

ISARMUN 2018



Korean Unification Talks

KuC

STUDY GUIDE

Table of Contents

Introduction from the Chairs	III
Introduction to the Committee	IV
Political Integration	5
1. Political Overview	5
1.1 Republic of Korea (RoK).....	5
1.2 Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK).....	6
2. Discussion of the topic	7
2.1 Historical Background.....	7
2.2 The Divide	9
2.3 Sunshine policy and the relationship between the two Koreas	9
2.4. Current Challenges and the Panmunjom Declaration	11
2.5. The Divide in South Korea.....	13
3. Bloc positions	14
3.1 USA	14
3.2 Japan	14
3.3 China	15
Social Integration	17
1. Introduction.....	17
2. Societal Consequences of the War.....	17
Economic Integration	19
1. Discussion of the topic	19
1.1. Historical Background.....	19
1.2. Historical Timeline	19
3. Questions Expected to be Answered	23
4. Further Reading	23
Bibliography.....	24

Introduction from the Chairs

Dear Delegates of the Korean Unification Talks!

It is our greatest pleasure to welcome you to the Korean Unification Talks at IsarMUN 2018. Being a delegate at this special committee will give you the possibility to represent ministers that are negotiating about a possible and very exciting reunification of North and South Korea.

This task is certainly not an easy one, else we would not have this issue. Therefore we want to stress that preparation is the key for being a successful diplomat and ultimately crafting on a successful solution as a committee.

For laying you the path for a successful preparation you can find the Study Guide in the following. It outlines three major aspects that will be the framework of the debate: political, social and economic integration of the two Koreas. The debate will tackle all of those three issues, but you will be the ones deciding how to solve them.

Lastly, we want to emphasise that no one is born as the perfect diplomat. Please do not hesitate to contact us at anytime with questions of any kind, we are happy to help you with your preparation!

We are very excited to meet you in Munich and wish you all the success for your preparations and IsarMUN 2018!

Inés Faghihi, Vivian Van Der Linde, Rizqi Imaduddin

Introduction to the Committee

Since the separation of North and South Korea after the Cold War it is discussed how these two countries could ever become one state again. As time passes it becomes harder and harder to actually imagine to merge such so extremely different countries. The involvement of other nations and their relationships to the two nations such as the US poses another hurdle. Nevertheless, this committee will be discussing this exact scenario.

Delegates in the Korean Unification Talks will take the role of South and North Korean, Chinese, American and Japanese ministers. Therefore, some will represent the opinion of the same nation, which is important to kept in mind for preparation purposes. It is encouraged to talk to other delegates in advance. Together they will discuss the status quo of both countries and what is needed to reunify them. The goal will be to present a final written solution in form of a contract, not a resolution. This contract will consist of an action plan and a final press release informing the international community about the results.

Political Integration

1. Political Overview

1.1 Republic of Korea (RoK)

- Government: Presidential, Democratic constitutional republic
- Current Leader: Moon Jae In (President), Lee Nak Yeon (Prime Minister)
- Capital: Seoul
- Executive Branch:
 - President appoints the Prime Minister with the approval of the National assembly
 - Appoints and presides over the chief ministers
 - The president is elected every 5 years through direct popular vote
- Legislative Branch:
 - National assembly (Gukhoe) is comprised of 300 members elected every 4 years
- Judicial Branch:
 - The South Korean judiciary is independent of the other two branches
 - The Supreme Court justices are appointed by the president with approval of the National Assembly
 - South Korea has not accepted compulsory ICJ jurisdiction
- Political Parties
 - Multi-party System
 - 5 major parties
 - Democratic Party of Korea (Current Majority, Social Liberal)
 - Liberty Korea Party (Conservative)
 - Bareunmirae Party (Social Conservative)
 - Party for Democracy and Peace (Liberal)
 - Justice Party (Democratic Socialism)
 - The current president and prime minister are both from the Democratic Party



President Moon Jae In and Prime Minister Lee Nak Yeon¹

1.2 Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK)

- Government: Juche Totalitarian Socialist Republic
- Current Leader: Kim Jong Un (Supreme Leader), Kim Yong Nam (President of the Assembly)
- Capital: Pyongyang
- Juche Ideology
 - "Self-reliance", through self-reliance, true socialism can be achieved
 - Developed by Kim Il-Sung and Hwang Jang-Yop as a variant of Marxism-Leninism
 - Practice of Juche is firmly rooted in the ideals of sustainability through agricultural independence and a lack of dependency
- Constitution
 - Article 12 of the constitution defined North Korea as "a dictatorship of people democracy"
 - The country, according to the constitution, is a democratic republic and the Supreme People's Assembly (SPA) and Provincial People's Assembly (PPA) are directly elected
 - The President of the Assembly is often called the nominal head of state
- Election and Parties
 - In reality, election are non-competitive
 - All aspect of the election and the parties is directly controlled by the ruling Worker's party of Korea (WKP)

¹Osaki, T. (2018). Moon win puts allies' approach to North Korea in doubt, but drastic policy shift unlikely, experts say | The Japan Times. [online] The Japan Times. Available at: https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2017/05/10/national/politics-diplomacy/moon-win-puts-allies-approach-north-korea-doubt-drastic-policy-shift-unlikely-experts-say/#.W50jruh_JPY [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].



Kim Jong Un and President of the Assembly, Kim Yong Nam²

2. Discussion of the topic

2.1 Historical Background

The Korean Peninsula have a long and rich history. Throughout Early Korea, the peninsula was never truly united. The peninsula was filled with kingdoms and lesser kingdoms fighting with one another for control. It was not until the Goryeo Kingdom in 918 under King Taejo united all of what is now known as the Korean Peninsula³. The name itself “Goryeo” would later be the modern name “Korea”. The Goryeo Dynasty lasted until 1392. Even during this period, they were never truly an independent kingdom as they were the Vassal state of the Yuan Mongol Empire from 1270 to 1356⁴. Joseon Dynasty came as a result of this Mongol Rule. General Yi Seonggye overthrew the king and declare himself King, starting the Joseon Dynasty. Under the Joseon Dynasty, Korea went through plenty of reforms which helped shaped the two country today. Much of the countries culture, tradition, norms and societal attitudes was developed during this period⁵. The modern Korean alphabet, Hangul, was developed by King Sejong, commonly seen as the greatest king Korea ever had,

² Van Zon, H. (2018). Kim stuurt partijdinosaur naar Spelen en 'zus luncht met president Moon'. [online] Ad.nl. Available at: <https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/kim-stuurt-partijdinosaur-naar-spelen-en-zus-luncht-met-president-moon~ac85083a/> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

³ Newworldencyclopedia.org. (2018). Goryeo. [online] Available at: <http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Goryeo> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

⁴ Newworldencyclopedia.org. (2018). Mongol Invasions of Korea. [online] Available at: http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Mongol_invasions_of_Korea [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

⁵ unfamed.lacma.org. (n.d.). The Legacy of Joseon: Korea's Last Dynasty. [online] Available at: <https://unfamed.lacma.org/2014/07/21/the-legacy-of-joseon-koreas-last-dynasty> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

during this period as well⁶. Joseon's capital is what is now known as Seoul, the modern day capital of South Korea.



