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## INTRA-KOREAN DIALOGUE



# 1. Progress of Dialogue

## 1— Overview

Intra-Korean dialogue is an indispensable element in clearing up the mistrust and tension between the two Koreas. Indeed, it provides the shortest way to overcome the division and to achieve a peaceful unification through a means other than force or violence. Until the 1970's, however, substantial talks or contact between South and North Korea had hardly taken place. During the post-war era the Korean peninsula was subjected to the international order of the Cold War regime led by the United States and the Soviet Union. Under such an environment, North Korea adhered to the communist revolution line while South Korea maintained a strong anti-communist policy.

Intra-Korean dialogue began in the 1970's as the two superpowers searched for a way to achieve peaceful co-existence. The world enjoyed a mood of detente with China's entry into the United Nations and the improvement in US-China relations. The initiative for the intra-Korean dialogue was first taken by South Korea. In a

commemorative speech on Liberation Day on August 15, 1970, President Park Chung-hee announced the Ideas for Peaceful Unification. In this statement, he made it clear that he was willing to “make an epochal, yet practical proposal to remove the artificial barriers lying between the two Koreas step by step.” He also urged North Korea “to join in a competition to prove which of the two systems, democracy or communism, can provide better living and better social conditions for its people.”

A year later, the National Red Cross of the Republic of Korea (KNRC) proposed an intra-Korean conference to its North counterpart. When the Red Cross Society of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (RCSNK) accepted, this led to the first intra-Korean dialogue since the end of the Korean War. Subsequently, on July 4, 1972, the governments of South and North Korea came to an agreement on the principles for unification. The results were stated in the South-North Joint Communique which was announced simultaneously in Seoul and Pyongyang. Unfortunately, these efforts by South Korea in the 1970’s produced no further progress because a year later North Korea made a unilateral declaration that it was terminating all intra-Korean dialogue.

Intra-Korean dialogue during the 1980’s took place in more varied fields than during the 1970’s, with a certain degree of progress being made. Some major events in intra-Korean dialogue took place during this decade: athletic talks to form a single national team for the 1984 LA Olympic games; a Red Cross meeting on North Korean assistance for the South Korean flood victims; athletic talks in Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1985; simultaneous exchange of visits by separated families and artistic performers in 1985; economic talks; and parliamentary talks.

Over these years South Korea's aim was to dissolve the mistrust and enmity between the two Koreas and lay a foundation for peaceful unification. North Korea, on the other hand, exposed its limitation on improving the intra-Korean relations. Regardless of the type and the agenda of the meeting, Pyongyang invariably put forward political and military issues first, as a means of implementing its communist strategy.

Intra-Korean dialogue in the 1990's has shown a significant progress in both quantity and quality. Most of all, after a series of high-level talks held from 1990 to 1992, the South and the North have come to adopt the Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression and Exchanges and Cooperation Between the South and the North (better known as the Basic Agreement) and the South-North Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula (the Joint Declaration). These two documents were a promise between the two Koreas to end the period of conflict and confrontation and move into a new age of reconciliation and cooperation. These marked a milestone in the road to peaceful unification.

Unfortunately, the dialogue came to a halt in 1993 when international suspicion mushroomed over North Korea's alleged development of nuclear weapons. Nonetheless, the Kim Young-sam Administration, which was inaugurated in February 1993, has been aggressive in making a series of propositions to resume the intra-Korean dialogue. An Intra-Korean summit, high-level talks, and the exchange of special envoys to resolve the nuclear question as well as other pending issues were proposed one after another.

## 2 — Intra-Korean Dialogue in the 1970's

### *South-North Red Cross Talks*

In a special statement issued on August 12, 1971, the KNRC proposed to hold intra-Korean Red Cross talks with the RCSNK to discuss ways to ease the pain of separated families in the South and the North. The RCSNK accepted this proposition, thereby opening a new chapter in intra-Korean relations.

The first preliminary meeting of two organizations took place in September 20, 1971. Afterwards, there were twenty-five preliminary meetings and sixteen closed-door working-level conferences before the two sides finally came to a complete agreement on the details for the main meeting on August 11, 1972.

During these preliminary meetings the two sides also reached an agreement on several technical matters that would help the main talks to proceed smoothly. These included: the establishment of liaison offices in the Panmunjom area, the permanent stationing of liaison officers, and installation and operation of a direct phone line between the liaison offices. As a result, a direct line was established between the two Koreas for the first time in 26 years since it had been disconnected.

The agenda agreed upon at the twentieth preliminary meeting held on June 16, 1972 were as follows:

- Ascertainment and notification of the whereabouts and the fate of the separated families and relatives on both sides
- Free visits and meetings among the separated families
- Free exchange of mail
- Reunion of the separated families according to their own wishes

— Other humanitarian issues

Through these meetings the two sides also reached an agreement on the procedural details of the main meeting. These procedural matters included: the place and date, security of delegates, travel procedures, the length of stay and schedule of the talks, emblems, equipment and belongings, transportation and communication, activities outside the conference room, conference facilities, recording of the talks, opening of the talks to the public, press coverage, conference proceedings, drafting and announcement of agreements, provision of other conveniences, and the number of delegates traveling across the DMZ.

