	The third meeting of the Inter-Korean Summit Preparation Committee took place.
2018, March 31	The South Korean delegation of 120 K-pop artists and taekwondo athletes went to Pyeongyang on a chartered plane via a West Sea route for scheduled performances.
2018, April 1	The South Korean K-pop artists held their concert entitled Spring Is Coming and the South's World Taekwondo Federation taekwondo athletes staged a performance in Pyeongyang.
2018, April 2	The South and North Korean taekwondo demonstration team staged a joint performance in Pyeongyang.
2018, April 3	The South and North Korean troupe of artists held a joint concert entitled We Are One in Pyeongyang.
2018, April 5	Inter-Korean working-level talks for the 2018 inter-Korean summit were held in Panmunjeom.
2018, April 11	The fifth meeting of the Inter-Korean Summit Preparation Committee took place.

#### 2 | Significance of the 2018 Inter-Korean Summit

# Stepping Stones toward Permanent Peace on the Korean Peninsula

A New Start 2018 Inter-Korean Summit

This summit is a product of the unyielding efforts made by President Moon and the South Korean Government with the complete support of the international community, including the United States and other neighboring countries, to encourage the North to enter into dialogue amidst the escalating security crisis on the Korean Peninsula.

This summit is expected to serve as an opportunity to lay stepping stones toward denuclearization and permanent peace on the Korean Peninsula and the advancement of inter-Korean relations. The significance of the summit also lies in bringing the leaders of the two Koreas together and providing the forum to engage in candid talks and build trust after years of deteriorating inter-Korean relations.

In particular, this inter-Korean summit will be followed shortly by the first U.S.-North Korea summit to be held since the Korean War. The successful staging of the two summits will be marked as a milestone for the peaceful resolution of the North Korean nuclear issue and the establishment of the permanent peace aspired and supported by the international community.

## Panmunjeom—From an Icon of Division to an Icon of Peace



Panmunjeom in 1973

The 2018 inter-Korean summit, the first meeting of the leaders of the South and North in 11 years since the second summit in 2007 following the first in 2000, will be held at Peace House in Panmunjeom and the North's leader will be stepping onto the South Korean side of Panmunjeom for the first time.

Panmunjeom, located 52km from Seoul,

147km from Pyeongyang, and 8km from the Gaeseong Industrial Complex, became known globally when the United Nations forces and North Korean officials met here in 1951 for truce talks. The armistice was signed in 1953 and the Military Armistice Commission subsequently held talks at the site. From 1971 onward, over 360 inter-Korean talks have been held in Panmunjeom, starting with the preliminary meeting for the Red Cross talks.

Originally, guards of the South, North, and United Nations were guaranteed free movement and access as befits Panmunjeom's status as the Joint Security Area, but, after the axe-murder incident in 1976, they were separated on their own sides of the Military Demarcation Line (MDL). A row of concrete blocks, each measuring 5cm in height and 50cm in width, sits on the MDL between the Freedom House and Panmungak. The Line emerged as a symbol of the tragedy of national division. The world is once again watching Panmunjeom, the venue of the 2018 inter-Korean summit, to see if it will be able to produce a bud of peace from the soil of the pain of division.

#### I. 2018 Inter-Korean

#### Agenda of the 2018 Inter-Korean Summit

# Denuclearization, Establishment of Peace, and Advancement of Inter-Korean Relations

The South Korean Government plans to deal with the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, the establishment of permanent peace on the Korean Peninsula, and the advancement of inter-Korean relations through this summit. The three topics will be discussed in a balanced and comprehensive manner. Measures to ensure a consistent implementation of the agreement between the South and North are also being examined.

First, this summit is expected to reaffirm the North's determination to denuclearize and lay the foundation upon which substantial progress can be made toward a peaceful resolution of the issue. The South Korean Government remains dedicated to the successful staging of the inter-Korean summit and the United States-North Korea summit to encourage the North to make a strategic decision to denuclearize and take measures for denuclearization in earnest.

Second, this summit will deal with a variety of issues and measures related to the establishment of permanent peace on the Korean Peninsula, including those aimed at easing military tension and building trust between the South and North.

As for the sustainable advancement of inter-Korean relations, the two sides will be discussing broad aspects of inter-Korean relations, including dialogue, exchanges and cooperation, and humanitarian support, while carrying on the legacies of the July 4 South-North Joint Communiqué of 1972; the Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-aggression, Exchanges, and Cooperation of 1991; the June 15 South-North Joint Declaration of 2000; and the Declaration on the Advancement of South-North Korean Relations, Peace and Prosperity of October 4, 2007.

The South Korean Government will ensure that the first important step in recovering trust between the two Koreas and between the United States and the North will be taken effectively through this summit.

# President Moon Jae-in's Policy on the Korean Peninsula

President Moon Jae-in's policy on the Korean Peninsula encompasses the vision and future direction for the Korean Peninsula that President Moon has discussed through his presidential campaign pledges, the Berlin Initiative and his speech on National Liberation Day, among others.

# 1 Vision and Characteristics of Moon's Policy

**Priority on Peace** 

A New Start 2018 Inter-Korean Summit

The following is an excerpt from Moon Jae-in's Policy on the Korean Peninsula: A Korean Peninsula of Peace and Prosperity published by the Ministry of Unification in November 2017.

