

Initiating change that ensures the happiness of our people



Seeking trust to enhance  
inter-Korean relations  
and unite the Korean peninsula

**The Trust-Building Process on the Korean peninsula  
is a promise towards peace and unification**

- Pursuing policies based on a solid security
- Building on trust through carrying out agreements
- Encouraging the North's right choices
- Working on the basis of domestic and international trust



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and unite the Korean peninsula

# Trust-Building Process on the Korean Peninsula







“Through a trust-building process on the Korean peninsula, I intend to lay the groundwork for an era of harmonious unification where all Koreans can lead prosperous and freer lives and where their dreams can come true. I will move forward step-by-step on the basis of credible deterrence to build trust between the South and the North. Trust can be built through dialogue and honoring promises that have already been made. It is my hope that North Korea will abide by international norms and make the right choice so that the trust-building process on the Korean peninsula can move forward.”

February 25, 2013, President Park’s Inaugural Address

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# I Significance of the Policy

## The Trust-Building Process and its Implications

The two Koreas can gradually build on mutual trust through continued dialogue, shared commitment to promises, and mutual endeavors of exchange and cooperation.

In the event of any North Korean misconduct that undermines peace, the ROK government will make clear that a price must be paid for such actions, and thus encourage the North to take the path of cooperation. We will also ensure that Pyongyang understands that only trust-building through sincere dialogue and cooperation will reap mutual benefits.

The policy of trust-building calls for:

- (a) trust between South and North Korea;
- (b) public confidence in the ROK government; and
- (c) trust from the international community.

Trust is the very foundation of better inter-Korean ties, lasting peace on the Korean peninsula and the groundwork for a unified Korea. At the same time, it serves as a social capital which enables us to push forward our North Korea and diplomatic policies on the basis of domestic support and international cooperation.

**“You cannot accomplish anything without trust.”**

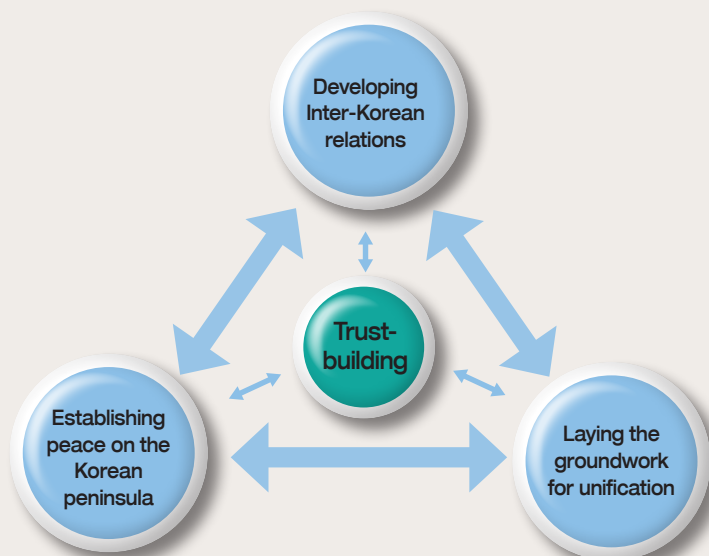
- Quote from *Confucian Analects*

# Concept

The Park Geun-hye administration has set forth its Trust-Building Process on the Korean Peninsula based on a solid foundation of security, with the objective of building trust between the two Koreas. This basis of mutual confidence will enable us to further develop inter-Korean relations, establish lasting peace on the Korean peninsula, and lay the groundwork for unification.

The Trust-Building Process on the Korean Peninsula strives to safeguard peace by means of establishing a solid security posture that does not tolerate armed provocations posed by North Korea, as well as encouraging the North to take the path of trust-building to create enduring peace.

With this process of trust-building as our foremost priority, the ROK government will promote policies that generate a virtuous cycle consisting of trust-building, developing inter-Korean relations, establishing peace on the Korean peninsula, and laying the groundwork for unification.