King Sejong Statue in Seoul⁷

The Joseon empire was caught between two superpowers during the first Sino-Japanese war (1894-1895). Japan, fresh of the Meiji Restoration, have acquired Western military technology and forced Joseon to open up their ports. This marked the beginning of Japan grasp on Korea. The war between Qing China and the Japanese is fought mainly in Korea. This resulted in the Qing's defeat and strengthen Japanese hegemony in the region⁸. Joseon's court felt the need to reinforce national integrity, declared the creation of the Korean Empire in 1897. During the Korean Empire, Emperor Gojong oversaw the partial modernization and Westernization of the military, economy, land system, education system and various industries. This was a result of the Gwangmu reform, the reform served as the background for modern day development⁹. After the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905), Korea effectively became a protectorate of Japan. After the assassination of the Japanese Resident-General of Korea in 1909, Japan effectively annexed Korea in 1910 with the Japan-Korea annexation treaty, in which they forced the Emperor to signed it¹⁰. After the annexation, Japan set out to repress Korean traditions and culture, and to develop and implement policies primarily for the Japanese benefit. The Japanese accelerated the industrialization of Korea, using forced labour and environmental exploitation. The

⁶ Asia Society. (n.d.). King Sejong the Great. [online] Available at: <https://asiasociety.org/education/king-sejong-great> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

⁷ VisitKorea. (n.d.). King Sejong Statue. [online] Available at: http://english.visitkorea.or.kr/enu/ATR/SI_EN_3_1_1_1.jsp?cid=1382671 [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

⁸ Newworldencyclopedia.org. (2018). Joseon Dynasty. [online] Available at: http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Joseon_Dynasty [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

⁹ Newworldencyclopedia.org. (2018). Korean Empire. [online] Available at: http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Korean_Empire [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

¹⁰ The Japan Times. (2010). The annexation of Korea. [online] Available at: https://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2010/08/29/editorials/the-annexation-of-korea/#.W5-Th-h_JPY [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

Japanese ended their rule in 1945 after their unconditional surrender to the allied forces. The Northern Korean peninsula was soon overrun with soviet forces while American forces landed in the South. Thus starting the divide between the peninsula.

2.2 The Divide

After World War 2, the United States and the Soviet Union each occupied a portion of the peninsula, with the boundary between their zones of control along the 38th parallel. In 1948, UN-supervised elections were held in the US-occupied south only. Syngman Rhee won the election while Kim Il-sung was appointed as the leader of North Korea¹¹. This led to the establishment of the Republic of Korea in South Korea, which was promptly followed by the establishment of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in North Korea. Sporadic negotiations have failed to produce lasting progress towards reunification. This paved the way to the start of the Korean War. North Korea invaded the South on June 25, 1950, and swiftly overwhelmed the South Korean forces. Their objective was to unify the country and to assassinate Syngman Rhee, who was seen as a traitor by the North Korean¹². In five days, the South Korean forces, which had 95,000 men on 25 June, was down to less than 22,000 men. In early July, when U.S. forces arrived, what was left of the South Korean forces were placed under U.S. operational command of the United Nations Command¹³. Fighting ended on July 27, 1953, with an armistice that approximately restored the original boundaries between North and South Korea. The 38th parallel was designated as a demilitarized zone (DMZ). The Korean Armistice Agreement provided for monitoring by an international commission. Since 1953, the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission (NNSC), composed of members from the Swiss and Swedish Armed Forces, has been stationed near the DMZ¹⁴. Both the armistice and the DMZ was supposed to be temporary. It has lasted for 65 years. North Korea has announced that it will no longer abide by the armistice at least six times, in the years 1994, 1996, 2003, 2006, 2009, and 2013¹⁵. It wasn't until 2018, that the two Korea agreed to end the conflict and aim for a full denuclearization of the region.

2.3 Sunshine policy and the relationship between the two Koreas

Sunshine policy was deemed the most influential policy in terms of relations between the two Korea. In 1998, South Korean President Kim Dae Jung created the now

¹¹ Cumings, B. (2005). Korea's place in the sun. New York, N.Y.: W.W. Norton, pp.255-260.

¹² Buzo, Adrian (2002). The Making of Modern Korea. London: Routledge. p. 78.

¹³ History.army.mil. (n.d.). The Korean War: The Outbreak. [online] Available at: <https://history.army.mil/brochures/KW-Outbreak/outbreak.htm> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

¹⁴ Pearson, J. (2016). Cow bells in the DMZ: Swiss, Swedish generals uphold Korean truce.... [online] U.S. Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-northkorea-southkorea-border/cow-bells-in-the-dmz-swiss-swedish-generals-uphold-korean-truce-their-way-idUSKCN0WX303> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

¹⁵ Yonhap News. (2009). Chronology of major North Korean statements on the Korean War armistice. [online] Available at: <http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/northkorea/2009/05/28/46/0401000000AEN20090528004200315F.HTML> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

infamous Sunshine Policy. This was theoretical basis for South Korea's foreign policy toward North Korea. It is based on a fable, in which, the moral of the story is that to get someone to follow it is better to show kindness instead of threat¹⁶. The stated purpose of the policy is to "soften" North Korea's attitudes towards South Korea by encouraging interaction and economic assistance. The policy was based on 3 main principles; No armed provocation by the North will be tolerated; The South will not attempt to absorb the North in any way; The South actively seeks cooperation and promote reconciliation. The policy is met with some success, some of its success involved the creation of the Kaesang Economic zones and the opening of the Mount Kumgang tourist region. In the Mount Kumgang Tourist Region, there was a special reunification point for families separated¹⁷. The Kaesang Economic zones was the result of South Korea's loosened restriction on private business. The region combined the South's capital with the North's workforce. With all these successes, its biggest success was the Pyongyang summit. The North Korean government agreed to hold the first-ever summit meeting in Pyongyang in June 2000. Issued a joint declaration to resolve humanitarian issues, reopen borders, reunite separated families and cooperate with business development.