President Moon Jae-in's policy on the Korean Peninsula is a long-term, comprehensive policy designed to realize the peaceful coexistence and coprosperity of the two Koreas, neighboring countries and Northeast Asia and the international community with the leading role played by the South. It is noted for placing the highest priority on peace, complying with the spirit of mutual respect, pursuing the sustainable advancement of inter-Korean relations, and ultimately aiming to achieve prosperity throughout all Northeast Asia as well as the Korean Peninsula.

The Korean War Armistice Agreement still stands today on the Korean Peninsula, and it has led to the escalation of tensions and crises in combination with the North Korean nuclear and missile development. Peace is the aspiration of all on the Korean Peninsula and valued as the highest priority we must pursue. The South Korean Government strives to establish permanent peace through multifaceted efforts based on strong, watertight national security. The peaceful coexistence of the two Koreas will naturally lead to the opening of the door to unification.

President Moon Jae-in's policy on the Korean Peninsula makes it clear that it does not seek the collapse of the North or unification by absorption or artificial means. It aims to build a Korean Peninsula of coprosperity by reinforcing cooperation between the two Koreas based on mutual respect and trust. It strives to lay a foundation upon which inter-Korean relations can achieve sustainable growth. It will respect the North Korea policies of the previous Governments and help their legacies evolve. To come up with an institutional platform for ensuring the sustainable growth of inter-Korean relations, it plans to conclude a National Pact on Unification, an Inter-Korean Basic Agreement and a Korean Peninsula Peace Agreement.

The scope of the policy has been further extended to embrace not only the Korean Peninsula but also Northeast Asia and the international community as a whole. It aims to promote peace and prosperity around the world as well as on the Korean Peninsula by seeking mutually beneficial cooperation with the North, neighboring countries of Northeast Asia, and the international community.

II.
President
Moon Jae-in's
Policy
on the
Korean
Peninsula

#### "What we are pursuing is only peace."

"A peaceful Korean Peninsula is a peninsula free from the threat of nuclear weapons and war. It is a peninsula where the South and the North recognize and respect each other and live together in harmony. "We already know the road that leads to a peaceful Korean Peninsula. It is a return to the June 15 South-North Joint Declaration of 2000 and the October 4 Declaration of 2007.

"Through these two declarations, the South and the North clearly stated that we are the masters of inter-Korean issues and are committed to closely cooperating in easing tensions and guaranteeing peace on the Korean Peninsula. The two Koreas also promised to walk the path of common prosperity through cooperative projects in every sector of society, including in the economic field.

"The spirit of these agreements that were achieved on the foundation of mutual respect between the South and the North is still valid. The matter is urgent. We must return to that spirit where the South and the North worked together toward realizing a peaceful Peninsula.

"I clearly state the following: we do not wish for North Korea's collapse, and will not work toward any kind of unification through absorption. Neither will we pursue an artificial unification.

"Unification is a process where both sides seek coexistence, coprosperity and a restored sense of national community. When peace is established, unification will be realized naturally someday through an agreement between the South and the North. What my Administration and I would like to realize is only peace."

From President Moon's Address at the Körber Foundation, the Federal Republic of Germany, July 6, 2017





#### 2 Moon Jae-in's Policy Implementation Plan

Path towards Coexistence and Prosperity

Peace, A New Start 2018 Inter-Korean Summit

President Moon Jae-in's policy on the Korean Peninsula consists of three goals, four strategies, and five principles under the vision of Peaceful Coexistence and Coprosperity.

## Moon Jae-in's Policy on the Korean Peninsula at a Glance

Vision

Peaceful Coexistence and Co-prosperity



Resolution of the North Korean nuclear issue and establishment of permanent peace

Development of sustainable inter-Korean relations Realization of a new economic community on the Korean Peninsula



Taking a step-by-step & comprehensive approach Tackling the issues of inter-Korean relations and the North Korean nuclear threat simultaneously

Ensuring sustainability through institutionalization Laying
the foundation for
peaceful unification
through mutually
beneficial
cooperation



- 1 To seize the initiative in resolving issues of the Korean Peninsula
- 2 To maintain peace with a strong defense
- 3 To foster inter-Korean relations based on mutual respect
- 4 To focus on interaction with the people and draw consensus
- 5 To implement the policy through international cooperation

Source: Moon Jae-in's Policy on the Korean Peninsula: A Korean Peninsula of Peace and Prosperity, November 2017, Ministry of Unification

II. President Moon Jae-in's Policy on the Korean Peninsula The vision, goals, and strategies are all organically interrelated. In particular, the three goals of the resolution of the North Korean nuclear issue and establishment of permanent peace, the sustainable advancement of inter-Korean relations, and the realization of a new economic community on the Korean Peninsula well reflect our determination to build "a Korean Peninsula of peace and coprosperity." The 2018 inter-Korean summit aims to lay stepping stones to fulfill these three goals.

Resolution of the North Korean Nuclear Issue and Establishment of Permanent Our first goal is to peacefully resolve the pending North Korean nuclear issue and establish permanent peace on the Korean Peninsula. To this end, we will focus on achieving strong security to protect ourselves and closely communicate and cooperate with related countries, including the United States. Furthermore, we will replace the current unstable armistice, which has lasted over six decades, with permanent peace and thus institutionalize peace on the Korean Peninsula.