The main meeting was first held on August 29, 1972, which was followed by six more meetings sponsored alternately by Seoul and Pyongyang until August 28, 1973, when the North announced the discontinuation of the talks.

### *Coordinating Committee*

Having held a series of behind-the-scene meetings since November 20, 1971, the South and the North finally completed all the necessary groundwork for an exchange of visits by the South Korean Director of the Central Intelligence Agency Lee Hu-rak and the North Korean Workers' Party Director of the Organization and Guidance Department Kim Young-joo. Director Lee, with his three attendants, visited Pyongyang from May 2 to May 5, 1972. In return, on behalf of Director Kim, the North Korean Vice Premier Park Sung-chul paid a visit to Seoul from May 29 to June 1.

After exchanging visits, the two sides announced on July 4, 1972, the South-North Joint Communiqué which included the three prin-

ciples for unification. The communique gave birth to the South-North Coordinating Committee, co-chaired by Directors Lee and Kim and composed of three to five representatives from each side. The two sides also agreed to establish several subcommittees in order to promote intra-Korean exchanges and cooperation in various fields. The Joint Communique of July 4 included the following details:

- Confirmation of independent efforts, peaceful means, and great national unity as the three principles for unification
- Discontinuance of defamation and slander and armed provocation against each other
- Promotion of intra-Korean exchanges in various fields
- Installation of a direct telephone line between Seoul and Pyongyang
- Creation and operation of a South-North Coordinating Committee

Three meetings between the Co-Chairmen of the coordination committee were held thereafter. Through these meetings convened from October 12 to November 30, 1972, the two sides signed and exchanged the Agreement on Establishment and Operation of a South-North Coordinating Committee.

The first meeting of the Coordinating Committee was held on November 30, 1972, and three more meetings were convened thereafter. Nevertheless, the two sides failed to reach any agreement. On August 28, 1973, the North arbitrarily declared to suspend the meeting, claiming that president Park Chung-Hee's June 23 Special Foreign Policy Statement on Peace and Unification was an attempt to consolidate the national division.

### 3— Intra-Korean Dialogue in the 1980's

Starting with the working-level meeting to prepare for the prime ministerial talks, intra-Korean dialogue during the 1980's flourished in various areas including the Red Cross, parliamentary, economy, and sports fields. Moreover, some tangible progress was made in the cases of delivery of assistance for flood victims and exchange of visits to Seoul and Pyongyang by separated families.

#### *The Working-level Meeting in Preparation of Prime Ministerial Talks*

On January 11, 1980, North Korea proposed a conference between the prime ministers of the two Koreas. Consequently, the South formed a three-member delegation headed by a vice minister-level official and suggested to the North that a working-level conference be held to prepare the necessary procedures. The North accepted the suggestion. As a result, ten working-level meetings were held from February 6 to August 20 in the same year.

The North, however, only reiterated its political propaganda at the table without showing any sincere interest in working out the necessary procedures. On September 24, two days before the scheduled date of the eleventh meeting, Pyongyang arbitrarily declared the suspension of the meeting in a radio broadcast, and the meeting broke up without further due.

#### *Athletic Talks in Lausanne*

In September, the 84th General Meeting of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) held in Baden-Baden decided that Seoul

would be the site for the 1988 Summer Olympic Games. Subsequently, North Korea tried its best to have the site for the Games changed. The North Koreans argued that the Seoul Olympics would further consolidate the division of the country in light of the existing tension on the Korean peninsula. It would, they argued, be inconsistent with the fundamental spirit of the Games.

Having faced with such an unexpected development, the IOC chairman Juan Antonio Samaranch suggested that intra-Korean talks on the issue be held under the supervision of the IOC. This suggestion was presented to the national Olympic committees of South and North Korea through a formal resolution of the IOC Executive Committee in February 1985. Under the premise that the decision of the IOC General Meeting must be respected, the Korean Olympic Committee (KOC) agreed to this suggestion a month later. The North, on the other hand, repeated its demand for change of the site and rejected the talks. On July 6, however, it suddenly changed its position and expressed a willingness to participate in the talks.

The talks were held four times in secret at the IOC headquarters in the Swiss city of Lausanne from October 8, 1985 to July 15, 1987. The talks progressed in a trilateral format in which the IOC played the role of arbitrator while introducing a compromise plan for the two Koreas. At the talks, the North proposed to form a single team to represent the two Koreas in the Seoul Olympics and asked the IOC to make it a fully-equal co-sponsorship by giving the North the right to host exactly half of all the events.

In reply, the South pointed out that the IOC decision to award the right to organize the 24th Olympiad to the City of Seoul was irrevocable. Nevertheless, South Korea suggested its willingness to allo-

cate the preliminary rounds in two or three events and to enter the stadium together at the opening and closing ceremonies.

The final compromise drafted by the IOC included allocation of table tennis, archery, women's volleyball, one division of preliminary rounds in soccer, and men's cycling road race. Nevertheless, the North rejected such an offer and the talks ended.

### ***Red Cross Talks***

On September 8, 1984, the RCSNK asked the KNRC for cooperation in providing rice, clothing, cement, and medicine for flood victims in the Seoul and Kyonggi-do (a province around the City of Seoul) area. The KNRC accepted the offer. As a result, working-level conferences were held to prepare for receiving of these commodities.