# Background

- We need to break the vicious cycle of inter-Korean relations in which progress and setbacks are repeated, and should encourage the North to become a responsible member of the international community.

It is time to put an end to the ongoing instability and confrontational relations between the South and North, resulting from the vicious cycle of North Korean provocation, crisis, compromise, reward, and more provocations. In order to bring sustainable peace in the region, the ROK government will respond firmly to any provocation or misconduct of Pyongyang, while urging the North's compliance with global standards and all existing agreements.

- We need fundamental solutions to the security crises on the Korean peninsula including the North Korean nuclear issue.

North Korea's nuclear pursuit continues to threaten the Korean peninsula, Northeast Asia, and global peace despite two decades of extensive efforts by South Korea and the international community. As there is lack of trust between the two Koreas and between the North and the international community, mere makeshift measures would not be able to put an end to the nuclear issue.

With this in mind, the ROK government seeks fundamental solutions to the North Korean nuclear issue based on trust-building.

- We need to explore a comprehensive approach toward the North that builds on the strengths of North Korea policies of past administrations.

The policies of previous ROK administrations, those of engagement centered on inter-Korean dialogue and exchange as well as those grounded in a more principled approach, fell short of inducing significant changes in North Korea and proved insufficient to deter its nuclear ambitions and provocations.

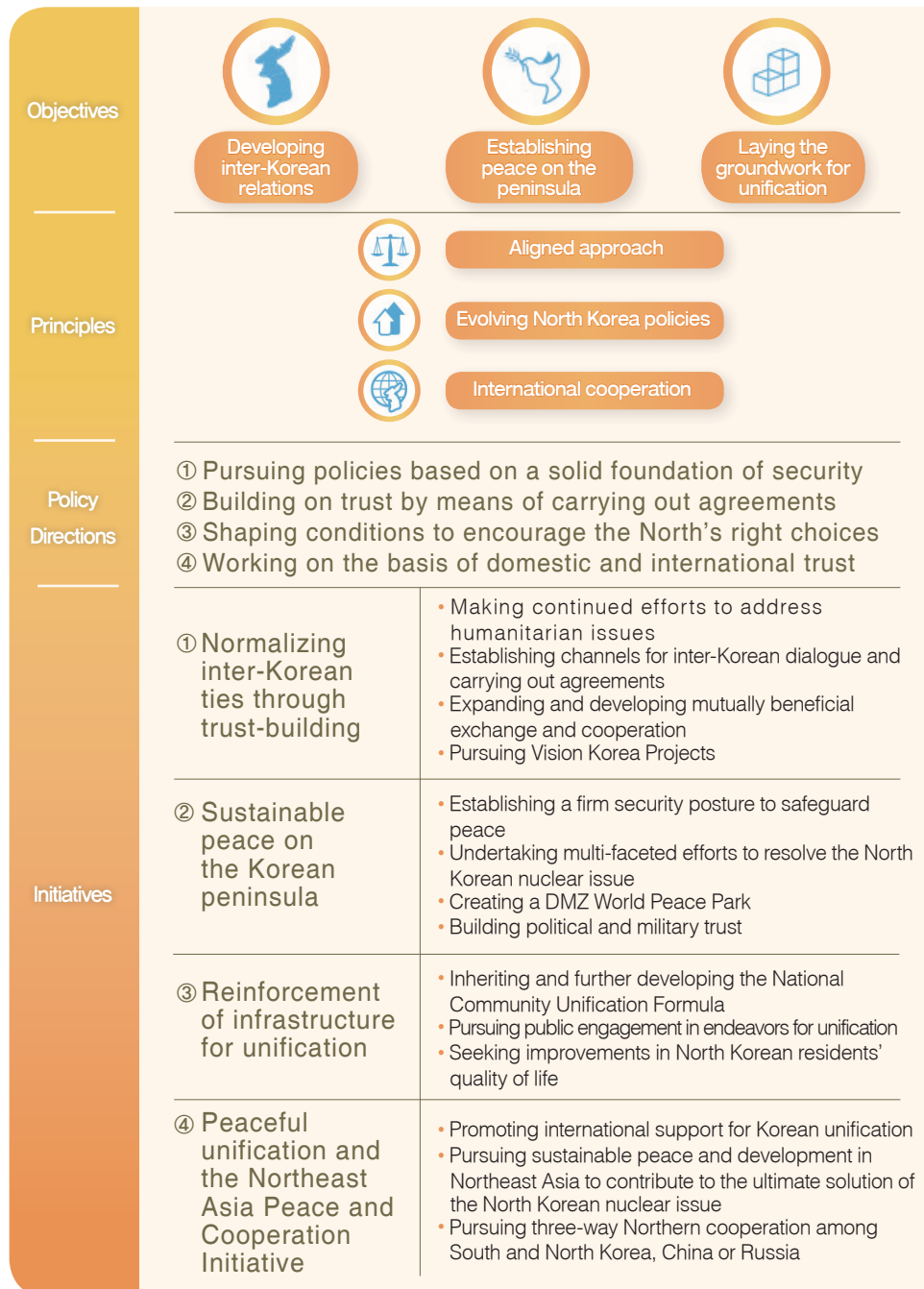
Meanwhile, the Trust-Building Process on the Korean Peninsula explores a comprehensive approach by embracing the strengths of each, which will help transcend the limitations of past North Korea policies and contribute to resolving related conflicts within the domestic arena.