Sustainable
Advancement
of Inter-Korean
Relations

**Peace** 

Our second goal is to carry on the legacies of the existing inter-Korean agreements, such as the July 4 South-North Joint Communiqué; the Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-aggression, Exchanges, and Cooperation; the June 15 South-North Joint Declaration; and the October 4 Declaration and elevate them to new heights. We will hold inter-Korean talks on a regular basis and resume exchanges and cooperation across diverse areas to recover trust between the two sides. Furthermore, we are working hard to create the Promises for Unification, a social agreement on issues regarding unification and inter-Korean relations, based on active interaction with citizens of the South. It will form the basis for the conclusion of the South-North Basic Agreement and Korean Peninsula Peace Agreement that will contribute to the institutionally guaranteed, sustainable advancement of inter-Korean relations.

3 Establishment of a New Economic Community on the Korean Peninsula

Our third goal is to generate mutual benefits through economic cooperation between the South and North and create a new economic community which ensures the coexistence and coprosperity of the two Koreas. We plan to implement the New Northern Policy and New Southern Policy with a focus on the New Economic Map for the Korean Peninsula and thereby reinforce our economic ties with not only the North but also the United States, Japan, China, Russia, and ASEAN member countries. To promote their participation and cooperation, we will closely take into account the Indo-Pacific Strategy of the United States, China's One Belt and One Road Initiative, and Russia's New Eastern Policy. As it is difficult for the North to readily take part in cooperation with the international community imposing sanctions against it, we plan to undertake projects with related countries first with the door left open for the North to join in after progress on the nuclear issue is made. If the two Koreas and neighboring countries continue to increase interdependence through economic cooperation, it will lead to the easing of tensions and the reinforcement of multilateral security cooperation on the Korean Peninsula, thereby advancing peace and prosperity across Northeast Asia.



The Peace
That
President
Moon Jae-in
Dreams to
Achieve

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What we are pursuing is unequivocal. That is peace and prosperity on the Korean Peninsula.

Our children and grandchildren should be able to enjoy shared prosperity on a free, peaceful Korean Peninsula.

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A New Start 2018 Inter-Korean Summit

From President Moon Jae-in's address on the 69<sup>th</sup> Armed Forces Day on September 28, 2017



# 1 From a Son of Refugees to the Driving Force behind the Inter-Korean Summit

#### Son of a Displaced Family from North Korea



"My parents left their home thinking they would be able to return in about two to three weeks. They were completely unprepared when they arrived in the South with no connections and had to build a new life from nothing in a strange town."

(Photo) President Moon Jae-in receiving a photo from Admiral Robert Lunney on June 28, 2017; it was taken in Heungnam at the time of the Heungnam Evacuation.

Moon Jae-in was born on January 24, 1953, in a small farmhouse on Geojedo Island, Gyeongsangnam-do Province. His parents were North Korean refugees who fled from Heungnam during the Korean War. The life of a displaced family with no one to depend on was weary and tiring. As such, Moon experienced a disadvantaged childhood.

"It was heartbreaking to see how poverty-stricken our family was, but it was even more heartbreaking to think that my father was deprived of his life overnight because of the national division and war."

III. The Peace That President Moon Jae-in Dreams to Achieve

Moon's father, who had longed for his hometown all his life, is said to have been more thrilled than anyone when the North Korean delegation first came to Seoul. He believed the Korean Peninsula would soon be reunified, and he would be able to return to his hometown in the North. However, he passed away without knowing anything about what happened to his own parents. Moon grew up witnessing the wearisome life of the displaced, who were uprooted and forced to wade through the turbulent upheavals of history.



"I am so grateful that my mother was able to reunite with her sister during her lifetime, even though it was only a small part of her long-cherished wishes as a North Korean refugee yet to be fulfilled."

(Photo) Moon Jae-in, then Senior Secretary to the President for the Civic and Social Agenda, moved to tears at the sight of the reunion of his mother and aunt from the North on July 11, 2004.

The tenth reunion of separated families of the South and North was held in July 2004 in Geumgangsan Mountain. Moon's mother reunited with her sister in the North for the first time in five decades. She shed tears ceaselessly while holding her last family member left in the North. The wait was long, but their moments together passed quickly. The last reunion of separated families took place in October 2015, and the path soon closed as inter-Korean relations became strained.

#### At the Forefront of the Effort to Advance National Unification



"What I found most rewarding while serving as Chief of Staff to President Roh Moo-hyun was the organization of the inter-Korean summit in October 2007."

(Photo) Moon Jae-in, then Chairman of the 2007 Inter-Korean Summit Preparation Committee, presiding over the first meeting of the Committee on August 12. 2007

Moon led the preparations for the inter-Korean summit as the head of the 2007 Inter-Korean Summit Preparation Committee while serving as Chief of Staff. On the day of the summit, President Roh Moo-hyun crossed the Military Demarcation Line on foot and moved on to the venue in Pyeongyang. Moon stayed behind in Seoul to put the finishing touches on the items to be included on the agenda and the joint statement of the leaders. This accomplishment served as the solid foundation upon which Moon's inter-Korean policy was crafted.