Through two working-level meetings, the two sides came to an agreement on details for the delivery of the commodities, including the methods of delivery, and the provision of facilities and security for the North Korean personnel. Shortly after, the North delivered 7,200 tons of rice, 500,000 meters of fabric, 100,000 tons of cement, and a large amount of medicine from September 29 to October 4.

Having received the North Korean assistance, the KNRC proposed to resume the talks with the RCSNK in an effort to expand the intra-Korean exchanges and cooperation. After the RCSNK agreed to this, a preliminary meeting for the eighth round of the Red Cross talks was resumed at Panmunjom on November 20, 1984, eleven years after the talks ended at the seventh round in 1973.

At the meeting both sides agreed that the agenda for the forthcoming main talks would be the topics that were agreed upon at the

twentieth preliminary meeting on June 16, 1972, and that the talks would be held in Seoul and Pyongyang.

The North, however, postponed the date, citing the threat caused by the Team Spirit, an annual US-ROK joint military exercise. Finally, the eighth round of the Red Cross talks was convened in Seoul on May 27, 1985. The North dispatched to Seoul, via Panmunjom, a delegation which consisted of eighty-four people, including seven delegates, seven advisors, twenty attendants, and fifty reporters.

At the main conference the KNRC expressed its wish to immediately start searching for the lost members of separated families. It proposed that even before the two sides came to an agreement on how to implement the five agenda topics an exchange of a certain number of separated family members be allowed on August 15, Korea's Liberation Day, as a pilot project. It also suggested the creation of a Joint Committee of KNRC and RCSNK and a Joint Panmunjom Office as administrative bodies to carry out such a task.

The RCSNK, on the other hand, proposed to discuss first free intra-Korean travel by the separated families and their relatives. At the same time, it suggested the exchange of troupes of performing artists in August. According to the North Korean plan, a performing troupe from each side, composed of about one hundred members of each, would give a congratulatory performance in Seoul and Pyongyang.

The KNRC accepted the offer and in turn proposed that the exchange of the separated families and performing troupes occur simultaneously on August 15. The RCSNK accepted this offer and agreed to have a separate working-level meeting to prepare for such visits.

In accordance with the agreement made at the eighth round of the Red Cross talks, working-level meetings were held several times between May 29 and August 28 in order to work out the details for the exchange of hometown visits by separated families and of performing troupes. As a result, the two sides agreed that the visits would be made simultaneously for four days and three nights starting from September 20. In addition, they agreed that the exchanges of hometown visitors and the performing troupes would be limited to fifty each, while those of reporters and supporting staff would be thirty and twenty, respectively. The places allowed to be visited were also limited to Seoul and Pyongyang.

Accordingly, the simultaneous exchange was made as scheduled, providing a chance for the separated families to meet with each other for the first time in the forty years of national division. Among the South Korean visitors to Pyongyang, 35 of them were able to meet with 41 family members or relatives, while 30 North Korean visitors met with 51 of their relatives in Seoul. Meanwhile, the performing troupes from each side performed twice, on September 21 and 22, in the two capitals.

On August 27, the ninth round of the talks was held in Pyongyang and a few months later, on December 2, the tenth round in Seoul. However, these rounds ended in failure because the two sides could not resolve the differences on the contents of the agreement. The only point they could agree upon was that the next round of the talks would be held in Pyongyang on February 26, 1986. The eleventh round was, however, postponed indefinitely when the North announced the suspension of the meeting in protest of the Team Spirit '86. Team Spirit is basically a combined military exercise of the defensive nature between the United States and the Republic of

Korea. It is not an offensive exercise as North Korea insists. Therefore, North Korea's protest was a mere excuse to discontinue the Red Cross talks.

### ***Economic Talks***

On October 4, 1984, right after receiving the North Korean assistance for flood victims, South Korea proposed talks to discuss intra-Korean trade and economic cooperation. On November 15, the first round of economic talks between the two Korea took place at Panmunjom.

The two main agenda items proposed by the South were the opening of intra-Korean trade and the promotion of intra-Korean economic cooperation. Under the first agenda, the South presented ten sub-areas for discussion, including trade items, trade volume, methods of trade, and currency of settlement. It also suggested the signing of a trade agreement and detailed procedures between the two Koreas prior to engaging in intra-Korean trade. In addition, the South expressed its willingness to make joint investments in various industries, including exploitation of resources such as coal and iron ore, manufacturing of household electronic goods such as color TVs and audio systems, production of synthetic fibers such as polyester, production of medicines and cosmetics, tourism and marine transportation, and various areas of the service sector. Finally, it proposed to establish a Committee for South-North Economic Cooperation for the smooth and continuous promotion of intra-Korean trade and economic cooperation. The committee was to consist of government officials and business representatives from both sides.

The North, on the other hand, insisted on limiting the agenda to

the “opening of joint venture and exchanges between the North and the South” and proposed to talks on trade items, methods of trade, and means of transportation.

Although a total of five rounds of talks were held by November 1985, the two sides could not resolve their differences. Thus, in January 1986, the economic talks were terminated as the North arbitrarily declared the indefinite postponement of all the intra-Korean talks.