This period of growing mistrust is the window of opportunity for us to take initiative in shaping a new order based on trust. Against this backdrop, the Park Geun-hye administration sets forth the **Trust-Building Process on the Korean Peninsula**, a policy which at its core seeks to **build on trust**.



## II Directions for Implementation





# Objectives

The Trust-Building Process on the Korean Peninsula seeks to further develop inter-Korean relations, establish peace on the peninsula, and lay the groundwork for unification.

## ● First, we aim to further develop inter-Korean relations.

The ROK government will strive to open a new chapter of inter-Korean ties based on common sense and compliance with international norms, while expanding the basis of common interest and inter-Korean exchange and cooperation, in pursuit of building economic and socio-cultural communities across the two Koreas.

## ● Second, we seek to establish lasting peace on the Korean peninsula.

The ROK government will seek alignment between international cooperation and inter-Korean cooperation to achieve denuclearization on the Korean peninsula. And by promoting inter-Korean trust in the political and military spheres, we aim to secure enduring peace in the region.

## ● Third, we will lay the groundwork for Korean unification.

Within the domestic sphere, the ROK government will build on our capacity to take initiative and make substantial preparations for a unified Korean peninsula. On the external front, we will strive to enhance the understanding of the international community of the fact that Korean unification can be realized through world-wide cooperation, and that this will be a win-win solution not only for both halves of the peninsula but also for the global community.



# Principles

In carrying out our policy of trust-building, we will hold to the principles of (a) aligned approach, (b) evolving North Korea policies, and (c) cooperation with the international community.

- First, we will undertake an aligned approach.

The ROK government will strive to maintain a balance between national security on the one hand and inter-Korean exchange and cooperation on the other, as well as inter-Korean cooperation and international cooperation.

To this end, we will closely coordinate key policy elements, enabling either more flexibility or more resolve in response.

- Second, we will pursue evolving North Korea policies.

The ROK government will continue to refine and improve our North Korea policies, striving to direct the North to the path of right choices and to realize mutual progress for both Koreas.

Moreover, by reflecting the ongoing developments in our North Korea policies, we aim to proactively manage situations on the Korean peninsula.

- Third, we will cooperate with the international community.

The ROK government will work closely with the international community to address any security crises on the peninsula, while seeking a virtuous cycle of solutions to Korean peninsula issues and greater cooperation for peace in the Northeast Asian region.



# Policy Directions

We will build on trust by means of carrying out promises upon a solid basis of security. We will build conditions that will enable the North to make right choices and promote policies underpinned by domestic and international trust.

- First, we will pursue policies based on a solid foundation of security.