"The scenes of athletes from the South and North helping each other on their journey toward victory will send reverberations of the aspiration for peace to everyone around the globe." (From President Moon Jae-in's welcoming speech at the reception prior to the opening ceremony of the PyeongChang 2018 Olympic Winter Games on February 9, 2018)

Peace, A New Start 2018 Inter-Korean Summit

(Photo) Heads of state attending the opening ceremony of the PyeongChang 2018 Olympic Winter Games on February 9, 2018

Moon took office filling the 19<sup>th</sup> presidential term in May 2017 and has put forth a multi-faceted effort to build peace on the Korean Peninsula through perseverance under the principle of "the peaceful resolution of the North Korean nuclear issue." The 2018 Winter Olympics held in PyeongChang provided momentum to open the window of dialogue between the two Koreas. Moon dispatched his envoys to the four neighboring countries without delay after the visit of the South Korean special envoy to Pyeongyang. He succeeded in bringing inter-Korean relations to new heights through much support and cooperation from the international community.

#### The Dream of Peace

"I instantly fell in love with the photos and purchased the one of Gaema Plateau. It has stayed on the wall of my room ever since and constantly reminded me of my resolution to stroll through the Plateau after the Korean Peninsula is peacefully reunified."

Moon is the son of displaced refugees and often talks of his wish to visit Heungnam with his mother and learn more about his background once the two Koreas are reunified. Looking at a photo of Gaema Plateau as a young man, he strengthened his resolution to stroll through the area someday. During his years as a human rights lawyer, he expressed his vision to do pro bono work for North Korean residents who may experience difficulties in a new economic system after unification. Now, as the President of the Republic of Korea, filling the 19<sup>th</sup> presidential term, Moon aspires to resolve the North Korean nuclear issue and pave the way toward a new era of reinforced peace.

#### **Ouotations from President Moon Jae-in Reflecting His Determination to Achieve Peace**

The Peace That President Moon Jae-in Dreams to Achieve

2

"Moon Jae-in—Driving the Korean Peninsula with Perseverance toward Peace"



June 28, 2017

#### **Remarks at a Wreath Laying Ceremony at the Jangjin (Chosin) Reservoir Battle Monument**

"I will go hand in hand with President Donald Trump. Building upon the great foundation of the ROK-U.S. alliance, we will jointly bring about the dismantlement of North Korea's nuclear program, peace on the Korean Peninsula and, moreover, peace in Northeast Asia."



May 10, 2017 **Inaugural Speech** 

"For the sake of peace on the Korean Peninsula, I will crisscross the globe. If needed, I will immediately fly to Washington. I will also visit Beijing and Tokyo and even Pyeongyang under the right circumstances."



July 6, 2017

#### Address at the Körber Foundation in Berlin, the Federal **Republic of Germany**

"The South and the North need to work hand-in-hand and make a breakthrough in realizing peace on the Korean Peninsula. I suggest to North Korea that we first start with what is easy."



September 22, 2017

#### Address at the 72<sup>nd</sup> Session of the United Nations General Assembly

"We do not desire the collapse of North Korea. We will not seek unification by absorption or artificial means. If North Korea makes a decision even now to stand on the right side of history, we are ready to assist North Korea together with the international community."



2017

October 31, 2017

#### **Commemoration Speech** at the General Meeting of the National Unification **Advisory Council**

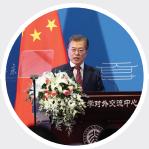
"Each small step taken by North Korea toward PyeongChang will add up to great strides for peace that no single missile can bring about."



#### November 7, 2017 **Opening Remarks at a Joint Press Conference Following a** Korea-U.S. Summit

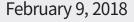
"We once again strongly urge the North to immediately stop its nuclear program and missile provocations and enter into dialogue on denuclearization as soon as possible. We reaffirmed our willingness to provide a bright future for the North once the North makes the right choice."





#### **Address at Peking University in Beijing**

or confrontations with North Korea. We once again emphasize that a bright future awaits North Korea once it makes the right choice."



#### Welcoming Remarks at a **Reception Prior to the Opening Ceremony of the PyeongChang Olympic Winter Games**

"Here today in PyeongChang, the first unified South-North Korean team in Olympic history, the women's ice hockey team, is preparing to take part in the Games. Athletes from the two Koreas will help each other for a victory, and this will be remembered in the hearts of people around the world as a resonation of peace."



"We do not want any conflicts



A New Start 2018 Inter-Korean Summit



#### January 10, 2018 **New Year's Address**

"I will do my best to make this year a new start for peace on the Korean Peninsula. In the process, I will more closely cooperate with related countries, including our ally the United States, China and Japan, and the rest of the international community."



March 6, 2018

#### **Congratulatory Address at the Graduation** and Commission Ceremony for the 74<sup>th</sup> **Class of the Korea Military Academy**

"Our goal is clear. It is to establish peace and prosperity on the Korean Peninsula. To that end, watertight security is essential. No soldier can be exempt from this obligation."



March 8, 2018 Remarks at the 50<sup>th</sup> National **Prayer Breakfast** 

"We will more closely work with the international community, including the United States, to encourage North Korea to take part in dialogue and lay the stepping stones for building peace and prosperity on the Korean Peninsula."