### *Parliamentary Talks*

On April 9, 1985 the North proposed to convene talks between the legislative bodies of the two Koreas in order to discuss the adoption of a joint declaration of nonaggression and to begin the preliminary meetings for it in early May. The ROK National Assembly welcomed this proposition, and on July 23, a preliminary meeting was held at Panmunjom. At the meeting the two sides agreed on the following points:

- The format of the talks should be discussed between the representatives of the legislative body of each side.
- Each delegation should consist of eleven representatives.
- The place for the talks would alternate between Seoul and Pyongyang.

The actual talks, however, never took place because the two sides failed to reach an agreement on the agenda for the main talks at the second round of the preliminary meetings. As the North suspended intra-Korean talks in every field on January 20, 1986, discussions on the parliamentary talks also came to a halt.

Later in July 1988, at the initiative of the ROK National Assembly, the two sides met ten times between August 1988 and January 1990, but the differences still remained unresolved. In February 1990, the North once again declared the indefinite postponement of all intra-Korea dialogue.

#### **4 — Intra-Korean Dialogue in the 1990's**

##### ***High-level Talks***

On December 28, 1988, in his letter to North Korean Premier Yon Hyong-muk, the South Korean Prime Minister Kang Young-hoon proposed prime ministerial talks to discuss the pending issues including building mutual confidence and reducing tension between the two Koreas. In response, the North agreed to convene high-level politico-military talks and proposed to hold a preliminary meeting on February 8, 1989.

Subsequently, the South and the North held eight rounds of preliminary meetings until July 26, 1990, and decided to name the main meeting the "South-North High-level Talks." The agreed-upon agenda of the talks included "resolution of political and military confrontations between the two Koreas and the promotion of intra-Korean exchange and cooperation in various fields."

The main meetings of the high-level talks were held eight times according to the procedures and agenda agreed upon in the preliminary meeting.

**Table 4-1 The Main Meetings of the High-level Talks**

Round	Date and Place	Proposition and Agreement
1st	Sept. 4-7, 1990; Seoul	South: Draft for the Basic Agreement on Improvement of Intra-Korean Relations; Various measures to promote intra-Korean exchange and cooperation; Measures to build confidence in political and military areas North: Three principles abided by in the process of the talks and entry into the United Nations; the Team Spirit Exercise; Release of prisoners charged with illegal visits to the North (These were the so-called "Three Urgent Issues.")
2nd	Oct. 16-19, 1990; Pyongyang	South: Revised draft for the Basic Agreement on Improvement of Inter-Korean Relations; Free travel, free communication, and free trade (These were known as the "Three Areas of Free Interaction.")
3rd	Dec. 11-14, 1990; Seoul	North: Draft for the Declaration of Nonaggression and Reconciliation and Cooperation between the North and the South
4th	Oct. 22-24, 1991; Pyongyang	Agreed on adoption of a single document and on the name, contents, and structure of the document
5th	Dec. 12, 1991; Seoul	The Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression and Exchanges and Cooperation between the South and the North (thereafter the Basic Agreement) adopted and signed

continued

Round	Date and Place	Proposition and Agreement
6th	Feb. 19, 1992; Pyongyang	The Basic Agreement and the Joint Declaration of the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula effectuated The Agreement on the Formation of Subcommittees of the Intra-Korean High-level Talks signed and effectuated
7th	May 5-8, 1992; Seoul	Three separate Agreements to Establish a South-North Joint Military Commission, a Joint Commission for Exchanges and Cooperation, and South-North Liaison Offices adopted and effectuated
8th	Sept. 17-18, 1992; Pyongyang	The Agreement to Establish A South-North Joint Reconciliation Commission and three separate protocols on the compliance with the implementation of Chapters I, II, and III of the Basic Agreements adopted and effectuated

### ***Subcommittees of High-level Talks***

#### **— Subcommittee on Political Affairs**

In accordance with the agreement made at the sixth round of the high-level talks, the Subcommittee on Political Affairs, which is responsible for discussion of the measures to implement the agreement in relation to intra-Korean reconciliation, met a number of times after the first round of the main meeting on March 9, 1992. These meetings included six more rounds of the subcommittee meeting during the main meetings, three contacts between its Co-

Chairmen, and five contacts between the committee members.

Although differences in the format and the general provisions of the agreement were revealed at these meetings, the two sides eventually came to an agreement through a compromise between the Co-Chairmen during the eighth round of the high-level talks. They agreed in principle to respect each other's governmental authority and power, to resolve the issues of legal and structural reformation through working-level conferences on legal matters, and transform the current status of truce into a new structure for durable peace. In addition, the two sides agreed to further discuss the issues raised by the North later in the future meetings of the subcommittee. These issues included applying for joint-membership in international organizations, non-participation and non-cooperation in the acts of any third country that might infringe on interests of either side, and revising or abolishing of these treaties that each of them had signed with other countries. These issues were written into the protocol on intra-Korean reconciliation as unresolved items.

The North wished to postpone the discussion on the establishment of the South-North Liaison Offices, arguing that the existing Red Cross liaison offices could easily be used for such purpose. The South, however, insisted that the discussion be completed first since there was a certain time limit. The agreement on this issue was finally adopted at the contact between the Co-Chairmen during the eighth round of the high-level talks.