The ROK government will deter North Korean provocations based on strong deterrence, and firmly respond to any provocations pose by the North.

At the same time, however, we will leave a door open for dialogue and make continuous efforts to further develop inter-Korean relations.

- Second, we will build on trust through carrying out agreements.

The ROK government will respect and adhere to not only existing inter-Korean agreements, but also those reached with the international community to build on trust. Our trust-building endeavor will also entail assenting to provisions that can be implemented and carrying out those agreements without fail.

- Third, we will shape the conditions to enable the North's right choices

The ROK government seeks to encourage North Korea to scrap its nuclear program and abide by international norms and obligations.

We will make ongoing efforts to shape the environment for change in North Korea through trust-based inter-Korean dialogue, exchange and cooperation.

- Fourth, we will work on the basis of domestic and international trust.

The ROK government will forge a greater consensus in the domestic arena by means of public feedback, transparent information sharing and policy implementation.

At the same time, we will work closely with the international community for greater effectiveness in our policies and to enhance the North's acceptability of our policies.



Starting a new  
chapter of peace  
and unification  
with trust

## III Initiatives



## Normalizing inter-Korean relations through trust-building

Through the Trust-Building Process on the Korean Peninsula, we will build trust between the two Koreas to establish normal inter-Korean relations. To this end, we will push forward multi-faceted endeavors which include: (a) making continued efforts to address humanitarian issues; (b) establishing permanent channels for dialogue and carrying out existing agreements; (c) working to expand and develop mutually beneficial exchange and cooperation; and (d) pursuing Vision Korea Projects.

- We will make continuous efforts to address humanitarian issues.
  - Regardless of the political situation on the Korean peninsula, the ROK government will remain committed to providing humanitarian assistance to vulnerable populations in North Korea such as infants and expectant mothers.
  - We will also make sustained endeavors to offer substantial solutions to other humanitarian problems, including those of separated families, prisoners of war, and abductees in North Korea.
- We will establish channels for inter-Korean dialogue and carry out agreements.
  - The ROK government will make efforts to resume talks with North Korean authorities and set up a permanent channel for inter-Korean dialogue.
  - We will establish practices of inter-Korean dialogue which conform to international standards.
  - While we stand by the spirit of “mutual respect and peace,” we will carry out inter-Korean agreements in consideration of the public consensus and security situation, among others.



- We will expand and develop mutually beneficial exchange and cooperation between the two Koreas.
  - The ROK government will work towards an advanced level of normalization of the Gaecheon Industrial Complex, as well as its development as an international hub.
  - We aim to foster various social and cultural exchanges between the two Koreas including inter-Korean academic and religious activities.
  - We intend to run cooperative projects including the joint development of underground resources in the North that can yield win-win outcomes for both Koreas, as well as establish a South-North environmental community through our Green Détente initiative which involves cooperation in agricultural and environmental issues.
  - Meanwhile, we will work towards the resumption of Mt. Geumgang tours once personal safety issues and other mechanisms are addressed.
- We will pursue Vision Korea Projects in line with progress in trust-building and denuclearization.
  - As we build greater trust on the Korean peninsula and see progress in the North Korean nuclear issue, the ROK government will make efforts to expand North Korea's infrastructure, including electricity, transportation and telecommunication, in order to enhance the North's self-sufficiency.
  - We will also support the North's membership for international financial institutions and explore foreign investment opportunities in the special economic zones in the North.
  - We will also seek to establish offices of inter-Korean exchange and cooperation in Seoul and Pyongyang.

