

International Journal of Korean Unification Studies

Korea Institute
for National
Unification

International Journal of Korean Unification Studies

Published Biannually by the Korea Institute for National Unification

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International Journal of Korean Unification Studies

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Submission: <https://kinu.jams.or.kr>

E-Mail: kinujournal@kinu.or.kr Webpage: <http://www.kinu.or.kr>

Annual Subscription Rates (two issues)

Domestic (individual & institution) 20,000 Won (10,000 Won per issue)

Overseas (individual & institution) USD 30 (by airmail, USD 15 per issue)

* The rates are subject to change without notice.

ISSN 1229-6902

Publication Date: June 30, 2020

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Printed by Hojung C&P TEL: (82-2) 2277-4718

International Journal of Korean Unification Studies

2020

Vol. 29, No. 1

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Peace in Korea: A Way Forward

Leon V. Sigal*

A peace process is an essential part of a comprehensive settlement to Korean security issues by reducing the risk of deadly clashes and advancing the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. Since a peace treaty or agreement will take time to negotiate, a peace process, beginning with an end-of-war declaration and including interim agreements on military confidence-building measures, could create the climate for a peace treaty or agreement and test the peaceful intentions of the parties, as well as provide signs of progress along the way.

Keywords: Peace treaty or agreement, peace process, comprehensive security settlement, confidence-building measures, Pyongyang Declaration

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Seventy years is a long time to endure without a peace treaty writing a formal end to the Korean War. For such a treaty to be more than a scrap of paper, however, Korea needs a peace process to test the peaceful intentions of the parties, enhance allied security, and facilitate the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

I. Enhancing Security: Not by Deterrence Alone

North Korea has conducted numerous nuclear and missile tests and military exercises in recent years. South Korea and the United States, in turn, have held joint military exercises and run missile tests of their own.

Each side has condemned the other's actions as what they called "provocations," as if all were intended to be pure compellence. Sometimes, North Korea conducted nuclear and missile tests and military exercises for purposes of coercive diplomacy, but many of the nuclear and missile tests and military exercises by all three parties are better understood as attempts to shore up deterrence.

Yet the very same military moves that each side takes for deterrence purposes raise the risk of deadly clashes that endanger allied security.

This pattern is evident from recent history. For instance, the United States and South Korea almost stumbled into war with North Korea in the summer of 1994 after North Korea abruptly unloaded plutonium-laden spent fuel from its nuclear reactor at Yongbyon. Anticipating a U.N. Security Council vote on sanctions, the U.S. commander in Korea, General Gary Luck, was recommending the dispatch of reinforcements for such an eventuality. "He feels that sanctions are a dangerous option," an administration official said. "As the commander of 37,000 men there, he will want to try to increase deterrence if we go that route." Yet these very precautions risked provoking a war with North Korea. Both General Luck and James Laney, the U.S. ambassador in Seoul, were well aware of that risk. "We were all worried. We were talking about evacuating all civilians, ratcheting it up, going on a wartime footing,"

recalls a high-ranking U.S. military officer privy to their conversations. “We both agreed,” recalled Laney, “that if we started to bring in several divisions, the North Koreans would think they were about to be attacked.” Deterring North Korea put the allies in a predicament, in his view. “If one side is weaker and thinks the other side is building up, they would be tempted to preempt.”¹

Similar patterns occurred as one side sought to bolster deterrence and the other side responded in kind: the June 1999 exchange of naval fire in the West Sea near Yeonpyeong Island, the North’s sinking of the *Cheonan* in March 2010 in retaliation for the South’s November 2009 attack on a North Korean naval vessel that crossed the Northern Limit Line, and the November 2010 artillery exchange in the contested waters off Korea’s west coast.

As these examples suggest, deterrence alone cannot avert such clashes. Military confidence-building measures² may be needed to reduce, though not eliminate, the risk of deadly clashes.

Armies need to conduct exercises to function. Tabletop exercises are useful, but not sufficient. Some field exercises are needed. Yet the

1 Leon V. Sigal, *Disarming Strangers: Nuclear Diplomacy with North Korea* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 95, 122.

2 CBMs in Europe, embodied in a series of agreements that culminated in the 1990 Treaty on Conventional Forces Europe, are the subjects of an extensive literature, most notably, Johan Jorgen Holst and Karen Alette Melander, “European Security and Confidence-Building Measures,” *Survival*, vol. 19, no. 4 (July/August 1977), pp. 2-15; Jonathan Alford, *Confidence-Building Measures in Europe: The Military Dimension*, Adelphi Paper no. 149 (London: Institute for Strategic Studies, 1979); and R.B. Byers, F. Stephen Larrabee, and Allen Lynch, *Confidence-Building Measures and International Security*, Institute for East-West Studies Monograph Series no. 4 (New York: Institute for East-West Studies, 1987). An early work applying the European experience to Korea is James E. Goodby, “Operational Arms Control in Europe: Implications for Security Negotiations in Korea,” in *The Korean Peninsula: Prospects for Arms Reductions under Global Détente*, ed. William J. Taylor, Jr., Cha Young-koo, and John Q. Blodgett (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990). Goodby, who led the U.S. delegation at CFE, also discussed CBMs with North Korean officials in Track II meetings during the 1990s.

location, size, and equipment deployed in such exercises by the allies have varied significantly in the past, which might serve as ample precedent for future adjustments.

Even though the DPRK conducts exercises of its own from time to time, it has strenuously objected to U.S.-ROK joint exercises, in part because these exercises compel it to mobilize its own forces, in part because it wants to weaken the U.S.-ROK alliance, and in part because in the past it has sought the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the peninsula. Its objections have been fiercest towards the entry of U.S. nuclear-capable forces into Korean air space or territorial waters. The United States has long removed nuclear weapons from its surface ships and all but one class of submarines and few of its bombers are wired and certified to carry nuclear weapons, but the North characterizes as “nuclear-capable” any U.S. weapons platform that has ever carried nuclear weapons, including surface ships, attack submarines, and various aircraft. The allies have often foregone the use of such platforms in their joint exercises in the past. As a confidence-building measure, they could commit to doing so again.

While exercises within the vicinity of the DMZ and the contested waters of the West Sea are especially provocative and need to be prohibited, some exercises will have to be conducted elsewhere in South and North Korea, occasionally including those by combined air, land, and naval units. They could be limited in size and frequency. The specifics could be subject to advanced notification in the Inter-Korean Joint Military Committee and three-party general-level talks at Panmunjom. Yet such notification and the right to observe exercises are unlikely to allay North Korean suspicions completely.