#### — Subcommittee on Military Affairs

The first round of the subcommittee meeting to discuss the measures to implement the intra-Korean agreements on nonaggression

and the easing of military confrontation was held on March 13, 1992. Afterwards, there were seven rounds of the main meeting, three contacts between the Co-Chairmen, and three contacts between the committee members.

Initially, the two sides could not agree on the establishment of an Inter-Korean Joint Military Commission nor on the installation of a direct telephone line between the two military authorities. Nonetheless, as a result of compromise at the third meeting of the subcommittee, they finally decided to integrate the latter issue into the protocol and also agreed on the name of the agreement and the title and contents of each section.

Furthermore, at the meeting held during the eighth round of the high-level talks, the two Co-Chairmen of the subcommittee agreed on the prohibition of the use of military force in all forms and of any type of armed provocation. They also agreed on the prohibition of any act of penetration, attack, and occupation of the areas under the other's jurisdiction, the resolution of conflict through an organization agreed upon by both sides, and joint investigation and the joint preparation of corrective measures in case of violation. The protocol on non-aggression was adopted with an additional note that issues regarding the discontinuation of the arms build-up in the DMZ, espionage against the other party imposition of blockade on territorial air and territorial waters of the other party, and guarantee of security for the Seoul and Pyongyang areas "would be further discussed by the South-North Joint Military Commission" since these were issues related to confidence building and arms reduction as described in the Basic Agreement.

— Subcommittee on Exchanges and Cooperation

The Subcommittee on Exchanges and Cooperation dealing with the implementation of the Basic Agreement in such areas of the intra-Korean relations met sixteen times in total beginning on March 18, 1992. These meetings included seven rounds of the main talks, three contacts between the Co-Chairmen, and six contacts between the committee members.

At the seventh round of the talks, the two sides reached agreement on a protocol composed of five articles with thirty provisions. However, differences still remained on the questions of the requirement of permission by the authorities for intra-Korean exchanges and cooperation, the abolishment of legal and structural barriers, the secure exchange of mail and electronic communications between separated families, the establishment of a mutual meeting facility, and the resumption of the Red Cross talks.

At the contact between co-chairmen held on September 7, however, the two sides reached a compromise on a number of points including the following: (i) making the secure exchange of communications related to public and humanitarian projects a top priority, (ii) defining the range of separated families and the establishment of a facility for meetings through the discussions between the KNRC and the RCSNK, (iii) immediate resumption of the Red Cross talks, and (iv) completion of required procedures when the parties involved in intra-Korean trade sign a contract for exchange of commodities and other forms of economic cooperation.

In completing the protocol on September 16, the two chairmen reached an agreement to insert a phrase which stated that “the abolishment of these legal and structural obstacles which hinder

free travel back and forth of the members of the national community shall be discussed at the working-level conference on legal matters of the South-North Joint Reconciliation Commission.”

### ***Nuclear Talks***

From December 26 to 31, 1991, there had been three rounds of meetings between the South and the North. The result of these meetings was the Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

In accordance to the Joint Declaration, the first round of the nuclear talks was held on February 19, 1992, to discuss the creation of a Joint Commission for Control of Nuclear Weapons, an executive apparatus for the implementation of the declaration.

The two sides had six more rounds of talks thereafter until they finally adopted an Agreement to Establish South-North Joint Nuclear Control Commission and announced a joint statement that included the deadline for the adoption of inspection procedures. Also included in the joint statement were the format and schedule for exchange of the Agreement and an agreement to endeavor together for the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula.

The Joint Commission met twenty-three times from March 19 to December 17. Though the two sides discussed the rules for cross inspection and actual conduct of the inspections throughout these meetings, no substantial progress was made until the agreed deadline expired.

## ***Athletic Talks***

### — The Beijing Asian Games

On December 21, 1988, the North Korean Olympic Committee (NKOC) proposed to the KOC to form a single national team to compete in the Asian Games scheduled to be held in Beijing in September 1990. The KOC agreed to have a series of talks between the representatives of both organizations. Following this, nine rounds of the main meetings along with six rounds of working-level meetings took place from March 9, 1989 to February 7, 1990. The progress of these meetings was as follows.

**Table 4-2 An Overview of Intra-Korean Athletic Talks**

Round	Date	Agreements
1st	Mar. 9, 1989	Team Song: <i>Arirang</i> from the 1920's
2nd	Mar. 28, 1989	Team Flag: No writing in foreign language Selection of Players: Through joint exercises
3rd	Oct. 20, 1989	Team Flag: Sky blue map of the Korean peninsula on a white background
4th	Nov. 16, 1989	Team Name: KOREA
5th	Nov. 24, 1989	All other issues except selection of the head of the team
6th	Dec. 22, 1989	Head of the Team: Appointed by the side from which more players are selected Joint Secretariat: Established in Seoul and Pyongyang
7th	Jan. 18, 1990	None
8th	Jan. 29, 1990	None
9th	Feb. 7, 1990	The North arbitrarily announced suspension of the talks.