#### **Appendix**

1

#### Milestones of Inter-Korean Summits

South and North Korea underwent a series of conflicts throughout the years of national division but have persistently striven to heal the wounds left behind by the tragedy through talks and exchanges. The South and North first began to work on opening the channel of dialogue and building mutual trust in the 1970s. The inter-Korean summits of 2000 and 2007 are the achievements of our unyielding effort to overcome predicaments and remain open to dialogue.

The channel of dialogue between the South and North remained frozen throughout the 1960s due to the influence of the Cold War, but relations began

1970s

to thaw in the 1970s with the development of a mood of reconciliation and cooperation in the international community. The first inter-Korean dialogue was the meeting of the South Korean Red Cross and its North Korean counterpart on August 20, 1971, to discuss the reunion of separated families. From August 1972 to July 1973, a total of seven full-dress talks between the South and North Korean Red Cross took place with five items on the agenda, including confirmation of whether separated family members are still alive, and the addresses of those who could be found. As a result of talks held by the delegates of the South and North in Seoul and Pyeongyang in May 1972, the South-North Joint Communiqué of July 4, 1972, the first document jointly signed by the two Koreas since national division, was released and the South-North Coordinating Committee was launched. The Joint Communiqué included the three principles of unification ("independent efforts," "peaceful means," and "great national unity, as a homogeneous people") and details such as the suspension of slandering, the prevention of military conflicts, and the installation of a hotline between Seoul and Pyeongyang.

However, due to the hostility and tension created by the Cold War, the two sides

failed to elevate inter-Korean relations to the next level.

1980s

Inter-Korean relations hit a snag in the early 1980s. However, dialogue between the two Koreas became active in the mid-1980s, dealing with diverse sectors from the economy to sports. On September 18, 1984, the South Korean Government accepted the North's proposal to provide flood aid supplies. It was the first inter-Korean agreement for humanitarian-level support since national division. Starting with the inter-Korean economic talks in November of the same year, a string of inter-Korean talks was held, including the preliminary meeting for the Red Cross talks and parliamentary talks as well as talks for sports exchanges. On May 27, 1985, the eighth full-dress meeting of the South-North Red Cross Conference (SNRCC) reached an agreement on the first reunion of separated families since national division. For four days September 20-23 of that year, the first exchanges of hometown visitors involving residents and performing troupes of the two Koreas were realized in Seoul and Pyeongyang. The South and North kept the door for dialogue open throughout the 1980s despite the hostile mood and succeeded in diversifying the channels of dialogue.

1990s

Inter-Korean relations made great strides in the early 1990s powered by the end of the Cold War era. In September 1990, a prime minister-level meeting between the South and North was held for the first time since national division. Seven more ministerial meetings followed, and, as a result, the Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression, Exchanges, and Cooperation (Basic Agreement) took effect in February 1992. The South and North reaffirmed the principles stipulated in the July 4 South-North Joint Communiqué in the Basic Agreement and agreed to acknowledge and respect each other's system and strive to replace the armistice with permanent peace. The prime minister-level meetings witnessed the adoption and enforcement of the Annex Agreement to the Basic Agreement in the three areas of "reconciliation," "nonaggression," and "exchanges and cooperation" and the Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. In addition, the South and North agreed to hold the very first inter-Korean summit since national division in July 1994, but the planned meeting fell through due to the death of President Kim Il-sung.

Peace, A New Start 2018 Inter-Korean Summit

2000

The South and North held the very first inter-Korean summit since national division in Pyeongyang June 13-15, 2000. President Kim Dae-jung and Chairman Kim Jong II of the National Defense Commission signed the June 15 South-North Joint Declaration that stipulated their will to resolve the issue of families separated during the Korean War and increase economic and sociocultural exchanges. The two leaders acknowledged the common elements in the South's proposal for a confederation



and the North's proposal for a loose form of federation as the formulae for achieving unification and agreed to continue discussions on ways to advance unification in that direction. In short, they agreed to recognize the currently existing structure of the two systems, ensure peaceful coexistence, and take a gradual approach toward the formation of a unified Korea, instead of pushing ahead with an institutional and legal unification right away.

On August 8, 2007, the South and North announced that the second inter-Korean summit would be held August 28-30, 2007. However, North Korea requested a postponement of the summit after ten days due to flood damage. As a result, the second inter-Korean summit was staged October 2-4, 2007, in Pyeongyang. At the summit, President Roh Moo-hyun and Chairman Kim Jong Il of the National Defense Commission agreed on the need to put an end to the armistice and



2007

establish permanent peace. They also reached an agreement to jointly arrange three-way or four-way talks of the heads of state directly concerned and declare the end of the war through the talks on Korean Peninsula issues. In addition, they decided to conduct joint projects in the political, military, economic, and sociocultural sectors. As a result, the Declaration for the Advancement of Inter-Korean Relations and Peace and Prosperity of the Korean Peninsula (October 4 Declaration) was adopted. The October 4 Declaration contained specific measures to implement the items of understanding in the June 15 South-North Joint Declaration of 2000.