On a more positive note, conducting joint South-North drills, such as sea rescue, might further acclimate the two sides’ armed forces to cooperation, a modest step toward peace. Ultimately, they might agree to act in concert by forming a joint unit to conduct U.N. peacekeeping duties in other troubled regions. Such steps would also underscore the goal of unification, at least symbolically.

Yet, until there is a fundamental transformation of the political relationship – reconciliation or an end to enmity – mutual deterrence will still play a part in preventing war on the peninsula. Such reconciliation requires a peace process. So does the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, to judge from the DPRK’s negotiating behavior.

II. Denuclearization Depends on a Peace Process – And More

For years, North Korea has linked denuclearization to the end of enmity, or what it calls “U.S. hostile policy.” Among the steps it has sought toward that end – not just from the United States – are a peace treaty, the normalization of political and economic relations, and an end to sanctions.

Contrary to suspicions that Kim Jong Un wants an end to the U.S. alliance with South Korea and withdrawal of U.S. troops from the peninsula, his aim, like that of his father and grandfather, may be much more far-reaching. North Korean officials have long been telling American interlocutors that they want an alliance with the United States like the one Washington has with South Korea – backed by a continued U.S. troop presence on the peninsula and even a “nuclear umbrella.”

Secretary of State Michael Pompeo may have been reflecting what U.S. officials were hearing from the North when he told a Japanese interviewer on June 7, 2018, shortly after the first Trump-Kim summit meeting in Singapore, that “We want to achieve a fundamentally different strategic relationship between our two countries.”³ Nothing in the public record to date suggests that Washington has offered anything like that to Pyongyang.

Why might North Korea want the United States for an ally? The answer is China. Throughout the Cold War Kim Il Sung had played off the Soviets against the Chinese, but in 1988, anticipating the collapse of

3 U.S., Department of State, Secretary State Mike Pompeo, Interview with Yui Hideki of NHK, June 7, 2018.

the Soviet Union, he had reached out to the United States, South Korea, and Japan in an effort to reconcile with them and hedge against China's rise.

From Pyongyang's perspective, the Kims' aims were the basis of the 1994 Agreed Framework, which committed Washington to "move toward full normalization of political and economic relations" – in plain English, end enmity. These aims were also the basis of the September 2005 Six-Party Joint Statement in which Washington and Pyongyang pledged to "respect each other's sovereignty, exist peacefully together, and take steps to normalize their relations subject to their respective bilateral policies" as well as to "negotiate a permanent peace regime on the Korean Peninsula."

Neither side kept its end of those agreements.⁴ Consequently, the North's stated aim remains to be tested.

III. A Comprehensive Security Approach

A U.S. alliance with the DPRK has its downsides, however. It is unlikely to receive a warm reception in Congress, which would have to approve any such arrangement. Nor would conservatives in Seoul or Tokyo regard it with equanimity. And a reversal of alliances, especially if U.S. troops remain on the Korean peninsula as guarantor, would alter the balance of power in Northeast Asia, which is likely to arouse suspicion, if not outright antagonism in Beijing. That would not enhance security for any nation in the region.

A preferable alternative might be a comprehensive security approach that would involve all the region's actors in parallel

4 Leon V. Sigal, "What Have Twenty-Five Years of Nuclear Diplomacy Achieved?" in *Pathways to a Peaceful Korean Peninsula: Denuclearization, Reconciliation and Cooperation*, ed. Kyung-ok Do, Jeong-ho Roh, and Henri Feron (Seoul: Korean Institute for National Unification and Columbia Law School Center for Korean Studies, 2016), pp. 28-56.

negotiations leading ultimately to a U.S.-DPRK security partnership.⁵

Such an approach would begin with a four-party peace process on the Korean Peninsula that would eventually lead to a peace treaty.

The two Koreas and the United States, possibly along with Japan, would also declare non-hostility and move to normalize relations.

They would gradually relax economic sanctions, as well.

The six parties would set up a Northeast Asian Security Council to address regional security issues.

A nuclear-weapons-free zone (NWFZ) would be negotiated. That would provide a legally binding multilateral way to denuclearize the Korean Peninsula. A NWFZ could also serve as an alternative to an alliance by including a guarantee to the DPRK, once it is verifiably free of nuclear weapons, that it will not be the subject of a U.S. threat or use of nuclear weapons and will be defended against attack by any other nuclear-armed state or ally of such a state.

A NWFZ is not incompatible with U.S. nuclear obligations to its allies in contingencies not involving North Korea. In the words of Morton Halperin, “the nuclear component of the deterrent can and will be maintained without stationing or planning to deploy nuclear forces to the region whether or not a NWFZ is negotiated.”⁶

The starting point for cooperative security is a peace process in the Korean Peninsula. Seoul has taken the lead and negotiated important steps with Pyongyang. Seoul’s role is critical, but ultimately it will have to convince Washington to go along with further peace moves and that

5 Morton Halperin, Peter Hayes, Thomas Pickering, Leon Sigal, and Philip Yun, *From Enemies to Security Partners: Pathways to Denuclearization in Korea*, NAPSNet Policy Forum, July 6, 2018.

6 Morton H. Halperin, “Promoting Security in Northeast Asia: A New Approach.” (paper presented at a workshop on A New Approach to Security in Northeast Asia: Breaking the Gridlock, Nautilus Institute and the Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, October 9-10, 2012).

is less likely without North Korean steps to denuclearize.

IV. A Peace Treaty or Agreement Will Take Time

Why a peace process? To be more than a scrap of paper a peace accord would have to address a number of demanding issues:

Should the accord take the form of a treaty or an agreement? The U.S. Congress may insist that any such accord take the form of a peace treaty rather than an executive agreement, making it subject to ratification by two-thirds of the Senate. South and North Korea, however, have been loath to sign treaties with each other lest doing so would affect their rival claims to sovereignty over the entire peninsula as stipulated in the constitutions of both sides.

In a potentially important exception, on February 6, 2012, the DPRK Foreign Ministry issued a memorandum on South-North relations, a subject that has customarily been the domain of other organizations in Pyongyang. Citing the September 2005 Six-Party Joint Statement and using terms like “improved relations between the north and south” and “co-existence,” it hinted at the possibility that the Foreign Ministry, rather than the party, the military, or intelligence agencies, might deal directly with its counterpart in the ROK on purely inter-Korean matters, which implicitly suggests an opening for state-to-state relations.⁷ That initiative has yet to be followed up. The ROK and DPRK foreign ministries did negotiate bilaterally within the framework of Six-Party Talks, but the resulting agreements took the form of Six-Party joint statements, not treaties or agreements.