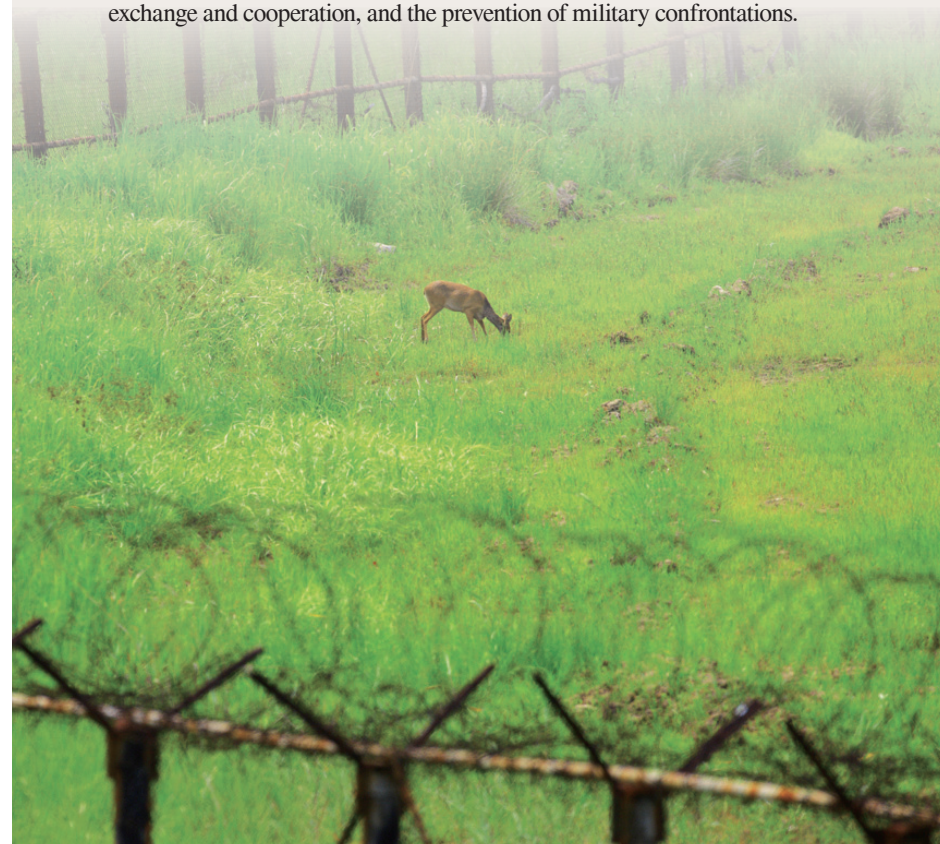
# Sustainable peace on the Korean peninsula

The Trust-Building Process on the Korean Peninsula seeks to build sustainable peace on the Korean peninsula, and to this end, we will (a) establish a firm security posture, (b) undertake multi-faceted efforts to resolve the North Korean nuclear issue, (c) create a DMZ World Peace Park, and (d) build political and military trust.

- We will establish a firm security posture to safeguard peace.
  - The ROK government will deter provocations posed by North Korea through strong deterrence and by building a solid foundation of security.
  - To fend off North Korean provocations, we will further enhance comprehensive defense capabilities, such as the joint ROK-US forces of deterrence.
- We will undertake multi-faceted efforts to resolve the North Korean nuclear issue.
  - The ROK government will strike a balance between inter-Korean cooperation on the one hand and work with the international community on the other, while employing methods of persuasion and pressure to dissuade the North from developing nuclear arms.
  - We will push toward substantial inter-Korean dialogue to arrive at solutions for North Korea's nuclear issue.
  - We will strengthen our efforts for denuclearization talks through various means including the six-party talks and three-way strategic discussions among South Korea, the United States, and China.
  - In line with progress made with denuclearization, we will consider commensurate measures within the political, economic and diplomatic context.



- We will create a DMZ World Peace Park.
  - The ROK government will join efforts with the United Nations and relevant countries to create a world peace park within the demilitarized zone.
  - The DMZ World Peace Park will become a landmark of world peace, as a new model for peace and cooperation that brings together the two Koreas and the international community.
- We will strive to build political and military trust.
  - The ROK government will first undertake fundamental measures such as the mutual recognition of both regimes in the South and the North and an end to armed provocations.
  - In line with inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation, we will seek to take further trust-building measures in the political and military fields, including peaceful resolutions to disputes using aligned approaches, efforts to facilitate inter-Korean exchange and cooperation, and the prevention of military confrontations.