South Korean President Kim Dae Jung and North Korean Leader Kim Il-sung¹⁸

Politically, North and South Korean officials met more frequently than ever before. Summits in 2000 and 2007 contributed to opening channels for political communication between the two former adversaries. Throughout the Sunshine Period, conferences took place on issues ranging from political to economic to social and cultural. The ultimate goal of the Sunshine Policy was to help Pyongyang launch domestic reforms to boost its lethargic economy, to pacify the North Korean leadership

¹⁶ Kirk, D. (2014). *Korea betrayed: Kim Dae Jung and Sunshine*. Palgrave Macmillan.

¹⁷ Lee, D. (2008). The Korean Sunshine Policy: Its Light and Shade. *Pacific Focus*, 18(1), 175-200.

¹⁸ The Japan Times. (2018). 'Sunshine Policy' and scandal features of previous inter-Korean summits. [online] Available at: https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2018/04/27/asia-pacific/sunshine-policy-scandal-features-previous-inter-korean-summits/#.W5-XG-h_JPY [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

by exposing it to the benefits of economic exchanges, and to bring about political reconciliation between North and South¹⁹. South Korea was more than willing to give aid while its neighbour was happy to receive with few reciprocation. Critics of the policy have pointed out that the South Korean government were being 'too nice' and is the North refusal to cooperate but willingness to accept the aid²⁰. North Korea became dependent on the aid. It is to be noted that North Korea faced a series of famines in the 1990's, therefore they had no reason to decline aid. However, North Korea was not honouring the basic rules of reciprocity. This was problematic as the aid given were not being used for their intended use. Instead the monetary aid was to strengthen the expand North Korea's military establishment, including their nuclear programs, instead of helping the suffering masses²¹. Based on a flexible reciprocity and the principle of separation of economics from politics, the Kim administration anticipated changes of the North but North Korea took advantage of the policy through dialogue, aid, and economic cooperation for the sake of its own necessity, without actually changing anything. Aid shipped to the North during the administrations of Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun from 1998-2008 failed to make a difference to the lives of destitute North Koreans, said the Unification Ministry white paper²². The Sunshine policy ended in 2008, under president Lee Myung Bak and was marked a failure

2.4. Current Challenges and the Panmunjom Declaration

President Moon Jae In is a big proponent of the Sunshine Policy. Being the son of North Korean Defectors, he is always in favour of the policy and especially a soft approach toward North Korea. Moon's policies has been dubbed the "Moonshine Policy" by his supporters and critics alike. Moon advocated for greater diplomacy to end the North Korea crisis and called for greater economic ties between the two Koreas. Moon's administration froze deployment of the THAAD missile defence system and reached out to Pyongyang to set up talks between the two countries²³. He received fierce criticism abroad and domestic for his soft approach. In South Korea, his policies have been heavily criticised due to the lack of results. This included North Korea test-fires intercontinental ballistic missiles twice in July and conducted another nuclear test in September of 2017. This was not the only challenges that is facing President Moon. Moon was elected in the wake of the impeachment of Former President Park Geun Hye. The scandal involving the former South Korean president has exposed both corruption between the corporate world and the government and deep-rooted divisions in South Korean society. Moon has promised to reform the

¹⁹ Kim, I. (2017). No More Sunshine: The Limits of Engagement with North Korea. *The Washington Quarterly*, 40(4), pp.165-181.

²⁰ Lee, D. (2008). The Korean Sunshine Policy: Its Light and Shade. *Pacific Focus*, 18(1), 175-200.

²¹ Hogarth, H. (2012). South Korea's Sunshine Policy, Reciprocity and Nationhood. *Perspectives On Global Development And Technology*, 11(1), 99-111.

²² Popeski, R. (2010). Sunshine Policy failed to change North Korea: report. [online] Reuters. Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-korea-north-sunshine/sunshine-policy-failed-to-change-north-korea-report-idUSTRE6AH12520101118> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

²³ Griffiths, J. (2017). *South Korea's Moon Jae-in walks delicate line between North Korea and US*. CNN.

system and bridge the divide between various political and social groups²⁴. This is especially difficult as Park Geun Hye was not the only former president caught in hot water. Former President Lee Myung Bak is also currently waiting trial for corruption charges²⁵. Moon also faces criticism on the grounds that he is allegedly silencing his critics. A number of conservative newspapers published reports claiming that scholars at government-affiliated institutes were being subjected to a "Moon code" that prevented them from criticising the government²⁶. However, it is worth noting that Moon is the first President from the liberal party in a decade. Both Myung Bak and Geun Hye were both Conservatives, this helped elected Moon in the first place. Conservative are currently on the down, as can be seen in the now Democratic party majority in the assembly. Koreans seems to be giving Moon a chance and only time will tell how far he can take this.

It wasn't until 2018 that we have seen the 'softening' of North Korea with the April Inter-Korean Summit. The first summit in 11 years. The summit took place after the two sides held several meetings in preparation for the joint attendance at the 2018 Winter Olympics. The idea initially was brought forward through an official invitation from the North to conduct a meeting. The summit was focused on the North Korean nuclear weapons program and denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. The talk resulted in the creation of the Panmunjom Declaration. Panmunjom Declaration for Peace, Prosperity and Unification of the Korean Peninsula was adopted on April 27, 2018. Both sides agreed to work together on ending the Korean War and the Korean conflict, beginning a new era of peace and sharing commitments in ending divisions and confrontation by approaching a new era of national reconciliation, peace and prosperity and improvements to inter-Korean relations. The leaders of North and South Korea agreed to work on the ultimate aim of removing all nuclear weapons from the Korean Peninsula. North Korea announced an end to all nuclear and long-range-missile tests, saying that his country had mastered how to mount nuclear warheads on missiles and no longer needed to conduct tests and have decided to focus on economic development²⁷.