Indeed, the closest that the two Koreas have come to acknowledging one another’s legitimacy as interlocutors while stopping short of sovereignty may be found in the 1992 Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression,

⁷ “IDP, Foreign Ministry Released a Report on Kim Jong Il,” KCNA, February 6, 2012.

and Exchanges and Cooperation between the South and the North, which spoke of “recognizing that their relations, not being a relationship between states, constitute a special interim relationship stemming from the process toward unification.”

If Korean objections to signing a treaty remain, a peace accord might be recast in the form of a U.N. multilateral convention like others that the two Koreas have signed in the past, thereby sidestepping the constitutional issue. Recasting the peace accord in the form of a U.N. multilateral convention would also avoid the question of establishing diplomatic relations with the DPRK not only for the South but also for the United States. While an exchange of liaison offices between the United States and North Korea may have already been tentatively agreed at the Hanoi summit, further steps toward diplomatic recognition are likely to be linked by Congress to the resolution of human rights and other difficult issues, which would hold up ratification of a peace treaty.

Which would come first, a peace treaty or denuclearization? The United States has long held that denuclearization should precede a peace treaty. The North, in return, has said that peace should come first.

Many in Washington who are concerned about the timing, while supporting some steps toward peace, do not want a formal peace accord to precede Pyongyang’s verifiable elimination of all its nuclear weapons on the grounds that that would undercut leverage for denuclearization and could perpetuate DPRK status as a nuclear-armed state. Any attempt to sign and ratify a formal peace accord without significant progress on denuclearization will face intense resistance in Washington.

That opposition can perhaps be undercut by conditioning ratification of a peace accord on the prior completion of denuclearization. A possible solution is to negotiate peace arrangements and denuclearization in parallel, with ratification of a peace treaty to be held up until all the nuclear weapons in the North have been disposed of and the dismantlement of production facilities are well underway.

Will the accord rectify borders? The DPRK has behaved as if it might be willing to accept the Military Demarcation Line as a de facto border between the two Koreas, but it has long contested the Northern Limit Line as a maritime border. In high-level talks leading to the 2000 summit meeting, when the South argued for the existing line of control in the West Sea, the North countered by claiming that the twelve nautical-mile limit to its territorial waters under the Law of the Sea should apply.⁸ These differences remain to be resolved. Since the Armistice Agreement gave control of some islands in West Sea to the United Nations Command (UNC), not South Korea, replacing the UNC and the Armistice Agreement might open a way to easing the situation in the West Sea.

Any fundamental change in the Northern Limit Line would face intense opposition from conservatives in Seoul. While it is difficult to envisage a more suitable alternative to the NLL, some accommodations in the maritime border may be needed to address DPRK economic interests by allowing easier access for North Korean shipping to the West Sea without redrawing the NLL. The 2019 Agreement on the Implementation of the Historic Panmunjom Declaration in the Military Domain anticipates some of those adjustments. Whether such adjustments will satisfy the DPRK remains to be seen, but Pyongyang's position of a twelve nautical-mile limit all but renders much of the contested waters of the West Sea subject to DPRK sovereignty, which is a non-starter.

How will the accord address the presence, size, and disposition of opposing armed forces? Many opponents of negotiating a peace accord view it as inevitably leading to pressure to remove U.S. forces from the peninsula and ultimately from Northeast Asia. It remains to be seen whether that misconstrues the stated desire of the DPRK to have U.S. troops remain as a hedge against the growing power of China.

If North Korea were to make that stance clear in the course of

⁸ Dong-won Lim, *Peacemaker: Twenty Years of Inter-Korean Relations and the North Korean Nuclear Issue* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2012), p. 109.

negotiations, it could ease U.S. opponents' concerns. There is some precedent suggesting that it might be prepared to do so. When four-party talks began in 1996, the North reiterated its longstanding position, calling for the withdrawal of U.S. forces. On July 31, 1997, it subtly shifted its stance on the agenda for the talks by changing the phrase "withdrawal of U.S. troops" to "disposition of U.S. troops," a hint that they might remain on the peninsula. The following was similar to what North Korean officials had told Americans involved in Track II contacts. The DPRK then broached explicitly in four-party talks and made public as well: "The peace treaty the North Koreans want signed with the Americans does not call for the immediate pullout of the American forces from South Korea. What matters most to Pyongyang is the role of U.S. troops after an establishment of a new peace mechanism."⁹ In informal talks with Americans, North Koreans had suggested various formulations for such a presence, for instance, that U.S. troops could act as "peacekeepers" or could "sit in the DMZ with one face toward the north and another toward the south."

Pyongyang has also hinted at keeping a U.S. troop presence in Korea during summit meetings with Presidents Kim Dae-jung and Moon Jae-in.

The DPRK's view of the U.S. troop presence should become evident over the course of peace negotiations, but if the DPRK should instead seek the troops' removal, the allies can just say no. Their continued presence is a matter for Seoul and Washington alone to determine. That decision ultimately depends on the wishes of the United States to keep forces on the peninsula and of South Korea to host them.

What is the future of the United Nations Command? North Korea has long sought to put an end to the U.N. Command, a position stoutly resisted by South Korea and the United States. As a DPRK Foreign Ministry memorandum expressed it in 2013, "Whether the U.S. immediately dismantles the 'U.N. Command' or not will serve as the

9 *People's Korea*, "Formal Ending of Korean War Is Crucial to DPRK-U.S. Rapprochement," January 5, 1998.

acid stone in deciding whether or not the U.S. will maintain its anti-DPRK hostile policy.”¹⁰

U.S. appropriation of the U.N. Command dates from its inception on July 7, 1950, when Security Council Resolution 84 (V) authorized a “unified command under the United States.” Washington interpreted “unified command” to mean U.S. command¹¹ and created the “United Nations Command,” distinct from and subordinated to that unified command, to direct forces comprised of fifteen other countries, all of which were committed to the collective security effort in Korea. The U.S. commander, General Douglas MacArthur, who was determined to preserve the U.S. Army’s autonomy in conducting the war, was no more likely to take orders from the allies than he was from President Truman. His successor signed the Armistice in his role as “United Nations Commander.”

The end of the U.N. Command faces strong opposition in Washington and Seoul partly on the grounds that it undercuts the basis for a continued U.S. troop presence on the peninsula and in Japan. Yet the troops’ presence would remain rooted in the U.S.-ROK Mutual Defense Treaty and the equivalent U.S. agreements with Japan.