The talks were futile because the North unilaterally declared its suspension after presenting three points as the prerequisites for its continuation. These three points were:

- That the South publically declare that it would not participate in the Beijing Asian Games as an individual team
- That the South withdraw its demand for measures to guarantee the implementation of the agreement
- That the South take back what a ranking South Korean sports official said regarding separate participation in the Games

#### — Intra-Korean Soccer Match

Though the two Koreas failed to form a single national team for the 1990 Beijing Asian Games, the sport officials from both sides who went to observe the Games could confirm the possibility for intra-Korean athletic exchanges. Thereafter, the officials of both Olympic Committees held three rounds of talks and agreed on an exchange of intra-Korean soccer matches. According to this agreement, the first inter-Korean match was held in Pyongyang from October 9 to 13, 1993. It was soon followed by the second match held in Seoul from October 21 to 25. During these matches, the players had no national flag on their uniforms. The teams were identified just by the color of their uniforms; red for the South and white for the North. The preparation for each match was provided by the hosting side.

## — Other International Competitions

While the intra-Korean soccer matches were being played in Pyongyang (Oct. 9-Oct. 13, 1990) and in Seoul (Oct. 21-Oct. 25, 1990), the two sides held two rounds of talks between their ministers of sports. Finally, on October 25, 1990, they published a joint statement that announced the resumption of the athletic talks.

Included in the joint statement were time and place and agenda of the talks. The talks were to be held at Panmunjom on November 29, 1990, with the following agenda: the formation of a single team to compete in the major international events, including the 1991 World Table Tennis Championship and the 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games, the establishment of the intra-Korean soccer matches as an annual event, and the discussion on other forms of intra-Korean sports exchanges.

After the joint statement, four rounds of athletic talks were held from November 29, 1990 to February 12, 1991. During this period, the two Koreas entered a unified team into a major international sports event for the first time since the division of the country. A single Korean team was entered in the 1991 World Table Tennis Championship and in the 1991 World Junior Soccer Championship.

Although they differed on the method of selection, composition, and training of the players, the two sides came to a compromise in accordance with the Agreement on the Formation of A Single Team for the Beijing Asian Games. The major points agreed upon were as follows:

**Table 4-3 Formation of a Single Korean Team**

Contents	Events	The 41st World Table Tennis Championship	The 6th World Junior Soccer Championship
Team Name		KOREA	The same
Team Flag		Team Flag: Sky blue map of the Korean peninsula on the white background	The same
Team Song		<i>Arirang</i> from the 1920's	The same
Selection of Players		Selected by consensus of the Joint Commission to Promote the Single Team	Selected by the consensus of the Joint Commission, based on player's performance in a evaluation match (Held sometime between April and the early May, 1991)
Head of the Team		North Korean official	South Korean official
Training of Players		At the site	Once in the South and once in the North
Expenses		Shared by the two Koreas	The same

After a single Korean team was entered in the two international events, the South proposed to open the fifth round of the athletic talks. But, when a North Korean judo plyer defected to the South in August 1991 the North postponed the talks indefinitely, using the incident as a pretext.

### ***Exchange of Traditional Artists***

In April 1990, the South proposed plans for promoting intra-Korean exchanges in areas that would be easy to implement and produce immediate benefits for both sides. Cultural and art areas were examples of such areas. Consequently, 14 South Korean traditional artists were able to perform at the Pyongyang Pan-Korean Unification Music Festival, which was held from October 18 to 23, 1990. Later in the same year, 33 North Korean traditional artists were invited to The 1990 End-of-the-Year Unification Traditional Art Festival, that was held in Seoul from December 8 to 13. These exchanges took place following the procedures and conditions prescribed in the Intra-Korean Exchanges and Cooperation Act that was established by South Korea.

### ***Red Cross Talks***

During the 1990's, the representatives of the KNRC and the RCSNK made nine contacts in an effort to resume the main meeting of the Red Cross Talks which was suspended since 1985, as well as to discuss the second exchange of separated families and performing troupes. These contacts, however, failed to produce any result as the North insisted on the exchange of the performing troupes prior to that of separated families and the introduction of the North Kore-

an revolutionary operas in Seoul.

The two Koreas finally agreed on the exchanges of separated families visiting their old parents and the performing troupes at the seventh round of the high-level talks held from May 5 to 8, 1992. Following this agreement, the working-level contacts to prepare for these exchanges were held eight times in Panmunjom from June 5 to August 7. However, these exchanges could not take place since the North brought up some irrelevant political issues, including the withdrawal of nuclear weapons and the release of pro-communist prisoners, onto the table.

## **2. The Kim Young-sam Administration's Efforts to Promote Intra-Korean Dialogue**

### **1— Working-level Meetings for the Exchange of Special Envoys**

While the high-level talks came to a deadlock due to North Korea's suspected attempt to develop nuclear weapons, the new South Korean administration inaugurated in February 1993 devoted all its energy to resolving the North Korean nuclear issue. Without its resolution, President Kim believed, there would be no substantial progress in the intra-Korean relations.

On May 20, 1993, the ROK government proposed to the North high-level talks to resolve the nuclear issue. Without replying to this proposition, the North made counterproposal to have a summit between the heads of the state to discuss unification issues and exchange presidential envoys to try to resolve the pending matters.

Pyongyang's intention was to avoid talks on the nuclear issue and to test the new administration's willingness to pursue unification by throwing in an offer for a political negotiation. It should be noticed that North Korea violated a diplomatic convention by arbitrarily designating the envoy as the deputy prime minister for unification.

