

and the liberal international order that have resulted in international exchanges and cooperation have faced challenges due to the emergence of protectionism, nationalism and populism.

I expect that this Forum under the theme of “Re-engineering Peace for Asia” becomes a venue where we can revisit the existing ideas and strategies for conflict resolution and peace and come up with good ideas and sound policies for a new international order.

I hope that the Jeju Forum can find ways to put an end to conflicts and to build peace, and then gather momentum to implement them.

Distinguished guest, Ladies and gentlemen, Never has the Jeju Forum been held amid more anticipation and more excitement for the peace and prosperity on the Korean Peninsula and in Asia than it has this year.

At a critical time when the inter-Korean and US-North Korean relationship are at the turning point for epic changes, I strongly believe that it is the right time for the Jeju Forum to play a role as a “global peace platform” in re-engineering peace for Asia anew.

In the wake of the historic summit meetings between the two Koreas and between the US and North Korea, a series of follow-up talks are sure to be held to discuss ways to completely end the Cold War on the Korean Peninsula and to promote genuine peace and cooperation in Asia.

I believe now is the time that the Korean Peninsula, the world’s only remaining “divided land,” become the epicenter for world peace, and it is Jeju that should promote and spread the peace throughout the world.

Last March, I officially requested the Government of the Republic of Korea and the relevant authorities that Jeju should be considered as a venue for the summit meeting between the US and North Korea and the trilateral summit meeting among South and North Korea, and US.

Jeju has gained the spotlight globally as an ideal place for summit meetings, as can be seen with the previous meetings between the South Korea and the Soviet Union in 1991, between the US and South Korea and between South Korea and Japan in 1996, and between South Korea and Japan in 2004.

Jeju played host to historic summit meetings described as milestones at every turning point in history. As such, I would like to propose that Jeju hold follow-up summit talks between the US and North Korea for the ultimate goal of denuclearization of North Korea.

In order for denuclearization on the Korean Peninsula and the settlement of the permanent peace in Asia, it is also necessary to hold talks with neighboring countries such as China, Japan, and Russia besides the two Koreas and the US.

I have no doubt that the experience of Jeju holding several summit meetings and the Jeju Forum, the thirteenth this year since its launching, and the symbolic significance of Jeju as the “Island of World Peace” will make Jeju the perfect place for talks to discuss the dismantlement of the Cold War structure on the Korean Peninsula and the re-engineering of peace for Asia.

Distinguished guests, Ladies and gentlemen, We are now standing at the crossroads for historic changes.

Depending on what choices and decisions we make, we may turn enemies of yesterday into friends of tomorrow and beat our swords into plowshares and our spears into scythes.

The Jeju Forum is the place of “collective intelligence” where leaders and intellectuals from around the world come together.

The 2018 Jeju Forum has a greater role to play at a critical juncture for great transition in Asia. I may say that the last 17 years since the Forum’s establishment was a period of preparation for today.

I cordially ask all of you to produce more wisdom and more creative ideas than ever before in order to make wise choices and decisions toward peace and prosperity.

Once again, I would like to express genuine appreciation and warm welcome to all of you for attending the 13th Jeju Forum.

June in Jeju is peaceful and beautiful. I hope you enjoy June of the Island of World Peace, Jeju, to the fullest.

Thank you.

[Keynote Address]

Transforming the Korean Peninsula into a Model for World Peace



LEE Nak-yeon
Prime Minister
of the Republic of Korea



Distinguished guests, I am delighted to have you here with us at the 13th Jeju Forum for Peace and Prosperity. I would like to thank former UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, along with former Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and former Japanese Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda, for agreeing to deliver keynote addresses during the World Leaders Session. It is a pleasure to see all of our distinguished guests, including accomplished scholars and world leaders including Mongolian Deputy Prime Minister Ölziisaikhany Enkh-tuvshin and Russian State Duma Deputy Chairwoman Olga Yepifanova. I also want to express my appreciation to Jeju Island Governor Won Hee-ryong and everyone else who prepared for this forum and to the people of Jeju Island.

Today, I plan to summarize the developments on and around the Korean Peninsula that have defined the peninsula’s destiny for the seventy-three years since World War II. That will serve as my backdrop for explaining how things have been changing recently and what steps are being taken toward peace and prosperity. World War II was brought to an end in August 1945 with the victory of the Allies, led by the U.S., the UK, France, and the Soviet Union.

Though the alliance between the U.S., the most powerful capitalist country, and the Soviet Union, the cradle of communism, may have been necessary for victory, it was fundamentally unnatural. Even before the end of World War II, the Cold War was brewing between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The subject of dividing conquered territories after the war was discussed during the Yalta Conference in February 1945—after Italy had surrendered and Germany was nearing defeat—and that proved to be the beginning of the Cold War, which would spread around the world.