Critics have firmer grounds for concern because the United States is revitalizing the U.N. Command to ensure that the U.S. role and coordination with Japan and other allies in any Asian contingency will be maintained after South Korea assumes operational command of combined forces.¹²

10 “DPRK Foreign Ministry Issues Memorandum,” *KCNA*, January 14, 2013.

11 Richard Baxter, “Constitutional Forms and Some Legal Problems of International Military Command,” *British Yearbook of International Law*, vol. 29 (1952), pp. 325, 332-36.

12 Bryan Harris and Boseong Kang, “South Korea Rattled by Push to Revitalize UN Force,” *Financial Times*, October 4, 2018. For example, discussing participation at a Foreign Ministers meeting to be convened on January 16 in Vancouver on the maximum pressure campaign against North Korea, Director of Policy Planning Brian Hook said, “The invitation list is largely based on countries who are UN Command sending states, are the countries that sent combat support and/or humanitarian aid to support the Republic of Korea during the Korean War.” U.S.,

This has not been lost on the DPRK¹³ or China.

While the need for a coordinating body for allies is indisputable, it can operate under another name. That might allow Washington to dispense with the U.N. Command as a convenient cover for such coordination, one detached from the United Nations. Whether such an arrangement will satisfy the critics is an open question, but Seoul's attitude and public opinion in the South to the arrangements will be important considerations.

What body would monitor peace arrangements? A Korean Peace Commission (KPC), a civilian body with representatives from the three parties with armed forces on the peninsula, would monitor the Armistice Agreement and subsequent peace arrangements. An International Peace Observer Commission would supplant the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission (NNSC) in deference to the DPRK's longstanding opposition to and non-cooperation with the NNSC.

Whether the KPC should include China is a sensitive question especially in Pyongyang and Washington. While there is some merit to have China involved in the KPC as guarantor of any peace accord, depending on Pyongyang's preferences, it might be better to confine Beijing's role to the seven-member International Peace Observer Commission along with Russia, Japan and Sweden under the auspices of the United Nations to monitor compliance with this agreement and try to resolve any disputes.

V. A Peace Process

Since resolving these tough issues and agreeing on a peace treaty or agreement could take years, interim agreements could provide signs of progress along the way. Such a peace process is essential both to create

Department of State, Briefing, January 11, 2018.

13 "DPRK Foreign Ministry Issues Memorandum," KCNA, July 14, 2015.

the climate for a peace treaty or agreement and to test the peaceful intentions of the parties.

An End-of-War Declaration. A first step would be an end-of-war or peace declaration, perhaps signed by foreign ministers or leaders, committing South and North Korea, the United States, and China to a peace process that would culminate in a peace treaty to replace the 1953 Armistice Agreement.

Such an end-of-war or peace declaration could reaffirm the 1992 South-North Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-Aggression, and Exchanges and Cooperation, the June 2000 South-North Joint Declaration, the October 2007 Declaration on the Advancement of South-North Korean Relations, Peace and Prosperity, the U.S.-DPRK Singapore Joint Statement, the South-North Panmunjom Declaration, and the September 2005 Six-Party Joint Communiqué. Specifically, North and South Korea could reiterate their commitments to “recognize and respect each other’s system,” not to “interfere in each other’s internal affairs,” not to “undertake armed aggression against each other,” and to observe “the Military Demarcation Line specified in the Military Armistice Agreement of July 27, 1953 and the areas that have been under the jurisdiction of each side until the present time.”

The peace declaration might also contain language reaffirming commitments made by the DPRK and the United States in their Joint Communiqué of October 12, 2000 “to take steps to fundamentally improve their relations in the interests of enhancing peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region,” reiterating “that neither government would have hostile intent toward the other” and “to make every effort in the future to build a new relationship free from past enmity,” recommitting them to base their relations “on the principles of respect for each other’s sovereignty and non-interference in each other’s internal affairs,” to “work together to develop mutually beneficial economic cooperation and exchanges” and to “explore the possibilities for trade and commerce that will benefit the peoples of both countries and contribute to an environment conducive to greater economic cooperation throughout

Northeast Asia.”

The signing of a peace declaration could serve as the occasion for the opening of liaison offices in Washington and Pyongyang discussed in the Trump-Kim summit meeting in Hanoi.

To further efforts to forge more normal relations, the DPRK could also commit in writing not to conduct nuclear or medium- and long-range missile tests, including satellite launches, while peace talks continue.

In return, South Korea and the United States could commit to suspend all joint military exercises in the field, in the air, and in the surrounding waters of the peninsula while talks make progress.

Military Confidence-Building Measures. As a next step, the three parties with forces on the peninsula, South and North Korea and the United States, could reach a series of interim agreements on military confidence-building measures (CBMs).

While the CBMs could be incorporated into the ensuing peace agreement or treaty, having interim agreements would serve as stepping-stones to such a peace accord.

Inasmuch as a full treaty or agreement would take time to negotiate, interim agreements could also provide signs of peaceful intent and help foster an atmosphere conducive to peace by reducing the likelihood of deadly clashes like those that have taken place in the past.

The DPRK has long been willing to negotiate and even propose CBMs, though not always to implement them. CBMs were a prominent feature of its May 31, 1988 proposal. In the early 1990s, DPRK officials privately expressed renewed interest in CBMs. They soon underscored their words with deeds. After an armed clash in the DMZ on July 16, 1997, according to a South Korean military briefing, the KPA began providing advance notice that “a certain number of their soldiers will go out for routine reconnaissance at a certain time and a certain location in

the DMZ.”¹⁴ In the spring of 2000, the DPRK accompanied acceptance of a North-South summit with a pullback of FROG-7 rockets from the DMZ and Silkworm missiles from the Northern Limit Line, as well as a reduction in operating tempo of its naval patrols.¹⁵ All three acts were confidence-building gestures of sorts.

More recently, in a military-to-military meeting on October 15, 2014, one week after an exchange of fire in the West Sea, the DPRK proposed that “warships of both sides sailing to ‘intercept illegal fishing boats’ should display promised markings to prevent accidental firing beforehand.”¹⁶ Article 12 of the 1992 Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression, and Exchanges and Cooperation had established a South-North Joint Military Committee that “shall discuss and carry out steps to build military confidence and realize arms reductions.”¹⁷ Neither party did much to put that provision into practice until recently.