## Reinforcement of infrastructure for unification

The Trust-Building Process on the Korean Peninsula is an essential basis not only for peace on the Korean peninsula but also for national unification. As such, we will endeavor to strengthen our infrastructure for unification, which includes efforts to (a) inherit and further develop the National Community Unification Formula, (b) seek public engagement in our quest for unification, and (c) improve the quality of life for North Korean residents.

- We will inherit and further develop the National Community Unification Formula.
  - The ROK government will host academic seminars, public meetings and other means of communication to collect a wide range of feedback, in order to build national consensus on the developmental direction of the National Community Unification Formula.
  - Starting from small unification endeavors (e.g. economic community), we will eventually pursue a greater sense of unification (e.g. political integration).
  - To this end, we will promote research on Korean unification and North Korean studies at home and abroad, and build a framework of cooperation among research institutes.



- We seek public engagement in our unification endeavors.
  - In pursuing unification policies, the ROK government places top priority on building a public consensus, while strengthening bipartisan cooperation.
  - We will reinforce our educational out-reach for unification, thus garnering commitments from South Koreans and enhancing our capacity for a unified Korean peninsula.
  - We will also enhance the infrastructure and systems to protect and support North Korean refugees settled in South Korea.
- We will help improve the quality of life for North Korean residents.
  - The ROK government will make efforts to create favorable domestic and international environments for the improvement of the human rights situation in the North, including the enactment of the North Korean Human Rights Act.
  - We will expand and develop our cooperative engagement with civic groups and the international community.
  - Throughout the developments of inter-Korean relations, we will seek multi-faceted efforts to cooperate with the North in order to develop its economy and reduce poverty.

# Peaceful unification and the Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative

The Trust-Building Process on the Korean Peninsula pursues a virtuous cycle between peaceful Korean unification and the Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative. To this end, we will (a) promote international support for Korean unification, (b) work towards peace and development in Northeast Asia which will eventually contribute to the solution of the North Korean nuclear issue, and (c) carry forward three-way Northern cooperation.

## ● We will promote international support for unification.

- As we undertake trust-building efforts in Northeast Asia, the ROK government will garner support and promote the understanding for peaceful unification on the Korean peninsula.
- We will actively promote the vision of peaceful unification that will contribute to the development of the Northeast Asian region as well as to global peace.
- In addition, we will take initiative in diplomatic efforts to broaden the consensus for unification around the world.



- We will seek sustainable peace and development in Northeast Asia, eventually contributing to the solution of the North Korean nuclear issue.
  - The ROK government will pursue cooperative endeavors on agendas regarding terrorism, environment, humanitarian assistance, disaster relief and other non-conventional areas of security, in order to secure sustainable peace in the region.
  - We will form multilateral frameworks for inter-Korean cooperation and ways to ease conflicts on the Korean peninsula and in Northeast Asia, and thereby build on trust and develop a new regional order.
- We will work with three-way Northern cooperation.
  - The ROK government will pursue three-way Northern cooperation among the two Koreas and China or Russia, in order to promote common interests and a peaceful environment on the Korean peninsula and in Northeast Asia, including cooperative fields such as energy and logistics.
  - Throughout our three-way Northern cooperation, we will also actively cooperate with relevant international organizations.





## Q&A: Trust-Building Process on the Korean



## 1 How is the Trust-Building Process on the Korean Peninsula different from South Korea's past policies toward the North?

- Previous policies of engagement that centered on inter-Korean dialogue and exchange helped reinforce the cooperative relationship between the two Koreas, but at the same time compromised on some principles. On the other hand, policies based on a principled approach resulted in more consistency, but lacked flexibility.
- The Trust-Building Process on the Korean Peninsula, however, derives from a new comprehensive approach toward the North, which refrains from over-committing to either of these two conventional approaches, and instead integrates the strengths of each.
- In other words, the policy of trust-building means using both instruments of dialogue and pressure in a well-aligned and effective manner, leaving the way open for a more resolute or flexible approach toward North Korea. This way, we intend to encourage the North to make the right choices.