In September 1993, the North made another proposal for the exchange of envoys. The new proposal stated that the level of the envoy would be determined by the highest authority of each side and that the agenda of the meeting would include the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, the reduction of tension between the two Koreas, and preparations for joint measures to implement the Basic Agreement. In reply, the South made it clear that once the nuclear issue was listed on the top of the list, it would not raise any objection over the format of the talks. In addition, the South proposed to have a working-level meeting between the delegations headed by vice minister-level officials on September 7 in order to prepare for the exchange of the envoys. Initially the North seemed to reject the idea, but eventually it accepted the South Korean proposition on the condition that the meeting be postponed to October 5.

Eight working-level meetings were held from October 5, 1993 to March 19, 1994. During the first three rounds, the South proposed an Agreement on Exchange of Special Envoys which included the responsibilities of the envoy, methods of exchange, and other procedural details.

At the subsequent meetings the South demanded in the form of "urgent proposition" that the North make its position clear on the following issues:

- Immediate discontinuation of slander against the highest leader of the South Korean government
- Immediate discontinuation of instigating anti-government struggles among the South Korean citizens
- Discussion of nuclear issues in the exchange of special envoys, prior to any other issue

The North, however, argued that South Korea's resumption of the Team Spirit exercise and importation of Patriot missiles amounted to a "declaration of a full-front confrontation," and even a "declaration of war." Finally, it ended the talks with a threatening scream that "if war breaks out, Seoul will fall into a sea of flames." Having said that, the North Koreans walked out of the conference room without even deciding the date for the next meeting. That was the end of the talks which lasted through eight rounds.

## **2 — Preparation for an Intra-Korean Summit**

### ***Preliminary Contacts between Deputy Prime Ministers***

In his inauguration speech delivered on February 25, 1993, President Kim Young-sam stressed, "If President Kim Il-sung truly believes in the importance of the Korean people, and sincerely wishes for the reconciliation and unification of the people in the two Koreas, I am willing to meet with him to discuss these matters regardless of time and place."

Moreover, in a press interview held on the first anniversary of his inauguration, President Kim Young-sam stated, "Once I decide that an intra-Korean summit will help to stop the North from developing nuclear weapons, I will pursue to meet with President Kim Il-sung."

On June 18, 1994, the former U.S. President Jimmy Carter arrived in Seoul after visiting North Korea and conveyed to President Kim Young-sam a message from Kim Il-sung that he was grateful for the president's proposition and was willing to attend the summit.

In his reply, President Kim Young-sam announced that he was willing to "meet with President Kim Il-sung any time and any place without any precondition" while the necessary preparation would be discussed at working-level meetings.

Accordingly, the ROK government proposed preliminary talks at the deputy prime minister's level to discuss the procedure for the intra-Korean summit. Upon North Korea's acceptance, the proposed meeting was held on June 28.

At the meeting the two sides finally signed an Agreement on Preparation for the Intra-Korean Summit. According to the agreement, the summit was to be held in Pyongyang from July 25 to 27, 1994, while the other details including the composition and size of delegation, format of the summit, and duration of the meeting were reserved for the working-level conference.

This was to be the first intra-Korean summit in the fifty years of national division. Many expected that it would be a turning point in the intra-Korean relations, resolving not only the nuclear issue but also all the other pending questions at once.

### ***Working-level Conferences***

The working-level conferences for the preparation of the summit were held twice on July 1 and July 2, 1994. The two sides agreed on the following points:

- Composition and size of the delegations: 100 attendees and 80 reporters
- Format of the Summit: Direct talks between the heads of state, with two or three attendants and one recorder from each side accompanying their leader
- Duration of the Meeting: Three days and two nights, to be extended if necessary
- Working-level talks and Dispatch of Advance Team: Seventeen members from each side would meet in Pyongyang to discuss matters pertaining to security, protocol, communication and news report; discussion on security (three from each side meeting at Panmunjom on July 8) and communication (three from each side at Panmunjom on July 7); and the dispatching of a South Korean advance team of twenty-five members to the North.
- Traveling Procedure: List of the summit delegation must be provided to the North seven days in advance; crossing point for the South Korean delegation is Panmunjom.
- Facilities: The North would provide room and board, transportation, communication, medical services, and other facilities.
- Security: The North would deliver to the South a Letter of Guarantee for Personal Security less than three days prior to the visit
- Emblem and ID: The attendants may voluntarily wear ID cards as they please; reporters are required to wear the arm-band.

### ***The Indefinite Postponement of the Summit***

While the two sides were publishing the list of delegates to the working-level meeting that was to be held from July 13 to July 16 and exchanging the Letter of Guarantee for Personal Security on July 9, the North Korean radio and TV broadcasted a special report that President Kim Il-sung had died of a heart attack at 2 o'clock, on July 8, 1994. The North sent a letter to the South which stated that due to "unusual circumstances," the intra-Korean summit "had to be postponed indefinitely."

## **3 — The Beijing Conference**

### ***Background***

In a congratulatory speech delivered on Liberation Day in 1994, President Kim disclosed his policy for assisting the North Koreans in distress. "In the belief that at the core of the intra-Korean relations is improvement of the national welfare," he said, "we will spare nothing to provide assistance and cooperation to our fellow Koreans." After that, in several other speeches and interviews, he expressed a willingness to provide grain to the North Koreans, who were suffering from a food shortage. The ROK government, too, publically announced its intention to provide grain to North Korea without any precondition or political attachment.

