

## **South Korea - Confidence Building Measures (CBMs)**

**Colin Irwin and Seongwon Yoon – 12<sup>th</sup> of March 2018**

South and North Korean athletes marched together under a unified Korea flag during the opening ceremony of the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympics. Although this event was largely 'symbolic', it certainly gave new impetus to Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) on the Korean Peninsula. Up until now, four epoch-making accords have been made between the two Koreas since the end of the Korean War (1950–1953), and all of them stressed the importance of CBMs in the process of peaceful unification. Nevertheless, these accords have been dormant mainly because of the North Korean nuclear weapons program. Given that 'substantive' elements of CBMs cannot be easily implemented as has been demonstrated for decades, what is needed is to set up a more feasible and achievable program of CBMs in a symbolic manner, that could decrease tension to a certain degree, while laying the foundation for more substantive CBMs. In this survey of public opinion we will suggest a range of symbolic CBMs to you and invite your opinion on each one of them.

For each CBM you will be asked to indicate which ones you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

And for the purposes of this poll 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' and 'Unacceptable' mean:

**'Essential'** - You believe this is a necessary part of the peace process if it is to be successful and that it should be fully implemented.

**'Desirable'** - This is not what you would consider to be 'Essential', but you think it, or something very similar to it, is a good idea and should be put into practice.

**'Acceptable'** - This is not what you would consider to be 'Desirable', if you were given a choice, but you could certainly 'live with it'.

**'Tolerable'** - This is not what you want. But, as part of a successful peace process, you would be willing to put up with it.

**'Unacceptable'** - This is completely unacceptable. You would not accept it, even as part of a successful peace process.

**Question 1. DMZ CBMs to be taken by South Korea**

With regards to the DMZ issues taken by South Korea please indicate which Confidence Building Measures you consider to be 'Essential,' 'Desirable,' 'Acceptable,' 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential 긴요하다	Desirable 바람직하다	Acceptable 받아들일만 하다	Tolerable 감내할 수 있다	Unacceptable 받아들일 수 없다
Replace the South Korean Flag at the DMZ (Daeseong-dong) with a Unified Korea Flag 대성동 마을 태극기 한반도기로 대체					
Reemphasize the establishment of the DMZ World Peace Park DMZ 세계평화공원 건설 필요 재강조					
Proclaim ensuring preservation of the ecosystem in the DMZ DMZ 생태계 보존 선언					
Suggest a joint field investigation into the ecosystem in the DMZ DMZ 생태계 남북 공동연구 제안					

## Question 2. Political CBMs to be taken by South Korea

With regards to the Political measures taken by South Korea please indicate which Confidence Building Measures you consider to be 'Essential,' 'Desirable,' 'Acceptable,' 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential 긴요하다	Desirable 바람직하다	Acceptable 받아들일만 하다	Tolerable 감내할 수 있다	Unacceptable 받아들일 수 없다
Express SK's understanding of NK's security concerns '북한 안보우려 이해' 입장 표명					
Proclaim a return to the spirit of The Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-aggression and Exchanges and Cooperation between the South and the North (1992) 남북기본합의서 (1992) 정신 존중 선언					
Proclaim a return to the spirit of the June 15 Joint Declaration (2000) 6.15 공동선언 (2000) 정신 존중 선언					
Pursue reunification on the basis of an agreed confederation 연합제 기반 통일 추구					
Pursue reunification on the basis of an agreed loose form of federation 낮은 단계 연방제 기반 통일 추구					
Proclaim a return to the spirit of the October 4 Joint Declaration (2007) 10.4 공동선언 (2007) 정신 존중 선언					
Establish regular meetings between the highest authorities in North and South Korea 남북 정상 및 고위급 회담 정례화					
Announce considering adjustment of KST (Korean Standard Time) according to PYT (Pyongyang Time) after unification 통일 이후 평양표준시 전환 고려 선언					
Conduct governmental press briefings describing NK system/society in a positive manner 북한체제 및 사회 관련 긍정적 묘사 정부 브리핑 실시					
Announce writing off 90 per cent of NK debt (approx. 900 million USD) 북한 대남 부채 90% 탕감 선언					
Suggest a joint field trip to Mount Baekdu between the representatives of the legislatures of the two Koreas 남북 의회대표단 백두산 공동 방문 제안					
Proactively suggest walking together under a unified Korea flag during the opening ceremony at 2020 Tokyo Olympics 2020년 도쿄 올림픽 공동 입장 선제적 제안					