In August 1945, Japan surrendered, concluding World War II and leading to the liberation of the Korean Peninsula after thirty-five years of Japanese colonial rule. While the peninsula was in a state of anarchy immediately after liberation, the Americans occupied the southern half and the Soviets occupied the northern half. A government was established in the south in August 1948 and in the north in September 1948. Throughout the period of Japanese colonial rule, the Korean Peninsula had been a single country, but after liberation it was split into two. It is reasonable to assume the peninsula would have remained whole if not for Japan’s colonial rule and the

American and Soviet rivalry during the Cold War. In June 1950, North Korea invaded the South and launched a war that would ravage the peninsula for three years and one month. During that war, South Korea was assisted by UN troops led by the U.S., while the North had the help of the Soviet Union and China. That war claimed the lives of 4.6 million people and separated more than 10 million people from their family members.

The Cold War entered its final stage with the Malta Conference in 1989. After that, the Cold War alignment unraveled with the fall of the Berlin Wall, the reunification of Germany in 1990, the breakup of the Soviet Union, and the collapse of one communist government after another in Eastern Europe in 1991. On the Korean Peninsula, however, the military standoff continued even after the Korean War ended in an armistice in 1953. Random military clashes continued to occur as well. When the Cold War system in Europe began to implode in 1989 as the Soviet Union collapsed and a string of communist regimes were toppled, North Korea moved in earnest to strengthen its nuclear weapon and missile capabilities. Despite the Cold War's grip on the Korean Peninsula, South and North Korea made occasional efforts to achieve peaceful coexistence. In 1972, officials from the two sides released the July 4th North-South Joint Statement, in which officials agreed for the first time on the principles of unification: namely, that it should be achieved internally, peacefully, and in a way that promoted national unity. In 1991, South and North Korea were simultaneously admitted to the UN. A year later, they adopted the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement, in which they committed themselves to reconciliation, nonaggression, and cooperation and exchange. During the first inter-Korean summit in 2000, the two sides took tentative steps toward unification and agreed to engage in economy-oriented cooperation and exchange, and to hold reunions for the families divided by the Korean War. In 2007, they held a second inter-Korean summit, at which time they arranged to launch various projects to promote peace and economic cooperation.

But such attempts at peaceful coexistence were often thwarted by the Cold War alignment that had become entrenched around the Korean Peninsula. Obsessed with defending the regime, North Korea focused on bolstering its military power, while the frequent handovers of power in South Korea prevented the government from maintaining a consistent line on North Korea. Nor were the other powers around the peninsula very enthusiastic about promoting cooperation and exchange between South and North Korea. Military tensions on the Korean Peninsula reached their nadir at the end of last year. North Korea continued enhancing its military capabilities through a series of nuclear weapons tests and missile launches until it finally announced the completion of its nuclear forces. Under the lead of the U.S., the UN raised economic and diplomatic sanctions against North Korea to their toughest level ever.

It was under these circumstances that South Korean President Moon Jae-in announced his plan for peace on the Korean Peninsula during his Berlin Declaration on July 6, 2017. Along with a warning about North Korea's military provocations, Moon proposed an inter-Korean summit. "We can place on the dialogue table all issues of interest between the South and the North, including the nuclear issue and the peace treaty, and discuss peace on the Korean Peninsula and inter-Korean cooperation," he said. Moon received a reply on January 1, 2018, when North Korean leader Kim Jong-un delivered his New Year's address. Kim said it was necessary to improve inter-Korean relations and eliminate the threat of a military clash or a larger war between the two sides. This was also the first time that Kim spoke of his desire for North Korea to participate in the PyeongChang Winter Olympics in February.

The PyeongChang Winter Olympics helped bring about the resumption of inter-Korean dialogue. It also served as an opportunity for the U.S. to verify North Korea's commitment to dialogue. Pyeongchang's winter brought spring to the Korean Peninsula. The changes since then have been faster



and greater than the world could have imagined. On April 27, the leaders of South and North Korea met at Panmunjom, on the Korean Peninsula's military demarcation line. During this meeting, Kim confirmed his commitment to complete denuclearization. The two leaders agreed to arrange a formal declaration of the end of the Korean War within the year and to try to establish a peace regime. They also shared their support for holding a North Korea-U.S. summit.

When preparations for the North Korea-U.S. summit suddenly hit a snag, Kim and Moon met again at Panmunjom on May 26 and exchanged views about how to make the summit a reality. On June 12, Kim and Trump met in Singapore's Sentosa Island to hold the first historic summit between the leaders of North Korea and the U.S. Kim and Trump confirmed their commitment to the complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and to the U.S. providing the North with security assurances. The two countries also agreed to forge a new relationship, ending the mutual hostility that had lasted longer,

and been more intense, than between any other two countries in history.