²⁴ Collins, L. and Cha, V. (2017). What Are Challenges for the New South Korean President?. [online] Csis.org. Available at: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/what-are-challenges-new-south-korean-president> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

²⁵ Dwyer, C. (2018). Former South Korean President Lee Myung-Bak Is Arrested On Graft Charges. [online] Npr.org. Available at: <https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2018/03/22/596046633/former-south-korean-president-lee-myung-bak-is-arrested-on-graft-charges?t=1537034981904> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

²⁶Power, J. (2018). Conservatives accuse Moon Jae-in's government of gagging tactics. [online] Nikkei Asian Review. Available at: <https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/Conservatives-accuse-Moon-Jae-in-s-government-of-gagging-tactics2> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

²⁷ Sang-Hun, C. (2018). North and South Korea Set Bold Goals: A Final Peace and No Nuclear Arms. [online] Nytimes.com. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/27/world/asia/north-korea-south-kim-jong-un.html> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

2.5. The Divide in South Korea

Hong Joon-pyo, leader of the main conservative opposition Korean Liberty Party, likened Moon to former Prime Minister Arthur Neville Chamberlain of United Kingdom, who he said fell into Hitler's "trap of false peace"²⁸. On the other hand, Moon Jae in has received an increase approval rating of 70 percent. Moon will need cooperation from North Korea in the form of process on denuclearization and help from the United States and China on a peace treaty if his momentum is to be maintained. South Korean progressives support more open diplomatic engagement of North Korea and a more autonomous policy toward the United States, whereas conservatives remain deeply sceptical of engagement, maintain a hardline stance toward Pyongyang, and emphasize the overriding importance of unity within the U.S.-ROK alliance as the ultimate protection from a still threatening North Korea²⁹.

Another divide is due to the economic situation in South Korea which Moon promised to fixed. Unemployment in March jumped to the highest level since 2010, and many are blaming Moon's aggressive increase in the minimum wage³⁰. One of the solution that was sought is to look to opening up to the North. This has naturally stir criticism in the opposition parties as they criticised Moon for looking in the wrong direction³¹. The main problem with this strategy even with the current softening of North Korea is the existence of economic sanctions. Seoul and Washington have echoed one another about refusing to lighten sanctions on North Korea until progress has been made on denuclearization. Positive perceptions of the economy in South Korea at the moment are linked to the prospects of increased economic activity due to the opening of North Korea. But if sanctions relief for North Korea is not forthcoming, any economic benefits for the South Korean people will be delayed as well³².

²⁸ Sang-Hun, C. (2018). His Predecessors Failed. Can Moon Jae-in Make Peace With North Korea?. [online] Nytimes.com. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/03/world/asia/north-korea-moon-trump-kim.html> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

²⁹ Work, C. (2018). South Korea's Domestic Political Divide on North Korea. [online] The Diplomat. Available at: <https://thediplomat.com/2018/02/south-koreas-domestic-political-divide-on-north-korea/> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

³⁰ Lee, J. (2018). Moon's Goal of Becoming Korea's 'Jobs President' in Jeopardy. [online] Bloomberg.com. Available at: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-04-22/moon-s-goal-of-becoming-korea-s-jobs-president-in-jeopardy> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

³¹ Engel, B. (2018). Where Does South Korea's President Go From Here?. [online] The Diplomat. Available at: <https://thediplomat.com/2018/06/where-does-south-koreas-president-go-from-here/> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

³² *ibid*

3. Bloc positions

3.1 USA

One of the reasons why the Sunshine policy failed, was due to George Bush Jr's refusal to work with North Korea. With the Bush administration labeling North Korea as being part of the "axis of evil", North Korea renounced the nonproliferation treaty, kicked out UN inspectors, and restarted its nuclear program. There is a need to involve United States into the peace talks. The recent North Korea-United States summit was deemed a failure by many³³. With talks between Pyongyang and Washington currently stalling and seems to be going nowhere, Moon have urged the two countries to make a "bold decision" and offering up his service as a mediator³⁴. This came at a time where the relationship was strained after President Trump cancelled Secretary of State, Mike Pompeo, scheduled trip to Pyongyang. The United States criticise the North Korea lack of progress of denuclearization, especially after Kim Jong Un pledge to remove them on both the Singapore Summit and the Panmunjeom declaration.



Supreme Leader Kim Jong Un and President Donald Trump³⁵

3.2 Japan

Japan have always held a hardline stance toward North Korea. They see North Korea as an immediate threat toward the peace in the region. Japan's defence minister, Itsunori Onodera, acknowledged there had been unprecedented attempts to establish dialogue with North Korea this year, but added: "We cannot overlook the fact that,

³³ Beauchamp, Z. (2018). The real reason Trump's North Korea summit failed. [online] Vox. Available at: <https://www.vox.com/world/2018/5/24/17389896/trump-cancels-north-korea-summit-kim-jong-un> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

³⁴ Kim, H. (2018). South Korea's Moon Calls for 'Bold Decisions' Ahead of a Summit With Kim Jong Un. [online] Time. Available at: <http://time.com/5392337/moon-jae-in-kim-jong-un-bold-decisions/> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

³⁵ Healy, H. (2018). In pictures: Donald Trump meets Kim Jong Un. [online] Ft.com. Available at: <https://www.ft.com/content/7cfa40d4-6d8f-11e8-92d3-6c13e5c92914> [Accessed 26 Sep. 2018].

even to this day, it possesses and fully deploys several hundred missiles that put nearly all of Japan within range³⁶.” North Korea and Japan, however, have met in Vietnam on July 2018. The talk was to negotiate the return of Japanese abductee from North Korea. The meeting was a ‘secret’ and resulted in the ire of the United States³⁷. Due to the long history between both Korea and Japan, relationship was never easy. Shinzo Abe was one of the biggest critic of the peace summits held with North Korea. With Abe continuously lobbying to the U.S. and President Trump regarding North Korea³⁸. Although on the surface, relationship between Japan and South Korea seems to be harmonious, there are underlying tension between the two country. Some South Koreans still have negative sentiments toward Japan as a result of the Japanese occupation of Korea. There exist also the Liancourt islands dispute between South Korea and Japan. The islands is called Dokdo in Korea while in Japan it is called Takeshima. The islands dispute is exacerbated by the historical sentiments between the countries ³⁹. Furthermore, Japan have been feeling increasingly strategically isolated in Northeast Asia. Japan main source of concern is that South Korea might unilaterally ease sanctions against the North, as well as that the US at some point in its negotiations with the North will agree to withdraw troops from South Korea⁴⁰. Japan’s main stance toward North Korea have always been to pressure denuclearization and any talks of unifying Korea would have to address this issue.