#### Milestones of Inter-Korean Talks at a Glance

1970s

1971, August 20	The first meeting of North and South Korean Red Cross staff members; this was the first dialogue				
1972, July 4	between the two Koreas since the ceasefire.  The July 4 South-North Joint Communiqué was announced, stipulating the three principles of unification as "independent efforts," "peaceful means," and "great national unity, as a				
1972, August-July 1973	homogeneous people." The first through seventh full-dress meetings of the South-North Red Cross Conference (SNRCC) were held alternately in Seoul and Pyeongyang; this was the first dialogue between the two Koreas aimed at resolving the issue of separated families.				
1972, October-March 1975	The South-North Coordinating Committee held talks in Panmunjeom, Seoul, and Pyeongyang; this was the first permanent inter-Korean consultative body intended to enhance inter-Korean relations.				
1980s					
1984, September 18	Working-level staff members of the South and North Korean Red Cross met in Panmunjeom to discuss the North's offer to provide flood aid to the South; the provision of humanitarian support was made for the first time since national division.				
1984, November-November 1985	The first through fifth full-dress inter-Korean economic talks were held in Panmunjeom; inter-Korean economic exchanges and cooperation were discussed for the first time since national division.				
1985, April-May	The first through third inter-Korean talks on sports exchanges were held in Panmunjeom; the formation of a unified Korean team for the Los Angeles Olympic Summer Games and inter-Korean sports exchanges were discussed.				
1985, May 27-30	The eighth full-dress meeting of the South-North Red Cross conference (SNRCC) was held in Seoul; it was decided to organize a reunion of separated families for the first time since national division and to have the hometown visitors and performing troupes cross-visit Seoul and Pyeongyang at the same time from September 20-23, 1985.				
	1990s				
1990, September 4-7	The first round of South-North Prime Minister Talks (South-North High-level Talks) was held in				
1991, December 10-13	Seoul; this was the first meeting of prime ministers since national division.  The fifth round of South-North High-level Talks was held in Seoul; the Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-aggression, Exchanges, and Cooperation (Basic Agreement) was signed by the two Prime Ministers.				
1992, February 18-21	The three principles of unification specified in the July 4 South-North Joint Communiqué were reaffirmed.  "The South and the North···Recognizing that their relationship, not being a relationship as between states, constitutes a special interim relationship stemming from the process toward unification."  The sixth round of South-North High-level Talks was held in Pyeongyang and the Agreement				
	on Reconciliation, Non-aggression, Exchanges, and Cooperation and the Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula took effect.				
1994, June 28	The preliminary meeting of deputy prime ministers for an inter-Korean summit was held in Panmunjeom; an agreement was reached to hold the first inter-Korean summit since national division between President Kim Young-sam and President Kim Il Sung in Pyeongyang July 25-27, 1994. The summit was not held due to the death of President Kim Il Sung on July 8, 1994.				
1997, December-August 1999	The first through sixth plenary sessions of the Four-Party Meeting among South Korea, North Korea, the United States and China were held in Geneva, Switzerland; these were the first multilateral talks held to discuss the establishment of permanent peace on the Korean Peninsula since the ceasefire.				
	2000s				
2000, June 13-15	The first inter-Korean summit was held in Pyeongyang between President Kim Dae-jung and Chairman of the National Defense Commission Kim Jong II; the two leaders signed the June 15 South-North Joint Declaration.				
2000, June-October 2010	The first through eleventh South and North Korean Red Cross talks were held in Geumgangsan Mountain and Gaeseong to implement the details of the June 15 South-North Joint Declaration. Fifteen years after the first reunion in 1985, a reunion of separated families took place in Seoul and Pyeongyang in August 2000.				
2000, July-February 2008	The first through 21 <sup>st</sup> inter-Korean ministerial talks were held in Seoul, Jeju, Pyeongyang, and Geumgangsan Mountain aimed at discussing the implementation of the agreements reached during the first and second inter-Korean summits.				
2000, September 25-26	The first inter-Korean meeting of national defense ministers since the ceasefire was held on Jeju.				
2000, December-April 2007	The first through eleventh meetings of the South-North Economic Cooperation Committee were held in Seoul, Jeju, Pyeongyang, and Gaeseong aimed at discussing the implementation of the economic agreements reached during the inter-Korean ministerial talks.				
2007, October 2-4	The second inter-Korean summit was held in Pyeongyang between President Roh Moo-hyun and				
	Chairman Kim Jong II of the National Defense Commission, and the Declaration on the Advancement of South-North Relations, Peace and Prosperity was signed by the two leaders on October 4 (October 4 Declaration)				

4 Declaration).

Appendix

#### Q&A on the Inter-Korean Summit

Peace, A New Start 2018 Inter-Korean Summit

# Q1. What is the significance of exchanges of special envoys between South and North Korea and the arrangement of an inter-Korean summit on the occasion of the PyeongChang Winter Olympics?

A. The participation by North Korea in the PyeongChang 2018 Olympic Winter Games and the reciprocal dispatch of special envoys elicited the possibility of talks between the United States and the North and an agreement on holding an inter-Korean summit.

Special Envoy Kim Yo Jong, first vice director of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, hand-delivered a personal letter from Kim Jong Un, Chairman of the State Affairs Commission of North Korea, to President Moon Jae-in on February 10.

Beyond its success as a peace Olympics, the PyeongChang Winter Olympics has made a great stride toward the denuclearization and settlement of peace on the Korean Peninsula. All this can be ascribable to inter-Korean talks together with strong support from the United States. If it leads to the denuclearization of North Korea and the normalization of Pyeongyang-Washington ties, it will become a breakthrough for bringing peace to the world as well.