New CBMs could build on those announced at the September 18-19, 2019 summit meeting in Pyongyang between President Moon Jae-in and Kim Jong Un, a high point of inter-Korean relations to date. In April Moon and Kim had agreed to a Panmunjom Declaration containing a bilateral end-of-war pledge: “The two leaders solemnly declared before the 80 million Koreans and the whole world that there will be no more war and a new era of peace has begun on the Korean peninsula.” The Declaration committed the two sides to “completely cease all hostile acts against each other in every domain including land, sea and air,” “devise a practical scheme to turn the area of the Northern Limit Line in the West Sea into a maritime peace zone to prevent accidental military clashes and ensure safe fishing activities,” “carry out disarmament in a

14 “N.K. Gives Prior Notice for DMZ Reconnaissance,” *Korea Herald*, September 8, 1997.

15 “Two Koreas Set to Hold Crucial Talks for Summit, Military Tension Eases,” *Agence France Presse*, April 26, 2000.

16 “KCNA Discloses S. Korean Authorities’ Acts of Chilling Atmosphere for Improving Ties,” *KCNA*, October 16, 2014.

17 Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-Aggression, and Exchanges and Cooperation between the South and the North.

phased manner," "hold frequent meetings between military authorities including the defense ministers' meeting," and "actively promote the holding of trilateral meetings involving the two sides, the United States, or quadrilateral meetings involving the two sides, the United States and China with a view to replacing the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement and establishing a permanent and solid peace regime."

An Agreement on the Implementation of the Historic Panmunjom Declaration in the Military Domain, issued at the Pyongyang summit in September, promised to turn these fine words into deeds with the most comprehensive array of military confidence-building measures ever negotiated between the two sides. They included hotlines: a commitment to maintain "permanent communication channels" in order to prevent "any accidental military clash" on land, air, and sea "by immediately notifying each other when an abnormal situation arises," a commitment to "continue consultations regarding the installation and operation of direct communication lines between the respective military officials," and the adoption of a five-step warning procedure to prevent inadvertent clashes.

On land, agreed CBMs provided for cessation of "all live-fire artillery drills and field training exercises at the regiment level and above within 5 km of the MDL"; conversion of the DMZ into a zone of peace by commitment to "withdraw all guard posts"; establishment of a "trilateral consultative body" among South Korea, North Korea, and the United Nations Command that would "implement measures to demilitarize the Joint Security Area"; and a "pilot project of an Inter-Korean Joint Operation to Recover Remains in the DMZ."

At sea, the agreement called for a halt to "all live-fire and maritime maneuver exercises ... in designated zones of the West and East Seas"; installation of "covers on the barrels of coastal artilleries and ship guns"; and transformation of the area around the Northern Limit Line in the contested waters of the West Sea into a "maritime peace zone" and "pilot joint fishing zone." The two sides also reaffirmed their agreement on "accidental military clashes in the West Sea" and agreed to "devise

and implement inter-Korean joint patrol measures in order to deny illegal fishing and to ensure safe fishing activities for South and North Korean fishermen” in the zone; to allow “unarmed vessels” entry into the zone along a “mutually approved route” after hoisting a Korean Peninsula flag and giving 48 hours’ notice; agreed to require prior notification and approval of the other side “if the entry of naval ships is unavoidable;” to “establish a plan,” permitting “the use of Haeju Passage and Jeju Strait for North Korean vessels through consultations at the Inter-Korean Joint Military Committee;” and to set up a zone of joint use of the Han (Imjin) River estuary with one-day notice and inspection of vessels and personnel.

In the air, the 2019 accord committed the two Koreas to a ban on all “tactical live-fire drills involving fixed-wing aircraft, including the firing of air-to-ground guided weapons within the designated No Fly Zones in the eastern and western regions of the MDL”; and designation of “additional no-fly zones for fixed-wing aircraft, helicopters, unmanned aerial vehicles, and hot air balloons.”

The North’s failure to implement many of its Pyongyang commitments underscores a cautionary note that the political relationship between longtime foes, and especially between the United States and the DPRK, remained the driving force in reducing or increasing tensions that could erupt into armed clashes in the toe-to-toe military standoff on the peninsula.

Nevertheless, it is worth thinking about what additional CBMs could be useful in reducing the risk of deadly clashes on the Korean Peninsula.

One modest possibility is to require periodic reports to be exchanged by the sides on whether already agreed CBMs have been embedded in the rules of engagement of front-line military and naval units and whether those units’ training reflects those rules.

Another more significant CBM might be mutual suspension of missile and rocket launches by the South and North. One problem with

this CBM is that the DPRK has referred to its May 2019 tests of a new short-range ballistic missile as a “drill,”¹⁸ tacitly linking it to a joint U.S.-ROK military exercise around the same time. It made that link explicit at the time of the August 2019 exercises. In return for suspending its short-range missile launches, it will likely insist on an end to those exercises in return. An obvious quid pro quo might be for the South, with U.S. acquiescence, to scale back joint exercises and commit to refrain from introducing nuclear-capable platforms to Korean airspace or waters during its exercises. The problem with that proposal is the DPRK’s expansive definition of nuclear-capable as any platform that has ever carried nuclear weapons, including not only B-52 bombers, but also B-1 and B-2 bombers, some fighter-bombers, aircraft carriers, and attack submarines, none of which now carry nuclear weapons.

A CBM with perhaps the greatest potential benefit is to eliminate North Korea artillery and short-range missiles or withdraw them from the vicinity of Seoul. Yet that seems too much to ask for at this point. Until North-South political relations resemble those between the United States and Canada, mutual deterrence will still play a part in preventing war on the peninsula. If North Korea proves willing to eliminate its nuclear deterrent, it will likely want to keep its forward-deployed artillery as well as its new conventionally-armed short-range missiles as a residual counterweight to South Korea’s superior conventional forces.

The thinning out of tank and artillery concentrations along the DMZ is likely to face the same objections on both sides. A partial reduction in troops is possible, but only as long as it is reciprocal. It would have obvious advantages for the North, freeing up resources to work in its fields and factories – especially if economic aid and investment from the outside spurs further economic growth. Yet troop cuts might complicate the defense of Seoul by ROK forces.

A more feasible yet useful alternative might be mutual withdrawal of all land-based artillery within range of the principal inter-Korean hot

18 “Supreme Leader Kim Jong Un Guide Strike Drill of Frontline Defense Units in Frontline Area and Eastern Front,” *KCNA*, May 5, 2019.

spot – the West Sea. Such a CBM would avert a repetition of the 2010 attack on Yeonpyeong Island and live-fire exercises in the contested waters. It would not eliminate the short-range missile threat posed by both sides, however.