## 2 What does alignment mean in the Trust-Building Process?

- Our concept of alignment is not simply taking the middle ground between hard-line and soft-line policies. It means carefully coordinating the key elements of both policies so that a more flexible or resolute response can be pursued as deemed necessary.
- Just as the four wheels of a car must be properly aligned if it is to be steered in the right direction, we will closely align necessary elements in order to move our North Korea policy forward, which entails a proper balance between hard-line and soft-line approaches, pressure and dialogue, security and exchange/cooperation, and inter-Korean and international cooperation.

## 3 What is the meaning of "inter-Korean relations based on common sense and compliance with international standards?"

- Our emphasis on international norms and standards is an effort to correct the unreasonable practices of the past inter-Korean relations, and to rebuild inter-Korean ties on the basis of common sense and rationality.
- As inter-Korean relations carry features of both intra-national and international aspects, their particularities must be taken into consideration. However, we should also pursue normalized inter-Korean ties that are in compliance with common sense and global standards.





#### 4 What does it mean to “embark on small-scale unification projects that will lead to greater unification endeavors?”

- We intend to achieve sustainable peace through the Trust-Building Process on the Korean Peninsula and thereby ease military tensions, as well as build an economic community of both Koreas to attain a ‘small unification.’ Eventually, we aim to move towards political integration which translates as a ‘greater unification.’
- The ROK government seeks to achieve unification in a phased approach, starting by establishing an inter-Korean economic community and moving forward to political integration. This is in line with the gradual and phased initiative for unification suggested in the National Community Unification Formula, which has been inherited by the current administration.

#### 5 Would the Trust-Building Process take effect subsequent to resolving the North Korean nuclear issue?

- It would not be desirable to solely promote the development of inter-Korean ties without progress in denuclearization, but at the same time, it would not be feasible to relate every inter-Korean issue to the North Korean nuclear program.
- Accordingly, the ROK government will pursue a low level of engagement with the North in the form of exchange, cooperation, and humanitarian aid, to build a sense of inter-Korean trust.

In the meantime, as inter-Korean trust grows stronger and progress is made regarding denuclearization, the ROK government will launch Vision Korea Projects and other large-scale projects of economic cooperation with the North.



#### 6 Will the policy of trust-building continue to work when inter-Korean ties are under strain?

- The policy of trust-building is designed not only to accommodate a resolute response to the North’s provocations, but also promote cooperation upon North Korea’s change in the right direction.

Therefore, providing support and cooperation in return for Pyongyang’s right choices is also a part of our trust-building process, as is convincing North Korea that its bad behavior will not be rewarded.
- Proceeding from this understanding, our Trust-Building Process will be able to function under any circumstances that face the two Koreas.

#### 7 What is the meaning of “evolving North Korea policies”?

- As the saying “it takes two to tango,” trust-building requires efforts from both sides of the Korean peninsula.
- “Evolving North Korea policies” implies that we will not sit back and wait for Pyongyang to initiate change. Rather, we aim to develop our own policies to induce the North to embark on the path to right decisions and change.
- By adjusting our policies in line with inter-Korean developments, the ROK government will take an active approach to managing the situation on the Korean peninsula.



## 8 What is the correlation between the Trust-Building Process on the Korean Peninsula and the Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative?

- The Trust-Building Process and the Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative aim to create a new order of cooperation on the Korean peninsula and in the region. These two create a synergy effect, in which one exerts a positive influence on the other.
- In this regard, we will closely coordinate and implement the two initiatives, as Korean peninsula issues are an integral part to Northeast Asia's sustainable peace and development and vice versa.