On May 26, 1995, the Deputy Prime Minister for National Unification reiterated the same theme. In response, the North suggested in June that the issue be discussed between the representatives of the two civilian organizations, Korea Trade Promotion Corporation (KOTRA) of South Korea and Korea Samchonri General Corpora-

tion of the North. The proposed meeting between them was proposed to be held in Beijing on June 13. In its reply, the South insisted on its policy of “government-level talks before civilian contact,” which the North accepted. As a result, talks between the government delegations took place in Beijing on June 17.

### ***Progress of the Talks***

#### — The First Round in Beijing

The first round of talks on South Korea’s provision of rice to the North were held in Beijing from June 17 to June 21, 1995. Being aware that the food situation in North Korea needed immediate attention, the South accommodated Pyongyang’s demands to the maximum extent and generally agreed on the following points for the first time since the national division:

- The South would provide 150,000 tons of rice to the North free of charge.
- The South would begin the shipment of the above amount within ten days of the signing of this agreement and deliver it to the North Korean ports of Chongjin and Rajin.
- The provided rice must have been processed and packaged in the 40kg-sacks with nothing to indicate the place of origin written or drawn on them.
- The parties responsible for the implementation of the agreement would be Korea Trade Promotion Corporation of the South and Korea Samchonri General Corporation of the North.
- The South and the North would secure the necessary cooper-

ation for the transfer of the rice,

- The second round of talks would be held in mid July 1995.
- Any problems arising during the process would be settled through consultations between the delegations.

Under this agreement, a South Korean vessel named the *Sea Apex* left the South Korean port of Tonghae with the load of 2,000 tons of rice on June 25. Unfortunately, as the *Sea Apex* was entering into the North Korean port of Chongjin, the North Korean port officials forced the crew to raise the North Korean flag. It was a clear violation of the agreement made at the Beijing talks.

#### — The Second Round in Beijing

Despite the dark cloud over intra-Korean relations due to the flag incident and the detention of the crew of the *Woosungho*, a South Korean fishing boat that had been hijacked by North Korea on March 30, the second round of the rice talks was resumed in Beijing from July 15 to July 19.

At the meeting, the South expressed regret over North Korea's display of disinterest in returning the crew of the *Woosungho*. It then proposed an in-depth discussion on intra-Korean cooperation in agriculture, light industries, and energy in an effort to solve the North Korean food problem in a more prolonged and stable way.

At the same time, the South made it clear that a proper measure must be taken with regard to the unjust action of the North Korean officials in the flag incident along with the return of the *Woosungho* and its crew as quickly as possible in order to soothe the aggravated public opinion in the South. The ROK government further explained that the intra-Korean economic cooperation would be an

indirect way to help the North to overcome its food shortage.

The North stressed that the flag incident was not a deliberate act and explained that it was doing its best to return the crew of the *Woosungho* as soon as possible. It then insisted that the agenda of the talks should be limited to discussion of those matters that were related to the donation of rice.

Eventually, the two sides failed to reach any agreement as the North's demand for additional rice ran counter to the South's demand for returning the crew along with the discontinuation of slander against it.

#### — The Third Round in Beijing

Despite all these problems, the South continued with the shipment of the promised amount of rice after June 25, 1995. Meantime, another unexpected incident happened. On August 2, a crew member of the South Korean vessel *Samsun Venus* took a picture of the City of Chongjin while his ship was docked in at the port. The North called this as an "act of espionage" and detained the vessel and all its crew at the port. Then it indefinitely postponed the third round of the talks previously scheduled for August 10.

Later, when the delayed third round was held on September 26, the South emphasized the need to create an environment which would induce public support for intra-Korean cooperation. Accordingly, it made the following propositions:

First, the North was to return the crew and vessel of *Woosungho*, halt all slander against the South, and provide explanations on the kidnapping of a South Korean pastor and on the statement of a North Korean high-level official that made a mockery of the South Korean assistance.

Second, future talks should be held either in Seoul or Pyongyang or at Panmunjom, and the heads of the two delegations must exchange credentials issued by each government to clarify their status as governmental authorities.

Third, some complementary measures must be taken in order to prevent a repetition of the event that took place during delivery of rice aid, including the permission of communication between vessels and their mother companies and the guarantee for the security of people traveling in relation to intra-Korean exchanges and cooperation.

The North, however, argued that since the Beijing talks was a special type of contact between the South and the North that was taking place only under an extraordinary circumstance that involved the delivery of rice aid, the discussion must be limited to the issues related to the donation of rice. As a result, the third round of talks, too, ended in failure due to a standoff between the two Koreas as the North requested discussions on the size of additional assistance, while South demanded the return of the crew along with a change in North's position on dealing with the pending issues.

In spite of several incidents which hampered the smooth delivery, the South completed the shipment of all 150,000 tons of rice between the date of the initial agreement at the first round of the Beijing talks and the promised date of October 10. From the South Korean government's stance, the free donation of 150,000 tons of rice was a measure based purely on compassion for the North Korean brethren. In the long run, it should serve as a cornerstone for the improvement of the intra-Korean relations.