



## Online Series

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# Inter-Korean Summit, North Korea-U.S. Summit, and Road Map to Peace on the Korean Peninsula:

Crafting New Road Map  
based on  
Package Settlement · Synchronous Implementation

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During the North Korea-China Summit on March 26, Chairman Kim Jong-un reportedly said that “denuclearization on the Korean Peninsula could be achieved when South Korea and the U.S. would respond to our efforts with good intention and stable atmosphere for promoting peace is created through a series of progressive and synchronous measures.” This paper intends to analyze the meaning behind Kim’s “progressive and synchronous measures” in terms of the settlement and implementation and review a viable road map for implementation. It will also propose a medium connecting the package settlement with an implementation road map in order to successfully follow through a road map to peace.

### Meaning of Kim Jong-un’s Progressive and Synchronous Measures

Mainly, there are two types of settlement methods; a ‘partial settlement’ on a specific agenda, and a comprehensive ‘package settlement’ for multiple agendas — the so-called ‘one-shot’ solution. President Moon Jae-in has insisted the latter and so has the Trump administration. Chairman Kim Jong-un has also expressed his support for a comprehensive package

settlement. Therefore, it seems evident that thus far all three parties have neither expressed any differing opinions on a method of settlement nor refused a package settlement.

Some argue that differing opinions over a settlement method are deepening among the South, the North, and the U.S. because North Korea holds on to progressive measures, refusing to accept the one-shot (package settlement) solution proposed by South Korea and the U.S. This view, however, is a mere misinterpretation that fails to distinguish settlement methods from those of implementation. Kim Jong-un's progressive and synchronous measures refer to the implementation method, which is at the heart of the often mentioned 'Libya model' (reward following prior denuclearization). But the Libya model is not the official stance of the U.S. government. North Korea has also strongly and consistently stated since 2004 that the Libya model of prior denuclearization is not even worth considering. Therefore, what Kim Jong-un meant by mentioning such measures should be interpreted in light of implementation method.

### Three Viable Options of Implementation

What is important is the implementation process after a package settlement, through which denuclearization · signing of a peace treaty · normalization of North Korea-the U.S. relations can be agreed upon in the North Korea-U.S. summit. The three main scenarios can be analyzed as follows:

#### **Type 1: Denuclearization first and ensuring the survival of the regime later (peace treaty · normalization of North Korea-the U.S. relations)**

A road map for Joint Statement of the Fourth Round of the Six-Party Talks (hereinafter referred to as "the 9.19 Joint Statement") and Libya model both employ this Type 1 implementation method. However, as President Moon Jae-in pointed out, the road map for the 9.19 Joint Statement is hardly applicable in the current state of affairs. The level of advancement of North Korea's nuclear and ICBM program is much higher than it was in 2005 and that of Libya. Besides, no country in the past had ever

completed its nuclear program only to abandon it. In that regard, it is not a realistic option for persuading North Korea to dispose of their nuclear arsenal first without synchronous measures on the security guarantee of the North Korean regime.

**Type 2: Synchronous implementation of denuclearization – signing of a peace treaty – normalization of North Korea–the U.S. relations**

Measures for implementation of denuclearization · signing of a peace treaty · normalization of North Korea–the U.S. relations can be simultaneously carried out step-by-step. Each track can be gradually and synchronously implemented in a certain order with the possible slight time lags in between implementation. This is what Kim Jong-un meant by a progressive and synchronous implementation.

**Type 3: Reverse-synchronous implementation of normalization of North Korea–the U.S. relations · signing of a peace treaty–denuclearization**

In this case, the order of implementation will be reversed. Measures for normalization of North Korea–the U.S. relations and negotiations for signing a peace treaty will be carried out first, followed by measures for denuclearization. The order will be arranged in a reversed manner compared to the U.S. usual denuclearization–first approach. This method, too, will be synchronously implemented. The only difference lies in the fact that the incentives associated with the security guarantee of the North Korean regime will be given first in order to clearly give the North a motivation for denuclearization.

In fact, those 3 types of implementation methods, contrary to the settlement methods, are hard to be achieved in ‘one-shot,’ and should be carried out in a progressive manner according to respective action plans. To that end, Kim Jong-un’s mentioning of progressive and synchronous measures resembles the above explained Type 2 and Type 3 in terms of implementation methods. His approach also reflects reasonable and realistic aspects so it does not conflict with South Korea’s approach.

## Declaration for Peace on the Korean Peninsula: Setting the Linkage between Package Settlement and Synchronous Implementation

A big deal could be comprehensively concluded at the inter-Korean summit and the North Korea-U.S. summit. However, a medium linking the settlement with an implementation road map should be put in place. Such circumstance calls for the need of a proclamatory ‘momentum’ among North Korea, South Korea, and the U.S. (and China). ‘Declaration for Peace of the Korean Peninsula’ could be one of the alternatives to creating such a momentum, through which South Korea, North Korea, the U.S., and China could announce a joint declaration on the synchronous implementation of denuclearization, a peace treaty, normalization of North Korea-the U.S. relations, and the establishment of a peace regime on the Korean Peninsula. Such declaration would practically mark an end to the war and entry into a peace regime. In this case, the declaration should specify that the initial measures for denuclearization · signing of a peace treaty · normalization of North Korea-the U.S. relations should be synchronously taken within 60 days. In other words, such conditional clauses in the declaration — synchronous implementation of the initial measures to be taken within 60 days — should naturally lead to building a road map for implementation.

A deadline for the initial measure should be included in the declaration in a bid to minimize the loss of momentum for the settlement and prevent any hindrance to implementation. It is because after a package settlement, discussing and agreeing upon a general implementation road map generally takes up too much time. This fast pace will allow for a prompt formulation of working group for the initial measures and speedy progress of the future action plans. Same approach could also be included in the agreement at the North Korea-U.S. summit. In the end, it is a strategy utilizing ‘Declaration for Peace on the Korean Peninsula’ as a momentum that links an implementation road map with the inter-Korean summit and the North Korea-U.S. summit. ©KINU 2018

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