3.3 China

China is North Korea’s main ally. China is the DPRK’s most important trading partner and have sustained the Kim Dynasty rule in the country⁴¹. China’s support for North Korea dates back to the Korean War. However, relations have been strained in the recent times due to North Korea’s continuous missile testing and the subsequent condemnation that other nations have placed on them⁴². China has regarded stability on the Korean peninsula as its primary interest. Its support for North Korea ensures a

³⁶ McCurry, J. (2018). North Korea threat remains despite Trump summit, says Japan. [online] the Guardian. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/aug/28/north-korea-threat-remains-despite-trump-summit-says-japan> [Accessed 26 Sep. 2018].

³⁷ The Japan Times. (2018). Japan and North Korea met secretly in Vietnam in July, irking U.S.: report. [online] Available at: https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2018/08/29/national/politics-diplomacy/japan-north-korea-held-secret-meeting-vietnam-july-irking-u-s-report/#.W51W4eh_JPY [Accessed 26 Sep. 2018].

³⁸ Tarabay, J. (2018). Bad blood between North Korea and Japan keeps Abe on the outs. [online] CNN. Available at: <https://edition.cnn.com/2018/08/28/asia/japan-north-korea-relations-intl/index.html> [Accessed 26 Sep. 2018].

³⁹ Park, D. and Chubb, D. (2011). Why Dokdo Matters to Korea. [online] The Diplomat. Available at: <https://thediplomat.com/2011/08/why-dokdo-matters-to-korea/> [Accessed 16 Oct. 2018].

⁴⁰ Brown, P. (2018). Japan feeling isolated as Seoul, US and North Korea talk. [online] Asiatimes.com. Available at: <http://www.atimes.com/article/japan-feeling-isolated-as-seoul-us-and-north-korea-talk/> [Accessed 16 Oct. 2018].

⁴¹ Albert, E. (2018). Understanding the China-North Korea Relationship. [online] Council on Foreign Relations. Available at: <https://www.cfr.org/background/china-north-korea-relationship> [Accessed 15 Oct. 2018].

⁴² *ibid*

buffer between China and the democratic South, which is home to around twenty-nine thousand U.S. troops and marines⁴³. The relationship between the CCP and the Korean Workers Party have always been harmonious due to their long history and similar party ideology. However, as mentioned before, relationships have been strained in recent times. Behind the facade of Party unity and bilateral solidarity lie deep fault lines and disagreements. Relationships between Chinese and North Korean comrades, and within the CCP itself, will remain outwardly harmonious⁴⁴. The recent trade war with the United States have created animosity between the two superpowers. This has resulted in China's disinterest in supporting the denuclearization project. China's Foreign Ministry expressed "serious concern" about Washington's attitude, after Mr. Trump partly blamed China for a lack of progress in denuclearization talks and for the cancellation of the Pompeo trip⁴⁵. China and South Korea's relationship have been on and off. In recent times, China have been warming up to South Korea, this was shown in the meeting between the two countries finance minister recently to discuss trade and investments⁴⁶. However, Xi's government is still plenty miffed over Moon's refusal to scrap the US Terminal High-Altitude Area Defense⁴⁷. The past couple of years, Beijing and Seoul were not on the best terms due to this. China curbed tour groups going to South Korea and boycotted Korean companies such as Hyundai⁴⁸. However, it seems that they are now on friendly terms but only time will tell if this relationship is sustainable

⁴³ ibid

⁴⁴ Cathcart, A. (2018). Xi Jinping and China-North Korea Relations. [online] The Diplomat. Available at: <https://thediplomat.com/2018/09/xi-jinping-and-china-north-korea-relations/> [Accessed 15 Oct. 2018].

⁴⁵ Perlez, J. (2018). Is China Undermining Efforts to Disarm North Korea? Not Yet, Analysts Say. [online] Nytimes.com. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/25/world/asia/china-north-korea-sanctions.html> [Accessed 15 Oct. 2018].

⁴⁶ Pesek, W. (2018). How sustainable is the China-South Korean thaw?. [online] Asiatimes.com. Available at: <http://www.atimes.com/article/how-sustainable-is-the-china-south-korean-thaw/> [Accessed 16 Oct. 2018].

⁴⁷ ibid

⁴⁸ ibid

Social Integration

1. Introduction

Korea was occupied by Japan in 1905 following the Russo-Japanese War. Five years later, Tokyo annexed the entire peninsula and oppressed anyone who dared to speak out against the regime. Five years later, in 1910, the Japanese fully colonised Korea, effectively crushing the Korean government. The fall of the Korean leadership caused great upset and humiliation for the population. Any and all opposition to the Japanese rule was suppressed, as they maintained a strong military presence in the country throughout the years that followed.⁴⁹ Their vast military presence ensured they remained in power until the end of World War II, when Japan surrendered to the US. Following World War II a communist-style government was installed in the north (Democratic People's Republic of Korea, DPRK), while a democratic-based government was set up in the south (Republic of Korea, ROK). During the Korean War, from 1950 to 1953, the UN forces, consisting of 12 different countries, and US troops fought alongside ROK soldiers in order to defend the south from an invasion of the DPRK. The DPRK in turn was supported by China and the Soviet Union. The Korean War was not resolved by a peace treaty, however armistice was agreed upon in 1953. The armistice resulted in a split of the Peninsula along a demilitarised zone at the 38th parallel.⁵⁰

2. Societal Consequences of the War

In a political and societal view the war still exists to this day. North and South are not only divided by the heavily guarded 38th parallel. Both sides continue argue about who is to blame for the war and the Cold War conflict that the Peninsula faces today. North Koreans see the South as “Japanese collaborators”. This can be lead back to the Imperialist days from 1910 to 1945.⁵¹ During the suppression Korea was transformed into a place of modernisation and many aspects of Japanese culture were forced onto the Koreans. The Japanese were feared and hated, as the suppressors would provide the Japanese soldiers with Korean “comfort women”. When the conflict broke out between North and South Korea, the North Koreans were taught to believe that the South was at fault for the lengthy oppression. The North Koreans who live near the borders with China acquire information about South Korea through Chinese products, videos and radios that are smuggled into the country. South Korean TV shows are often amongst the illegal contraband that travels across. This allows the North

⁴⁹ Telegraph, T. (2010, November 23). North Korea's conflict with the South: timeline. Retrieved from <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/southkorea/8153048/North-Koreas-conflict-with-the-South-timeline.html>