In fact, many changes occurred during this series of summits. North Korea publicly detonated a nuclear test site and promised the U.S. that it would shut down a missile engine test site. South Korea and the U.S. agreed to suspend their joint military exercises. The propaganda broadcasts across the DMZ—in which South and North Korea had criticized each other—were halted and the loudspeakers removed. The two sides agreed to hold reunions for divided families at the end of August. In the agreement reached on Sentosa, Kim and Trump reaffirmed the Panmunjom Declaration that Kim and Moon had made on April 27. This suggests that the peace process on the Korean Peninsula will turn into a virtuous cycle between the three countries of South Korea, North Korea, and the U.S. This is a cycle in which inter-Korean agreements are confirmed, guaranteed, and executed by North Korea and the U.S. and agreements between North Korea and the

U.S. are similarly confirmed, guaranteed, and executed by South and North Korea.

South Korea is at the center of this virtuous cycle. As time goes on, the South Korean president and government will be asked to play an increasingly important role in the peace process on the Korean Peninsula, sometimes as a leader and sometimes as a mediator. South Korea is willing to play that role to the best of its ability, while securing the understanding and cooperation not only with North Korea and the U.S., but indeed of all related countries, including China, Japan, and Russia. Inter-Korean meetings have been organized in various areas to discuss the work that needs to be done after the inter-Korean summit, and those meetings have been going smoothly. The high-level talks—in which South Korea is represented by its Unification Minister and North Korea by the chair of its Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland—are discussing the full range of follow-up measures. The agenda for the military talks is reducing military tensions along the DMZ; the agenda for the sports talks is the unification basketball match in early July, joint entrance into the Asian Games in August, and the members of a unified team in a few events; the agenda for the forestry cooperation subcommittee meeting is matters related to inter-Korean forestry cooperation; and the agenda for the Red Cross talks is reunions of the divided families, with all these projects either being discussed or already underway. Meetings are also in the works for the railroad cooperation subcommittee and the cooperation and exchange subcommittee.

South and North Korea are taking different approaches to two categories of cooperation and exchange projects. The first category includes matters that only require deliberations and preparations by South and North Korea. These include, for example, forestry cooperation, sports exchanges, measures to ease military tensions along the DMZ, and the reunions of divided families. We intend to move forward with these projects as soon as inter-Korean deliberations and preparations are complete. The

second category includes projects affected by UN sanctions on North Korea. These are economic cooperation projects, such as linking roads and railways between the two sides. Since we cannot move forward with these projects until inter-Korean sanctions are lifted, we intend to start by conducting preliminary studies.

Distinguished guests, I have already mentioned that South and North Korea have made several attempts at peaceful coexistence thus far, but that those attempts have always been frustrated. In light of that, you might well ask whether things will be any different this time around. My answer is that there will no doubt be more difficulties in the future, but that things will play out differently than before. There are several reasons to think so. First, I think we can acknowledge that Kim was being sincere when he made the bold decision to adopt an “economy first” policy line and that his decision was motivated by a sense of urgency in North Korea. After first replacing his father’s “military first” policy with a “two-track” policy combining nuclear and economic development, Kim shifted once again this year to an “economy first” policy. Therefore, it would likely be very difficult for him to return to a phase of military confrontation. Our conclusion is that even North Korea understands that the full-fledged economic support and regime security it desires are linked to complete denuclearization. Second, there has been a transformation in the situation on the Korean Peninsula and its surroundings: two inter-Korean summits were held in the space of a single month, with another scheduled to be held this fall, while the first North Korea-U.S. summit in history has taken place as well. Through that process, I believe, considerable trust has been established between the leaders of South Korea, North Korea, and the U.S. Third, an agreement to trade North Korea’s nuclear program for regime security has been made by the leaders of North Korea and the United States for the first time. The Agreed Framework on the North Korean nuclear issue, which North Korea and the U.S. negotiated in Geneva in 1994, and the September 19

Joint Statement, which resulted from the six-party talks in 2005, were reached not by the leaders but by lower-level negotiators. Since this latest agreement was reached by the leaders themselves, we believe it is much more likely to be carried out.

The peace process for the Korean Peninsula is a path that we have never walked down, as much as we may have thought about it. The South Korean government will move steadily toward establishing peace on the Korean Peninsula and achieving the joint prosperity of the Korean nation with wisdom, courage, and perseverance, and without losing heart or giving up no matter what difficulties arise. We hope that governments and leaders in countries around the world will appreciate our efforts and work with us. As I have already mentioned, the division of the Korean Peninsula was not a choice made by Koreans, but rather the tragic legacy of the Japanese colonial occupation and the Cold War system. The international community needs to help us bring that tragedy to an end.

The South Korean government will steadfastly move forward with a peace process aimed at dismantling the Cold War system and overcoming division on the Korean Peninsula. We hope you will join us as we strive to free the Korean Peninsula—where the Cold War system still lingers nearly thirty years after that system collapsed in Europe—from the chains of the Cold War. We want to transform the Korean Peninsula from earth’s last vestige of the Cold War into a model for world peace. We hope you will accompany us on this journey toward peace. Thank you.