There are many critical junctures ahead on the path toward denuclearization and the settlement of peace on the Korean Peninsula. It is imperative to lay the cornerstone for peace and prosperity on the Korean Peninsula step by step while engaging in talks with North Korea and working together with the international community, including the United States.

Appendix

## **Q2.** What is the meaning of a U.S.-North Korea summit, which is to be held after the inter-Korean summit?

A. The meeting between the leaders of the United States and North Korea in the wake of the inter-Korean summit will help place the complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula on the right track. Their meeting in May will go down in history as a milestone in achieving peace on the Korean Peninsula.

We are being given an invaluable opportunity to accomplish denuclearization, the settlement of peace on the Korean Peninsula and the opening of a path toward common prosperity in the two Koreas. If the inter-Korean summit and a U.S.-North Korea summit take place one after the other over the next two months, it will be possible to expect consequential changes. Our success will make a dramatic turnaround in world history.

The fundamental denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and the settlement of peace will depend on whether we can seize on this opportunity. It is not an accident that we have been able to create this opportunity—it has become possible only because it is the right path to take. The entire world is looking forward to peace, not war and a diplomatic solution, not a military action.

# Q3. What is the background behind the agreement to hold the summit between the two leaders at the border village of Panmunjeom?

A. Panmunjeom is the place that symbolizes division and military confrontation on the Korean Peninsula.

The venue was first proposed by the South Korean side. When special envoy Kim Yo Jong visited South Korea February 9-11, she conveyed the invitation from Chairman of the State Affairs Commission of North Korea Kim Jong Un to President Moon Jae-in to visit Pyeongyang. To this, the South Korean side proposed to hold a summit for peace at Panmunjeom, a symbol of the division and confrontation. This proposal was accepted by Chairman Kim Jong Un when the South Korean special envoys made a trip to the North March 5-6. Accordingly, it was agreed upon that the summit would be held at Panmunjeom.

As various functions that usually accompany a summit can be omitted if it is held at Panmunjeom, the two leaders will be able to focus on their discussions.

A New Start 2018 Inter-Korean Summit

# **Q4.** What is the goal of the 2018 South-North Korea Summit?

A. The focus will be placed on laying the foundation for denuclearization and the settlement of peace on the Korean Peninsula as well as for progress in inter-Korean relations, rather than on reaching an agreement on numerous fronts.

Given the fact that inter-Korean relations have remained severed for a long time, thus deteriorating, it will be of great significance for the two leaders to build mutual trust through candid and heart-to-heart discussions.

## Q5. What is the agenda of the 2018 South-North Korea Summit?

A. During the summit, a comprehensive discussion will be held on a wide range of issues, including denuclearization and the settlement of peace on the Korean Peninsula as well as progress in inter-Korean relations.

As of now, negotiations between the two sides are underway with regard to specific wording of agenda topics.

**Appendix** 

# Q6. To what extent will discussions on the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula progress during the upcoming summit?

A. Concerning denuclearization, it is most important to proceed to the practical resolution of the issue through the inter-Korean summit and an ensuing summit between the United States and North Korea.

In this connection, the inter-Korean summit will serve as an opportunity for the two sides to engage in candid discussions to narrow their differences in opinion in the run-up to the U.S.-North Korea summit.

# **Q7.** Are there any changes in the North's attitude with regard to the nuclear issue?

A. When South Korean officials mentioned the issue at meetings in the past, North Korean officials used to strongly protest against it and stopped any discussion from continuing.

During the inter-Korean high-level talks held on January 9 this year and the exchanges of visits by special envoys, however, North Korean officials listened to what their counterparts had to say until they finished. They also showed an about-face in their attitude to the extent that they explained the background of the North's nuclear development.

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# Q8. North Korea said it would not stage any strategic provocation, including a nuclear test or missile launch, while engaged in dialogue. Isn't it aimed at buying more time for their nuclear development?

A. It is inappropriate to jump to the conclusion that changes in their attitudes are for gaining more time.

Denuclearization is the unequivocal objective for South Korea, to achieve which we will engage in the talks with a clear stance in the interest of our country.

We will not be overly optimistic or turn a blind eye to certain aspects. Instead, preparations will be thoroughly made in consideration of all possible situations and possibilities.

Q9. There seems to be little possibility that North Korea, which announced the completion of its nuclear force, would accept a freeze and elimination of its program.

A. North Korea announced last year that it had completed its nuclear arsenal, but when the South Korean delegation visited the North, Chairman Kim Jong Un expressed his commitment to denuclearization and his intent to have dialogue with the United States to this end. The Government of the Republic of Korea (ROK) intends to make utmost efforts to encourage the North to make a resolution for denuclearization during the upcoming meetings, including the inter-Korean summit, and to follow through on its decision.

**Appendix** 

## Q10. What would be an obstacle to the negotiations on North Korea's nuclear programs?

A. The biggest obstacle in the inter-Korean summit and a summit between the United States and North Korea is the lack of trust. Implementation of agreements reached through negotiations has to be predictable, but there is a shortage of trust between the two Koreas and between the United States and North Korea. The ROK Government intends to do its best to prepare for the inter-Korean summit so that it can be the first step to recover trust between the two Koreas and between the United States and the North.