⁵⁰ Stack, L. (2018, January 1). *Korean War, a 'Forgotten' Conflict That Shaped the Modern World*. Retrieved from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/01/world/asia/korean-war-history.html>

⁵¹ News, B. (2018, June 13). *North Korea profile - Timeline*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-15278612>

Koreans insight into the lives on 'the other side'. However, people in most areas that are far from the borders do not know much about South Korea. People in most inland areas do not have much access to transportation and communication and receive ideological education through the state TV, which functions as North Korean government's main propaganda tool. As a result, information about South Korea cannot reach a large percentage of the northern population even through word of mouth.⁵² Their views are thus greatly distorted by the government's influence. The South Koreans see the North Koreans as brainwashed, military 'bullies'.⁵³

With political efforts inching closer to a possible reunification, many are asking how to navigate the cultural differences that exist between the two Koreas. Culturally speaking North and South differ greatly from one another. North Korea has been kept in a proverbial bubble. Unlike South Korea, it has not experienced the vast advancements brought by the technological revolution and globalisation of the recent decades. South Korea is world famous for its K-Pop bands and its capitals bright neon lights. Furthermore many South Koreans are fluent in both Korean and English and often employ the latter as their working language. Internationally speaking South Korea is known for its electronic and textile exports. An environment that could not be more foreign to North Korean defectors. Especially for those defecting from the rural North Korean countryside, it can be compared with traveling with a time machine into the future. South Korea's capital, Seoul, has set up a school for North Korean defectors. This non-profit provides the refugees with free English language courses and try to help them assimilate. The South Korean government provides defectors with \$6,450 in the first year. These funds ensure that the North Korean refugees have time to rebuild their lives and adjust to the new freedoms that the South has to offer.⁵⁴

Reunification would not only have political and economic ramifications. It has been estimated that integrating North Koreans into the South Korean society range from around \$500 billion to several trillion dollars. The skills set of the North Koreans and live style of the South Koreans differ so greatly that social integration is another major aspect that must be considered during the Unification Talks.

⁵² Eskeland, P. (2018, Oktober 6). *The Truth About KORUS and Jobs*. Retrieved from <https://thediplomat.com/tag/u-s-south-korea-relations/>

⁵³ Carney, M. (2018, April 27). *In South Korea, young and old have very different views on the possibility of peace with the North*. Retrieved from <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-04-26/the-resistance-to-reuniting-two-koreas-could-come-from-youth/9697976>

⁵⁴ Schattle, H. (2018, June 12). *The view from Seoul: why the Trump-Kim 'deal' worries South Koreans*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/jun/12/south-koreans-worried-trump-kim-deal>

Economic Integration

1. Discussion of the topic

1.1. Historical Background

Economically speaking North and South Korea are very different from each other. South Korea is well known as one of the “Four Asian Tigers” that experienced high growth rates and industrialization between the 1960s and 1990s. Thanks to various reforms in South Korea, it was possible to maintain their high status until today. Even today, South Korea is the fourth largest economy in Asia and placed on 15th in an international comparison of GDP rates⁵⁵.

North Korea on the other hand is very different. It is important to note that comparisons with North Korea to other countries or gathering other statistical data is hard due to lacking information by the government. Furthermore, North Korea has a non-convertible currency which makes it hard to standardize given data⁵⁶. North Korea is the world’s most controlled and the least open economies. In difference to South Korea, it shows a long history of underinvestment and shortages and is only placed as 117th in terms of GDP worldwide⁵⁷.

1.2. Historical Timeline

In order to understand how both countries developed into different ways the following table marks important points in time where each country behaved differently or were economically significantly different from each other. Again, it is not easy to fully compare with North Korea due to missing data. Starting point is the Korean War as both countries developed relatively similar until then.

⁵⁵ IMF (2010), Report for Selected Countries and Subjects, International Monetary Fund, available at <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2010/02/weodata/weorept.aspx?sy=2011&ey=2011&s>

⁵⁶ CIA World Factbook (2018), available at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/kn.html>

⁵⁷ Kim Cheon-koo (2013), *Estimation of North Korea’s Nominal Per Capita GDP in 2012*

Year	South Korea	North Korea
1950-1953	Korean War	
1960s	Outward looking strategy	Strong economic growth
1962	GDP \$103.88	Change from extensive to intensive development stage
1965	Growth rate exceeds North Korea	
1970	Double Digit Inflation	Similar GDP to South Korea
1980s	Conservative Monetary policy to condemn inflation, GDP surpasses North Korea	Debt problems, mismanagement, industrial growth slowed
1989	GDP \$5438.24	
1997	Asian Financial Crisis	
2000	Move towards a market-oriented economy	GDP smaller than \$2000
2001	9/11	

1.3. Asian Financial Crisis

a) Introduction

In 1997 East Asia suffered from the Asian Financial crisis. South Korea was also hit by it and the crisis ultimately exposed its economic weaknesses and problems with corruption. Big firms asked for emergency loans which resulted in absence of investors. The won, South Korea's currency at that time, heavily depreciated during the crisis but managed to recover.

Nevertheless, South Korea's steps against the crisis lead to rapid economic recovery and growth. It expanded its free trade agreements with major global players such as the United States and China.

North Korea, in the meanwhile, was marked by famines and starvation. Until today it cannot fully meet the population's demand and China remains their major trade partner.⁵⁸

b) Actions taken

South Korea:

- **Outward-looking strategy:** strategy promoted economic growth through labor-intensive manufactured exports, in which South Korea could develop a competitive advantage
- **Export-led industrialization:** the South Korean government incentivized corporations to develop new technology and upgrade productive efficiency in order to compete in the highly-competitive, global market; subsidization and investment support to rapidly develop their export markets in the fast-paced, evolving international arena
- **Government intervention** in the economy was greatly reduced and policies on imports and foreign investment were liberalized to promote competition
- Korea's economy moved away from the centrally planned, government-directed investment model toward a more **market-oriented** one.
- **Korea-Australia Free Trade Agreement (KAFTA)**

North Korea:

- The main targets of the **Third Seven-Year Plan of 1987–1993** were to achieve the "Ten Long-Range Major Goals of the 1980s for the Construction of the Socialist Economy".
- **The Ch'öngsan-ni Method**
- **The industrial management system**