## 9 How will Korean unification be prepared?

- Along with efforts to develop inter-Korean relations through our policy of trust-building, the ROK government plans to substantially prepare for unification.
- Instead of waiting for unification to take place, we intend to take an active stance and advance towards a unified Korea. With this in mind, the ROK government will strengthen our overall capabilities for unification in the domestic arena and strive to promote understanding and support for a peaceful unification around the world.
- To this end, we will embark on multi-faceted efforts to establish a foundation for peaceful unification, such as reinforcing our educational outreach to consolidate support for unification, providing North Korean refugees with customized support for settlement in the South, and strengthening our efforts for unification diplomacy.



## 10 What is the ROK government's stance on existing inter-Korean agreements, including the June 15 Joint Statement and the October 4 Joint Declaration?

- The ROK government respects and intends to implement the agreements signed between the two Koreas including the July 4 Joint Communiqué, Inter-Korean Basic Agreement, June 15 Joint Declaration and the October 4 Declaration. The detailed methods of carrying out these agreements, however, will be determined by comprehensive reviews of public consensus and national security, among others.

## 11 What are Vision Korea Projects?

- Vision Korea Projects, designed to enhance the North's self-sufficiency and economic development, encompass: (a) reinforcing North Korea's infrastructure including railways, roads, electricity, telecommunication, etc.; (b) supporting the North's membership to international financial institutions; and (c) exploring the prospect of investments to the North's special economic zones, etc.
- Given that Vision Korea Projects are large in scale, they will be implemented in consideration of developments in trust-building and denuclearization.



## 12 What precisely does “Green Détente” mean?

- Green Détente is a concept aimed at mitigating tension and realizing peaceful coexistence by means of environmental cooperation between the two Koreas.

Environmental cooperation is a feasible way of cooperation which can provide win-win propositions, given the inter-Korean and global consensus on the matter.

- Examples of this initiative include: (a) inter-Korean cooperation in the areas of agriculture, such as joint projects for North Korea’s reforestation, pest control and demonstration farms; and (b) developmental projects for environmental infrastructure, including joint research on bio-species and ecosystems on the Korean peninsula.

## 13 What are the plans for establishing the DMZ World Peace Park?

- The DMZ World Peace Park is an initiative that sets out to build a peace park in the demilitarized zone (DMZ) that currently separates the two Koreas. This will involve cooperative efforts not only from both Koreas, but also from the United Nations, the United States, China and other members of the international community.
- Contrary to its name, the DMZ remains the world’s most heavily militarized zone. We intend to transform a small plot of land in the DMZ into a weapon-free zone, and cultivate it as a site where peace and trust are fostered.
- The ROK government will develop concrete plans to establish the DMZ World Peace Park, and run parallel efforts to collect public opinions domestically as well as present our plans to relevant countries.
- At the same time, we will move our initiative forward based on our experiences of South-North cooperation in jointly-managed areas within the DMZ such as the inter-Korean road and railway connections.

## 14 What are the plans for humanitarian aid to North Korea?

- We remain committed to providing humanitarian assistance to vulnerable populations in the North, such as infants and expectant mothers, irrespective of political developments.
- To make sure that humanitarian goods reach those in desperate need, we will strive to enhance the transparency of distribution and compliance with relevant international standards.

## 15 How will efforts to improve the human rights situation in North Korea be carried out?

- The very goal of unification is to ensure happiness on both sides of the Korean peninsula. With this in mind, we will strive to end the suffering of North Koreans and make continued efforts to promote their human rights.
- We will work to enact the North Korean Human Rights Act in order to provide an institutional basis for the improvement of the human rights situation in the North. Meanwhile, we will systematically collect relevant data to further raise the awareness of the reality in North Korea and strengthen cooperation with civic groups and international organizations to this end.



16 What efforts are to be made for the protection of and settlement support for North Korean refugees?

- In order to prevent forced repatriations of North Korean refugees from other countries to North Korea, the ROK government will enhance its cooperative efforts with the international community.
- We will also undertake to reinforce the infrastructure and customized system of settlement support for North Korean refugees, to ensure their settlement and help them reach their full potential. This way, we will enable them to play the necessary roles in our endeavor towards a unified Korean peninsula of the future.



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