## Q11. What specifically will be discussed in relation to the settlement of peace on the Korean Peninsula?

A. It is expected that there will be heart-to-heart discussions on various matters needed to achieve denuclearization and settle permanent peace on the Korean Peninsula. A range of measures can also be discussed to prevent accidental military conflicts, ease military tension and build trust.

### Q12. What specifically will be discussed to enhance inter-Korean relations?

A. At the inter-Korean summit, issues regarding the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, the settlement of peace and the enhancement of inter-Korean relations will be discussed in a balanced manner. For the promotion of better inter-Korean relations, overall issues such as inter-Korean talks, exchanges and cooperation as well as humanitarian concerns are expected to be discussed.

A New Start 2018 Inter-Korean Summit

# Q13. What measures will need to be taken for agreements between the two Koreas to continue to be valid?

A. The ROK Government is reviewing a range of measures for agreements between the two Koreas to be consistently implemented without being influenced by external factors such as the change of Administration. Pursuant to Article 21, Paragraph 3 of the Development of Inter-Korean Relations Act, South-North Korean agreements, which incur heavy financial burdens or require legislation, will be ratified by the National Assembly to ensure they will be implemented in a faithful manner.

# Q14. There are concerns that the inter-Korean summit will not have any substantive outcomes as it was agreed upon in such a short time.

A. The inter-Korean summit was not agreed upon in a short time without any preparation. Beginning with the Berlin Initiative, the South Korean Government has proposed consistent policies toward the North and sought positive responses from it. It seems that North Korea has some areas of common understanding with the South on the direction of South Korea's policies and that is why the North responded to the proposal for inter-Korean talks. Successfully carrying out inter-Korean talks in late April and the following summit between the United States and North Korea will be an important turning point on issues regarding the Peninsula and inter-Korean relations.

**Appendix** 

# **Q15.** How would you realize the New Economic Map Initiative for the Korean Peninsula considering current inter-Korean relations?

A. With strong international sanctions against the North still intact at present, it is true that there are substantial limits to the type of economic cooperation projects South Korea can pursue together with the North.

Nevertheless, we are seeking to realize the New Economic Map Initiative for the Korean Peninsula while trying to create the possible conditions on the Korean Peninsula bearing in mind that an economic approach will be necessary to create a peaceful environment.

Under these circumstances, we are approaching the issue from the position that we can review potential projects we can do independently and later let the North participate if there is a substantive progress toward a solution to the nuclear issue.

# Q16. Will inter-Korean economic cooperation such as the resumption of the Gaeseong Industrial Complex (GIC) be discussed?

A. It would be possible only when there is actual progress in solving the North Korean nuclear issue. Although we are internally making preparations considering that a bright future could be opened together if the North gives up its nuclear programs, we need more time before starting full-fledged discussions.

Peace, A New Start 2018 Inter-Korean Summit

# Q17. North Korea proposed a phased approach as it has in the past in response to South Korea's position in favor of a package deal. Will it make North Korean nuclear negotiations more complicated?

A. It is not appropriate to make presuppositions about what will unfold in the future. It is anticipated that measures to peacefully resolve the North Korean nuclear issue will be discussed through the process of talks between the two Koreas and between Washington and Pyeongyang.

Q18. Is it likely that South Korea's strategy of resolving the North Korean nuclear issue through the inter-Korean summit and a U.S.-North Korea summit might be disrupted by the recent China-North Korea summit? Is there any possibility of resuming the Six-Party Talks, not talks among South and North Korea and the United States?

A. On many occasions, including the recent Pyeongyang-Beijing summit, China has been playing an active constructive role in bringing North Korea back to the negotiating table for denuclearization in addition to its contributions to the success of the upcoming inter-Korean summit and a U.S.-North Korea summit.

The ROK Government will continue close consultations with China. For now, it intends to channel its diplomatic efforts into making the inter-Korean summit and the U.S.-North Korea summit a success. Provided that there is any progress in the situation, various channels of dialogue might be possible.

**Appendix** 

# Q19. Won't the South Korean Government's sanctions against the North loosen in the wake of the inter-Korean summit and the U.S.-North Korea summit?

A. The ROK Government will strive to create a milestone in denuclearization and the settlement of peace on the Korean Peninsula through the success of the two upcoming summits. In doing so, it will also continue to work closely together with the international community for the faithful implementation of the sanctions against the North unless there is substantial progress in the denuclearization of the North.

Q20. In regards to discussions over the settlement of peace on the Korean Peninsula in the months to come, what would be responses to possible demands that could compromise the ROK-U.S. alliance such as no deployment of U.S. strategic assets, the reduction or cessation of ROK-U.S. joint military drills and the withdrawal of U.S. Armed Forces from South Korea?

A. The ROK-U.S. alliance, which is the foundation of South Korea's diplomatic and security policies and the linchpin for peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula as well as in the Asia Pacific, has contributed to the prosperity of the region. Based on the ironclad combined defense posture, South Korea and the United States will closely cooperate with each other in the process of discussions over the denuclearization and settlement of peace on the Korean Peninsula, including through inter-Korean talks and dialogue between North Korea and the United States.

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