1.4. International Positioning

After the Second World War US troops had occupied the South and stood in opposition to the Soviets who had taken the North. In 1968, 15 years after the official demilitarisation along the 38th parallel, North Korean forces attacked and captured the Navy intelligence vessel, USS Pueblo. This became known as the Pueblo incident, during which 83 of the crew members were imprisoned by the North Koreans. Since then tensions between the US and North Korea have been high. George W. Bush was once quoted describing North Korea as 'the axis of evil'. His successor Barack Obama mixed sanctions with an attempt to upkeep dialog between the North

⁵⁸ EuroMoney (2015), accessed by: <http://www.euromoney.com/Article/1005746/When-the-world-started-to-melt.html>

and the South. In 2014 Obama stated that Washington would stand 'shoulder to shoulder' with South Korea in its strive to denuclearise the North. The President believed that sanctions were the key to forcing North Korea to disarm. Obama later conceded that additional sanctions would potentially have limited impact. The president made following statement on the issue. "We are not going to find a magic bullet that solves this problem overnight. We can't waver in our intention. We have to make sure that, in strong concert with our allies, that we are continuing to press North Korea to change its approach." ⁵⁹

President Trump and his White House administration have taken a hard line. Speaking at his Bedminster, N.J., golf club in August 2017, Trump warned: "North Korea best not make any more threats to the United States. They will be met with fire and fury like the world has never seen." His tactical use of apocalyptic imagery has not been heard uttered by a US President since World War II. Since then Trumps relationship to North Korea and its leader has been a mixture of hostilities and attempted reciprocity. The current US President priding himself on being the reason for the North and South entering disarmament and denuclearisation talks. ⁶⁰

In 1984, the *Beijing Review* provided China's view on Korean unification: "With regard to the situation on the Korean peninsula, China's position is clear: it is squarely behind the proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for tripartite (between the two Koreas and the United States) talks to seek a peaceful and independent reunification of Korea in the form of a confederation, free from outside interference. China believes this is the surest way to reduce tension on the peninsula." ⁶¹

A scheduled General Assembly debate on the topic in 2002 was deferred for a year at the request of both nations, and when the subject returned in 2003, it was immediately dropped off the agenda. The issue did not return to the General Assembly until 2007, following a second Inter-Korean summit held in Pyongyang on October 2–4, 2007. These talks were held during one round of the Six-Party Talks in Beijing which committed to the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. ⁶²

⁵⁹ Cerbin, C. M. (2018, March 19). *5 things to know about the U.S.-North Korea relationship*. Retrieved from <https://eu.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2018/03/08/5-things-know-u-s-north-korea-relationship/409329002/>

⁶⁰ Eskeland, P. (2018, Oktober 6). The Truth About KORUS and Jobs. Retrieved from <https://thediplomat.com/tag/u-s-south-korea-relations/>

⁶¹ Yaolin (1984), "President Reagan's China Visit," *Beijing Review*, April 23, 1984, p. 4.

⁶² General Assembly (2007, 2008), accessed by:
http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/55/PV.45;
http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/57/PV.94;
http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/62/PV.41

3. Questions Expected to be Answered

- How to adapt to one economic system?
- Which economic system should be used?
- How to integrate the benefits of the two nations with each other and how to overcome the flaws?
- How to merge the two economies without risking a financial and economic crisis?

4. Further Reading

Nikkei Asian Review. (2018). *Imagining a unified Korea*. [online] Available at: <https://asia.nikkei.com/Spotlight/Cover-Story/Imagining-a-unified-Korea> [Accessed 26 Sep. 2018].

Cha, V. and Kang, D. (2011). *Challenges for Korean Unification Planning*. An Interim Report of the UCS-CSIS Joint Study. [online] Washington D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies. Available at: https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy_files/files/publication/120110_Cha_ChallengesKorea_WEB.pdf [Accessed 26 Sep. 2018].

Bibliography

- Asia Society. (n.d.). King Sejong the Great. [online] Available at: <https://asiasociety.org/education/king-sejong-great> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].
- Beauchamp, Z. (2018). The real reason Trump's North Korea summit failed. [online] Vox. Available at: <https://www.vox.com/world/2018/5/24/17389896/trump-cancels-north-korea-summit-kim-jong-un> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].
- Brown, P. (2018). Japan feeling isolated as Seoul, US and North Korea talk. [online] Asiatimes.com. Available at: <http://www.atimes.com/article/japan-feeling-isolated-as-seoul-us-and-north-korea-talk/> [Accessed 16 Oct. 2018].
- Carney, M. (2018, April 27). *In South Korea, young and old have very different views on the possibility of peace with the North*. Retrieved from <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-04-26/the-resistance-to-reuniting-two-koreas-could-come-from-youth/9697976> [Accessed 16 Oct. 2018]
- Cerbin, C. M. (2018, March 19). *5 things to know about the U.S.-North Korea relationship*. Retrieved from <https://eu.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2018/03/08/5-things-know-u-s-north-korea-relationship/409329002/> [Accessed 16 Oct. 2018].
- Collins, L. and Cha, V. (2017). What Are Challenges for the New South Korean President?. [online] Csis.org. Available at: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/what-are-challenges-new-south-korean-president> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].
- Dwyer, C. (2018). Former South Korean President Lee Myung-Bak Is Arrested On Graft Charges. [online] Npr.org. Available at: <https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2018/03/22/596046633/former-south-korean-president-lee-myung-bak-is-arrested-on-graft-charges?t=1537034981904> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].
- Engel, B. (2018). Where Does South Korea's President Go From Here?. [online] The Diplomat. Available at: <https://thediplomat.com/2018/06/where-does-south-koreas-president-go-from-here/> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].
- Eskeland, P. (2018, Oktober 6). *The Truth About KORUS and Jobs*. Retrieved from <https://thediplomat.com/tag/u-s-south-korea-relations/> Accessed 16 Oct. 2018].
- Healy, H. (2018). In pictures: Donald Trump meets Kim Jong Un. [online] Ft.com. Available at: <https://www.ft.com/content/7cfa40d4-6d8f-11e8-92d3-6c13e5c92914> [Accessed 26 Sep. 2018].
- History.army.mil. (n.d.). The Korean War: The Outbreak. [online] Available at: <https://history.army.mil/brochures/KW-Outbreak/outbreak.htm> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].
- Hogarth, H. (2012). South Korea's Sunshine Policy, Reciprocity and Nationhood. *Perspectives On Global Development And Technology*, 11(1), 99-111.
- The Japan Times. (2018). Japan and North Korea met secretly in Vietnam in July, irking U.S.: report. [online] Available at:

- https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2018/08/29/national/politics-diplomacy/japan-north-korea-held-secret-meeting-vietnam-july-irking-u-s-report/#.W51W4eh_JPY [Accessed 26 Sep. 2018].
- The Japan Times. (2010). The annexation of Korea. [online] Available at: https://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2010/08/29/editorials/the-annexation-of-korea/#.W5-Th-h_JPY [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].
- The Japan Times. (2018). 'Sunshine Policy' and scandal features of previous inter-Korean summits. [online] Available at: https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2018/04/27/asia-pacific/sunshine-policy-scandal-features-previous-inter-korean-summits/#.W5-XG-h_JPY [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].
- Kim Cheon-koo (2013), Estimation of North Korea's Nominal Per Capita GDP in 2012
- Kim, H. (2018). South Korea's Moon Calls for 'Bold Decisions' Ahead of a Summit With Kim Jong Un. [online] Time. Available at: <http://time.com/5392337/moon-jae-in-kim-jong-un-bold-decisions/> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].
- Kim, I. (2017). No More Sunshine: The Limits of Engagement with North Korea. *The Washington Quarterly*, 40(4), pp.165-181.
- Kim, J. (2018, April 26). *How Do South Koreans View a Possible Peace Treaty With North Korea?* Retrieved from <https://thediplomat.com/2018/04/how-do-south-koreans-view-a-possible-peace-treaty-with-north-korea/> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].
- Lee, D. (2008). The Korean Sunshine Policy: Its Light and Shade. *Pacific Focus*, 18(1), 175-200.
- Lee, J. (2018). Moon's Goal of Becoming Korea's 'Jobs President' in Jeopardy. [online] Bloomberg.com. Available at: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-04-22/moon-s-goal-of-becoming-korea-s-jobs-president-in-jeopardy> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].
- McCurry, J. (2018). North Korea threat remains despite Trump summit, says Japan. [online] the Guardian. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/aug/28/north-korea-threat-remains-despite-trump-summit-says-japan> [Accessed 26 Sep. 2018].
- Millett (2016), Allan. "Korean War"
- News, B. (2018, June 13). *North Korea profile - Timeline*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-15278612> [Accessed 26 Sep. 2018].
- Newworldencyclopedia.org. (2018). Korean Empire. [online] Available at: http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Korean_Empire [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

Newworldencyclopedia.org. (2018). Joseon Dynasty. [online] Available at: http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Joseon_Dynasty [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

Newworldencyclopedia.org. (2018). Mongol Invasions of Korea. [online] Available at: http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Mongol_invasions_of_Korea [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

Newworldencyclopedia.org. (2018). Goryeo. [online] Available at: <http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Goryeo> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

Osaki, T. (2018). Moon win puts allies' approach to North Korea in doubt, but drastic policy shift unlikely, experts say | The Japan Times. [online] The Japan Times. Available at: https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2017/05/10/national/politics-diplomacy/moon-win-puts-allies-approach-north-korea-doubt-drastic-policy-shift-unlikely-experts-say/#.W50jruh_JPY [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

Park, D. and Chubb, D. (2011). Why Dokdo Matters to Korea. [online] The Diplomat. Available at: <https://thediplomat.com/2011/08/why-dokdo-matters-to-korea/> [Accessed 16 Oct. 2018].

Pearson, J. (2016). Cow bells in the DMZ: Swiss, Swedish generals uphold Korean truce.... [online] U.S. Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-northkorea-southkorea-border/cow-bells-in-the-dm>

Pesek, W. (2018). How sustainable is the China-South Korean thaw?. [online] Asiatimes.com. Available at: <http://www.atimes.com/article/how-sustainable-is-the-china-south-korean-thaw/> [Accessed 16 Oct. 2018].

Power, J. (2018). Conservatives accuse Moon Jae-in's government of gagging tactics. [online] Nikkei Asian Review. Available at: <https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/Conservatives-accuse-Moon-Jae-in-s-government-of-gagging-tactics2> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

Popeski, R. (2010). Sunshine Policy failed to change North Korea: report. [online] Reuters. Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-korea-north-sunshine/sunshine-policy-failed-to-change-north-korea-report-idUSTRE6AH12520101118> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

Sang-Hun, C. (2018). His Predecessors Failed. Can Moon Jae-in Make Peace With North Korea?. [online] Nytimes.com. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/03/world/asia/north-korea-moon-trump-kim.html> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

Sang-Hun, C. (2018). North and South Korea Set Bold Goals: A Final Peace and No Nuclear Arms. [online] Nytimes.com. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/27/world/asia/north-korea-south-kim-jong-un.html> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

Schattle, H. (2018, June 12). *The view from Seoul: why the Trump-Kim 'deal' worries South Koreans.* Retrieved from

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/jun/12/south-koreans-worried-trump-kim-deal> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

Stack, L. (2018, January 1). *Korean War, a 'Forgotten' Conflict That Shaped the Modern World*. Retrieved from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/01/world/asia/korean-war-history.html> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

Tarabay, J. (2018). Bad blood between North Korea and Japan keeps Abe on the outs. [online] CNN. Available at: <https://edition.cnn.com/2018/08/28/asia/japan-north-korea-relations-intl/index.html> [Accessed 26 Sep. 2018].

Telegraph, T. (2010, November 23). *North Korea's conflict with the South: timeline*. Retrieved from <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/southkorea/8153048/North-Koreas-conflict-with-the-South-timeline.html> [Accessed 26 Sep. 2018].

unframed.lacma.org. (n.d.). The Legacy of Joseon: Korea's Last Dynasty. [online] Available at: <https://unframed.lacma.org/2014/07/21/the-legacy-of-joseon-koreas-last-dynasty> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

Work, C. (2018). South Korea's Domestic Political Divide on North Korea. [online] The Diplomat. Available at: <https://thediplomat.com/2018/02/south-koreas-domestic-political-divide-on-north-korea/> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].

Yaolin (1984), "President Reagan's China Visit," *Beijing Review*, April 23, 1984, p. 4.

Yonhap News. (2009). Chronology of major North Korean statements on the Korean War armistice. [online] Available at: <http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/northkorea/2009/05/28/46/0401000000AEN20090528004200315F.HTML> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2018].