### Question 3. Cross-National CBMs to be taken by South Korea

With regards to the Cross-National measures taken by South Korea please indicate which Confidence Building Measures you consider to be ‘Essential,’ ‘Desirable,’ ‘Acceptable,’ ‘Tolerable’ or ‘Unacceptable’.

	Essential 긴요하다	Desirable 바람직하다	Acceptable 받아들일만 하다	Tolerable 감내할 수 있다	Unacceptable 받아들일 수 없다
Establish working groups to facilitate future cooperation in the development of infrastructure 향후 기반시설 확충 협력 촉진 위한 남북 간 실무그룹 설치					
Establish working groups to facilitate future cooperation in the development of agriculture, health, medical services and environmental protection 향후 농업, 보건의료, 환경보호 분야 협력 촉진 위한 실무그룹 설치					
Establish working groups to facilitate future cooperation in the development of social issues 향후 사회분야 교류 협력 촉진 위한 실무그룹 설치					
Establish working groups to facilitate future cooperation in humanitarian issues 향후 인도주의 협력사업 촉진 위한 실무그룹 설치					
Establish working groups to facilitate future cooperation to deal with natural disasters 향후 자연재해 및 재난 발생시 협력 위한 실무그룹 설치					
Extend the cooperation in the Olympic Games to other international events 올림픽 협조 사례를 기타 국제행사로 확대 추진					
Regarding the maritime border issue (NLL), reconfirm SK's intention to use this area as a joint fishing zone and maritime peace zone 서해 해상분계선 관련 NLL 인근 남북 공동어로구역 및 평화수역 지대 활용 재확인					
Regarding the maritime border issue (NLL), suggest a joint field investigation into the ecosystem in a joint fishing zone in the West Sea 서해 해상분계선 관련 공동어로구역 생태계 남북 공동연구 제안					
Suggest a joint field investigation into the possible volcanic eruption at Mount Baekdu 백두산 분화 관련 남북 공동연구 제안					

#### Question 4. Denuclearization CBMs to be taken by South Korea

With regards to the Denuclearization measures taken by South Korea please indicate which Confidence Building Measures you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential 긴요하다	Desirable 바람직하다	Acceptable 받아들일만 하다	Tolerable 감내할 수 있다	Unacceptable 받아들일 수 없다
Proclaim a return to the spirit of The Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula (1992) 한반도 비핵화 공동선언 (1992) 정신 존중 선언					
Proclaim a return to the spirit of The September 19 Joint Statement (2005) 9.19 공동성명 (2005) 정신 존중 선언					
Proclaim downsizing ROK-US military exercises while NK implements a moratorium on nuclear and ballistic missile tests 북한 핵, 미사일 실험 유예 기간 한미 군사훈련 일정 또는 규모 축소 선언					
US offers formal assurance against the first use of nuclear weapons provided NK stops developing nuclear weapons 북한 핵무기 동결 선언시 미국의 대북 핵무기 선제 불사용 선언					
US offers formal assurance against the first use of force provided NK announces dismantlement of nuclear weapons 북한 핵무기 해체 선언시 미국의 대북 무력 선제 불사용 선언					
US offers formal suggestion to normalize the US-NK relations provided NK implements dismantlement of nuclear weapons 북한 핵무기 해체 이행시 미국의 북미 관계정상화 협상 공식 선언					

#### Question 5. Confidence Building Measures

Now that you have read through the list of possible CBMs would you like to see them implemented?

Yes/No

**Question 6. DMZ CBMs to be taken by North Korea**

With regards to the DMZ issues taken by North Korea please indicate which Confidence Building Measures you consider to be ‘Essential,’ ‘Desirable,’ ‘Acceptable,’ ‘Tolerable’ or ‘Unacceptable’.