Other more modest CBMs might include buoys deployed to demarcate sea routes for DPRK merchant shipping in the West Sea. Buoys could also be anchored just south of the NLL to delineate patrol zones in order to keep the two sides' navies apart while not being identical to the NLL itself.¹⁹

A more far-reaching CBM would be to establish a joint South-North watch center that could download and share commercially available real-time satellite imagery over the West Sea and the DMZ or, alternatively, an "open skies" arrangement to facilitate aerial reconnaissance of those sensitive areas.

Agreements on these additional CBMs could usefully create an atmosphere conducive for concluding a peace treaty or agreement.

VI. Conclusion

Even with the best of wills on all sides, denuclearization will take years. While a peace treaty or agreement could be concluded while denuclearization is well underway, it would not be ratified until the DPRK is free of nuclear weapons. Ratification of the peace treaty might be held up until dismantlement of other nuclear and missile assets in North Korea is also well under way. It might also be delayed until the Agreement on the Implementation of the Historic Panmunjom Declaration in the Military Domain of 2018 and a follow-on agreements on military confidence-building are fully effectuated and until the DPRK and ROK ratify the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention, the Nuclear-

19 Jason Kim and Luke Herman, "War and Peace in the West Sea: Reducing Tension along the Northern Limit Line," *CSIS Issues and Insights*, vol. 12, no. 13, (December 2012), pp. 10-12.

Weapons-Free Zone Convention, and the chemical and biological weapons bans.

Turning armed confrontation into peace will not be easy. Yet a peace process is essential to allied security by reducing the risk of deadly encounters along the DMZ and in the West Sea. It is also a necessary component of a comprehensive security approach, negotiated in parallel with political and economic normalization, to advance denuclearization on the Korean Peninsula.

The question is whether Pyongyang is ready to undertake such a peace process as part of a comprehensive security approach, or if it will prefer to keep developing and deploying nuclear weapons and missiles. Yet for Kim Jong Un to take the latter course would mean abandoning his grandfather's and father's goal of reconciliation with their longtime foes and leave himself economically and politically ever more dependent on China. Many observers seem certain he intends to remain nuclear-armed, but only sustained negotiations will determine whether they are right or wrong.

■ Article Received: 4/3 ■ Reviewed: 5/22 ■ Revised: 5/27 ■ Accepted: 5/27

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Beyond 70 Years of Armed Peace - Korea Peace Now!

Yeonhee Sophie Kim*

And perhaps the great day will come when a people, distinguished by wars and victories and by the highest development of a military order and intelligence, and accustomed to make the heaviest sacrifices of these things, will exclaim of its own free will, 'We break the sword,' and will smash its entire military establishment down to its lowest foundations. Rendering oneself unarmed when one had been the best-armed, out of a height of feeling—that it is the means to real peace, which must always rest upon a peace of mind; whereas the so-called armed peace, as it now exists in all countries, is the absence of peace of mind.

– Friedrich Nietzsche

Korea Peace Now! Women Mobilizing to End the Korean War is a transnational campaign led by four women's peace organizations calling for the formal end to the Korean War with a peace agreement. These four organizations – Women Cross DMZ, Nobel Women's Initiative, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) and Korean Women's Movement for Peace – are focused on changing policy in the United States, at the United Nations, and key countries, including Canada and South Korea. Women Cross DMZ is leading efforts in the United States and the key organization leading the U.S.-based Korea Peace Now Grassroots Network (KPNGN). As a regional coordinator for one of the eleven regional chapters of the KPNGN, I will examine the way the campaign actualizes, in theory and in practice, a feminist approach to its peace work in the United States. This paper seeks to present the KPNGN as a critical part of the growing peace agenda mobilizing to shape U.S. foreign policy towards North Korea. The paper will identify the practices and tactics of Korea Peace Now! which, I argue, places the movement in the tradition of feminist peace movements. My analysis draws on the intellectual framework developed in Feminist Security Studies (FSS) and Feminist Transitional Justice (FTJ). I argue that feminist peacebuilding is meaningful and important in the context of imagining a recuperative future on the Korean Peninsula.

Keywords: Korea Peace Treaty, Feminist Security, Demilitarization, United States, North Korea

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Introduction: Enmity, Armistice, and Missing History of Women

On April 27, 2018, North and South Korea promised to bring a “watershed moment” for the Korean peace process and pledged to work towards a “permanent and solid peace regime.”¹ This year marks the 70th Anniversary of the Korean War, and peace activists, veterans, Korean Americans, South Korean lawmakers, amongst others, are calling for a U.S. peace treaty with North Korea to formally end the war.² This call demands a radical vision to end seventy years of a Cold War security paradigm of militarization and nuclearization towards peace-building and genuine security. What cannot be left out from this Korea peace process, a national and international effort, is the political organizing and coordination accomplished by women peace activists. I will introduce a recently emerging transnational feminist peace movement for Korea peace, a women-led global campaign to end the Korean War and its U.S.-based grassroots network, Korea Peace Now Grassroots Network (KPNGN). I argue that we need to first contextualize the Korean armistice agreement signed in 1953 from a gendered perspective and link the absence of Korean women in the armistice negotiations with the ongoing gendered impacts of the armistice regime. This speculative need for Korean women in the armistice negotiations, followed by the empirical data that reveals a wide gender gap in all levels of decision-making in global peace processes, advances this essay’s overarching argument on why we need to heed feminist peacebuilding to end the Korean War.

The essay will examine the way the KPN campaign actualizes, in

1 Inter-Korean Summit 2018, “Panmunjeom Declaration,” *The Korea Times*, April 27, 2018, <http://koreatimes.co.kr/www/nation/2018/04/731_248077.html> (date accessed June 10, 2020).

2 Da-Min Jung, “Resolution sought to declare end of Korean War,” *The Korea Times*, June, 15, 2020, <https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/nation/2020/06/113_291222.html> (date accessed June 15, 2020); See also Joint Statement of 102 peace activists, <<https://www.forum-asia.org/?p=23897>> (date accessed June 10, 2020); See Veteran For Peace’s Korea Peace Campaign, <<https://www.veteransforpeace.org/our-work/vfp-national-projects/korea-peace-campaign>> (date accessed June 10, 2020).

theory and in practice, a feminist approach to its peace work in the United States. Consequently, I argue that the KPNGN is a critical part of the growing peace agenda mobilizing to shape U.S. foreign policy towards North Korea. The final section of the essay will expand on the two feminist schools of thought that I predominantly draw from, Feminist Security Studies (FSS) and Feminist Transitional Justice (FTJ). I examine how women's inclusion into the Korea peace process not only advances the international feminist aspirations for gender equality and women's rights embodied in the United Nations Security Council's resolution on Women, Peace, and Security (UNSCR 1325), but also, against the backdrop of 75 years of division and 70 years of the Korean War, feminist peace-building offers an opportunity to create political space for civil society and Korean women peace activists to translate historical trauma into politically meaningful legal claims.³ As a result, the essay's arguments draw on FSS and FTJ's critique of traditional or *negative security*, where the military is understood as the primary tool for security, and situate their theoretical engagements within a growing U.S.-based peace action challenging the legacies of colonial, imperial, (hetero)patriarchal, and racialized violence.⁴ I conclude the essay by arguing that a theoretical synthesis of these two feminist schools of thought can be a starting point in framing a feminist agenda for genuine security and healing justice on the Korean Peninsula.

The inclusion of Korean women in the peace process, including a peace agreement, is fundamentally a feminist issue because it not only seeks to guarantee gender equality and women's rights but also, foregrounds the importance of linking gender with questions of historical trauma, genuine security, recuperative justice and healing. Women's leadership and participation are also critical for democratization of power

3 United Nations, Security Council, "Women and peace and security," October 9, 2019 (S/2019/800) (date accessed April 1, 2020).

4 See: About Face: Veterans Against the War (aboutfaceveterans.org), Grassroots Global Justice Alliance (ggjalliance.org), Dissenters (wearedissenters.org), Palestinian Youth Movement (pymusa.com), MADRE (madre.org), MoveOn (front.moveon.org), Win Without War (winwithoutwar.org), War Resisters League (warresisters.org), Veterans for Peace (veteransforpeace.org), amongst others.

given that out of the total 1,187 peace agreements signed in the aftermath of the Cold War, only 19% of the peace agreements referred to women and 5% referred to gender-based violence.⁵ As a result, feminists from many different historical and geographic contexts have translated historical trauma into legal claims in order to draft a blueprint for a society that values basic principles, such as consent over contract, bottom-up empowerment over top-down socio-economic distribution, or meaningful recuperation over political reconciliation.

Given the long history of enmity between North Korea and the United States, which goes as far back as the division of the Korean Peninsula in 1945, U.S.'s role in extending the Korean War needs to be re-conceptualized from a transitional feminist perspective, which foregrounds the historical role of militarism and sexual violence against women in Asia-Pacific, including Korean women.⁶ Consequently, the U.S. government's double disavowal of its responsibility towards Korean women impacted by the Korean War in Korea, which served American security interests in the region, and to the diaspora of the Korean women in the United States who encounter racism, white supremacy, and heteropatriarchy from the lingering orientalism surrounding the war results in what anthropologist Veena Das claims as "the past that is not mastered and hence comes to haunt the living."⁷ This occurs, she argues, when the social fabric of everyday life maintains violence that has not been adequately named and addressed. The disavowal of enmity has long-term repercussions with different names and loci of enunciation from Korea to the United States: the armistice regime, the division-system, or the anti-communist system.⁸ Feminist

5 "Women's Participation in Peace Processes," *Council on Foreign Relations*, <<https://www.cfr.org/womens-participation-in-peace-processes/>> (date accessed June 15, 2020).

6 Katherine H.S. Moon, "Military Prostitution and the U.S. Military in Asia," *The Asia-Pacific Journal-Japan Focus*, vol. 7, no. 6 (2009), <<https://apjpf.org/-Katharine-H.S.-Moon/3019/article.html>> (date accessed June 17, 2020).

7 Veena Das, *Life and Words: Violence and the Descent into the Ordinary* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), p. 219.

8 For concept "division-system," see Paik Nak-Chung, "The Division System in

peace, therefore, not only envisions formal ends to wars, but also seeks to end ongoing structural violence and instigate meaningful social change.⁹

Ahn-Kim Jeong-Ae, a member of the Presidential Truth Commissions on Deaths in the Military in South Korea and organizer in Women Making Peace, reflects that “from the division of Korea and the Korean War to the present state of perpetual warfare, countless women have become casualties and victims of war, militarism, and patriarchy: as war widows, as refugees from North Korea often separated from their families, as survivors of mass executions before and after the war, as sex workers around US military bases, and as women scattered in the Korean diaspora.”¹⁰ Consequently, one could ask, could the armistice agreement in 1953 have led to a different outcome had it involved Korean women, or had it suggested their future inclusion in the peace process? Or, referred specifically to gender violence? Could it have prevented the fate of one million Korean women in South Korea becoming subscribed to the U.S. camp towns to sell their sexual labor to the U.S. military for their and their

Crisis: Essays on Contemporary Korea” (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011). For concept “anti-communist system,” see 김동춘 et al. “반공의시대 한국과 독일, 냉전의정치,” (돌베개: 2015) (English translation: Kim Dong-Choon et al, Anti-communism in Korea and Germany: the Politics of the Cold War).

9 “Feminist peace is related to three perspectives; peace as the absence of every type of structural violence; peace and security for all, and peace premised on the universal integration of a gender perspectives as well as the equal participation at all levels and in all peace building processes.[...] Feminist peace as the absence of structural violence is a long time goal that takes time to achieve in conflict and post conflict settings. *Structural* violence, as defined by Johan Galtung, refers to a form of violence where social structures or institutions may harm people by preventing them from meeting their basic needs. It also includes institutionalised forms of violence such as nationalism, racism and sexism. In many countries, we see these forms of structural violence where corruption and historical inequalities based on gender and ethnicity right from the state formation, prevent citizens from accessing quality social services and the high levels of unemployment.” See for full text: <<https://africanfeminism.com/what-feminist-peace-means-in-changing-contexts-of-conflicts/>> (date accessed June 15, 2020).

10 JeongAe Ahn-Kim, “Women Making Peace in Korea: The DMZ Ecofeminist Farm Project,” *Social Justice*, vol. 46, no. 1 (2019), pp. 79-90.

families' economic survival?¹¹ Could it have preempted a political economy built on a hundred thousand Korean military brides being married off to G.I.s after the Korean War?¹² Might it have challenged South Korea's post-war transnational adoption industry where more than 180,000 Korean children were sold to the United States and Europe?¹³ Although the concept of women's inclusion in peace processes may have been a radical notion in the 1950s, it provides some perspective and insight into how a peace agreement that is ultimately signed between the United States and North Korea might be transformed.