	Essential 긴요하다	Desirable 바람직하다	Acceptable 받아들일만 하다	Tolerable 감내할 수 있다	Unacceptable 받아들일 수 없다
Replace the North Korean Flag at the DMZ (Kijeong-dong) with a Unified Korea Flag 기정동 마을 인공기 한반도기로 대체					
Proclaim cooperation with SK for the establishment of the DMZ World Peace Park DMZ 세계평화공원 건설 대담 협력 선언					
Proclaim ensuring preservation of the ecosystem in the DMZ DMZ 생태계 보존 선언					
Conduct a joint field investigation into the ecosystem in the DMZ DMZ 생태계 남북 공동연구 참여					

**6.1 If you answered ‘no’ to question 5 please also tell me if you would want the CBMs we discussed earlier to be implemented if these measures are taken by North Korea.**

**Yes/No**

## Question 7. Political CBMs to be taken by North Korea

With regards to the Political measures taken by North Korea please indicate which Confidence Building Measures you consider to be 'Essential,' 'Desirable,' 'Acceptable,' 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential 긴요하다	Desirable 바람직하다	Acceptable 받아들일만 하다	Tolerable 감내할 수 있다	Unacceptable 받아들일 수 없다
Proclaim a return to the spirit of The Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-aggression and Exchanges and Cooperation between the South and the North (1992) 남북기본합의서 (1992) 정신 존중 선언					
Lift the seizure on SK Mount Kumgang properties 금강산 남한 투자자산 몰수 해제					
Lift the seizure on SK assets in Kaeseong Industrial Complex 개성공단 남한 자산 동결 해제					
Proclaim not to cut hotlines (either military hotlines or hotlines in Panmunjum) with South unilaterally 군통신 및 관문점 등 남북 연락통로 향후 일방적 폐쇄하지 않을 것 선언					
Report an article describing SK system/society in a positive manner on the first or second page of the <i>Rodong Sinmun</i> (NK's official state newspaper) 노동신문 1면 혹은 2면에 한국체제 및 사회 관련 긍정적 묘사 기사 게재					
Kim Jong-un announces fulfillment of Kim Jong-il's promise to visit Seoul at an appropriate time based on the June 15 South-North Joint Declaration 김정은, 6.15 정상선언 '김정일 답방' 약속 기반 적절한 시기 서울 방문 선언					
Conduct a joint field trip to Mount Baekdu between the representatives of the legislatures of the two Koreas 남북 의회대표단 백두산 공동 방문 참여					
Conduct a joint field investigation into the possible volcanic eruption at Mount Baekdu 백두산 분화 관련 남북 공동연구 참여					
Moderate radical descriptions of US soldiers as sworn enemies from children's schoolbooks 초등학교 교과서 미군에 대한 과도한 부정적 기술 완화					
Reconfirm NK's intention to regularize family reunion events based on the October 4 Joint Declaration 10.4 공동선언 기반 이산가족 상봉 정례화 의지 재확인					
Allow Americans held in North Korea to return to the US without delay 북한 억류 미국인 즉각 석방					
Express NK's understanding of ROK-US alliance '한미동맹 이해' 입장 표명					
Proclaim the separation of ROK-US military joint military exercises and other CBMs once ROK-US military exercises have downsized 한미 군사훈련 축소 이후 한미 군사훈련과 기타 신뢰구축 방안 연계 않을 것 입장 표명					

**7.1 If you answered 'no' to question 5 please also tell me if you would want the CBMs we discussed earlier to be implemented if these measures are taken by North Korea.**

**Yes/No**

## Question 8. Cross-National CBMs to be taken by North Korea

With regards to the Cross-National measures taken by North Korea please indicate which Confidence Building Measures you consider to be 'Essential,' 'Desirable,' 'Acceptable,' 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential 긴요하다	Desirable 바람직하다	Acceptable 받아들일만 하다	Tolerable 감내할 수 있다	Unacceptable 받아들일 수 없다
Establish working groups to facilitate future cooperation in the development of infrastructure 향후 기반시설 확충 협력 촉진 위한 남북 간 실무그룹 설치					
Establish working groups to facilitate future cooperation in the development of agriculture, health, medical services and environmental protection 향후 농업, 보건의료, 환경보호 분야 협력 촉진 위한 실무그룹 설치					
Establish working groups to facilitate future cooperation in the development of social issues 향후 사회분야 교류 협력 촉진 위한 실무그룹 설치					
Establish working groups to facilitate future cooperation in humanitarian issues 향후 인도주의 협력사업 촉진 위한 실무그룹 설치					
Establish working groups to facilitate future cooperation to deal with natural disasters 향후 자연재해 및 재난 발생시 협력 위한 실무그룹 설치					
Extend the cooperation in the Olympic Games to other international events 올림픽 협조 사례를 기타 국제행사로 확대 추진					
Regarding the maritime border issue (NLL), participate in a joint field investigation into the ecosystem in a joint fishing zone in the West Sea 서해 해상분계선 관련 NLL 인근 남북 공동어로구역 및 평화수역 지대 활용 재확인					
Regarding the maritime border issue (NLL), proclaim a return to the spirit of Article 11 of The Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-aggression and Exchanges and Cooperation between the South and the North (1992) 서해 해상분계선 관련 공동어로구역 생태계 남북 공동연구 제안					
Participate in a joint field investigation into the possible volcanic eruption at Mount Baekdu 백두산 분화 관련 남북 공동연구 참여					

**8.1 If you answered 'no' to question 5 please also tell me if you would want the CBMs we discussed earlier to be implemented if these measures are taken by North Korea.**

**Yes/No**

### Question 9. Denuclearization CBMs to be taken by North Korea

With regards to the Denuclearization measures taken by North Korea please indicate which Confidence Building Measures you consider to be ‘Essential,’ ‘Desirable,’ ‘Acceptable,’ ‘Tolerable’ or ‘Unacceptable’.

	Essential 긴요하다	Desirable 바람직하다	Acceptable 받아들일만 하다	Tolerable 감내할 수 있다	Unacceptable 받아들일 수 없다
Proclaim a return to the spirit of The Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula (1992) 한반도 비핵화 공동선언 (1992) 정신 존중 선언					
Proclaim a return to the spirit of The September 19 Joint Statement (2005) 9.19 공동성명 (2005) 정신 존중 선언					
Proclaim a moratorium on nuclear and ballistic missile tests 핵, 미사일 실험 유예 선언					
Proclaim a stop to developing nuclear weapons provided ROK-US military exercises have downsized 한미군훈련 규모 또는 일정 축소시 핵개발 동결 선언					
Proclaim dismantlement of nuclear weapons provided the US offers formal assurance against the first use of nuclear weapons 미국의 대북 핵무기 선제 불사용 선언시 핵무기 해체 선언					
Proclaim acceptance of IAEA inspectors provided the US offers formal assurance against the first use of force and US officially suggests normalization of US-NK relations 미국의 대북 무력 선제 불사용 선언 및 북미관계 정상화에 기반한 IAEA 핵사찰 수락 선언					

**9.1 If you answered ‘no’ to question 5 please also tell me if you would want the CBMs we discussed earlier to be implemented if these measures are taken by North Korea.**

**Yes/No**

**Question 10. The importance of CBMs**

Do you expect the two sides to implement many of these CBMs?

Yes/No

Would you like to see many of these CBMs implemented by the two sides?

Yes/No

If the two sides implement these CBMs do you think that will improve the chances of reaching a final agreement on the future of Korea?

Yes/No

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NOTE: Here are the results of these questions asked in Cyprus

Do you expect the two sides to implement many of these CBMs? Yes/No

	Yes	No	D.K.
GC	27%	63%	10%
TC	28%	71%	1%

Would you like to see many of these CBMs implemented by the two sides? Yes/No

	Yes	No	D.K.
GC	83%	15%	2%
TC	86%	14%	-

If the two sides implement these CBMs do you think that will improve the chances of reaching a final agreement on the future of Cyprus? Yes/No

	Yes	No	D.K.
GC	69%	26%	5%
TC	65%	34%	1%