There are still unnamed trauma(s) resulting from the aftermath of the Korean War, in addition to two different divisions of the Korean Peninsula in 1945 and 1953, which had taken place without the consultation and consent of everyday Korean people, let alone Korean women, who had no decision-making power in the armistice negotiations. Despite U.S. claims of inaugurating a liberal democracy in post-war South Korea, the armistice negotiations signed between U.S., North Korea, and China, failed to include even a slightest reference to participatory democracy. In a Nobel Women Initiative's interview, Heejin Hong, a South Korean feminist peace activist, observed that "under the reality of a Korea that is divided in to North and South, women in South Korea feel that threat to their safety in their daily lives."¹⁴ She adds that Korean feminists today have yet to connect the issue of women's rights with peace, and her organization, Korean

11 Tim Shorrock, "Welcome to the Monkey House: Confronting the ugly legacy of military prostitution in South Korea," *The New Republic*, December 2, 2019, <<https://newrepublic.com/article/155707/united-states-military-prostitution-south-korea-monkey-house>> (date accessed April 1, 2020).

12 Grace M. Cho, *Haunting of the Korean Diaspora* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), p. 140.

13 Hosu Kim, "The Biopolitics of Transnational Adoption in South Korea: Preemption and the Governance of Single Birthmothers," *Body & Society*, vol. 21, no. 1 (2015), p. 59.

14 "Meet HeeJin Hong, South Korea," *Nobel Women's Initiative*, <<https://nobelwomensinitiative.org/meet-heejin-hong-south-korea/>> (date accessed May 25, 2020).

Women's Movement for Peace, is addressing this gap by re-framing a peaceful end to the Korean War as a feminist issue.¹⁵ Furthermore, speculating on the need for Korean women's involvement in the armistice agreement is bolstered by indisputable historical evidence of Korean women's political participation during the 1945 and 1953 division. According to historian Suzy Kim, just before the cease-fire in 1953, the Women's International Delegate Federation organized a World Congress of Women, bringing global attention to the Korean War and the situation of women from countries recently liberated from imperial and colonial rule.¹⁶ At that time, the Women's Congress had produced two documents, one of which was the 'Declaration of Rights of Women.'¹⁷ However, even before the Korean War, North Korea's state policy in 1946 advocated a radical social program for guaranteeing women's rights. Accordingly, Kim notes:

The Law of Equal Rights for Men and Women was passed in July to liberate women from the 'triple subordination' of family, society, and politics. It nullified all previous Korean and Japanese laws regarding women, provided women with equal rights to political participation, economic and educational opportunities, and freedom of choice in marriage and divorce, outlawing polygamy and the sale of women as wives and concubines.¹⁸

The 1953 armistice agreement's promise of "peaceful settlement" has failed to secure basic Korean women's human rights, which are most vulnerable in times of war due to multiple intersecting crises of enforced migration, displacement from land, socio-economic displacement, political criminalization, poverty, and sexual exploitation. This is symptomatic of structural gender-blindness and sexism in both national and international contexts, resulting in the underenforcement of

15 *Ibid.*

16 Suzy Kim, "The Origins of Cold War Feminism During the Korean War," *Gender & History*, vol. 31 no. 2 (2019), p. 460.

17 Suzy Kim, p. 460.

18 Suzy Kim, *Everyday Life in the North Korean Revolution, 1945-1950* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016), pp. 18-39.

women's rights beyond the battlefield.¹⁹ A feminist methodology, therefore, problematizes the androcentrism in order to draw out bolder aspirations for social change invoked in the calls for global disarmament and peace. Gendering our analysis allows us to visualize and study another kind of war at the level of society that perpetuates violence against women, especially those coming from marginalized backgrounds. This is meaningful for not only recovering different meanings of war and division but reclaiming genuine security and healing justice for Korean women and women peace activists.

Korea Peace Now! A Transnational Feminist Campaign for Peace on Korea

Korea Peace Now! Women Mobilizing to End the Korean War is a global campaign that was launched by four women's peace organizations in March 2019, urgently calling for a formal end to the Korean War with a U.S. peace agreement with North Korea.²⁰ These four organizations – Women Cross DMZ, Nobel Women's Initiative, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) and Korean Women's Movement for Peace – are focused on changing policy in the United States, at the United Nations, and in key countries, including Canada and South Korea. Women Cross DMZ is leading efforts in the United States and the key organization leading the U.S.-based Korea Peace Now Grassroots Network (KPNGN). As a transnational feminist movement, Korea Peace Now!, draws on intersectional feminism as a basis for its theory and practice.²¹ The campaign emerged out of a pressing need for

19 *Council on Foreign Relations*, "Women's Participation in Peace Processes," <<https://www.cfr.org/womens-participation-in-peace-processes/>> (date accessed April 1, 2020).

20 See Women Making Peace, Women Cross DMZ (womencrossdmz.org), WILPF (women's international league for peace and freedom) (wilpf.org), and Nobel Women's Initiative (nobelwomeninitiative.org).

21 Intersectional feminism predominantly draws on the Kimberley Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality in order to more effectively and consciously organize

both a unified political base and voice that brought together international and national grassroots coalitions to challenge the United States' unending war with North Korea.²² The South Korean Candlelight Revolution between 2016-2017 set the stage for tremendously favorable conditions for the Inter-Korean peace process, one of its successes being President Moon Jae-In's election into office. Alongside a growing peace agenda in South Korea mobilizing for a peace regime, President Moon and his pro-peace platform led to the subsequent Panmunjom and Pyongyang Declaration for tangible demilitarization.²³ However, the Inter-Korean peace process has been thwarted by the stalled US-DPRK talks in 2019, and the recent escalation of tensions between U.S. and China threaten to undermine the grassroots agenda advocating for U.S. peace with North Korea.²⁴

As an emerging voice on Korea Peace and the relatively recent feminist peace movement, Korea Peace Now! feminist leadership calls

and mobilize across diverse historical struggles across race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and class. As in the tradition of critical race theory and its challenge of the elite legal institutions and policies that are 'colorblind' and 'gender-neutral,' KPN's deploys intersectionality to challenge the structures of white supremacy and gender-blindness in U.S. foreign policy on North Korea.

22 The KPN campaign has identified five major goals for the year 2020 and beyond: Peace-building process including a formal ending of the Korean War, a Korea Peace Treaty, and normalized relations; women's leadership and gender-based analysis (government & civil society) in peace processes; tangible de-militarization: denuclearization, landmines, reduction of bases/troops; lift sanctions against North Korea, especially those impacting humanitarian conditions; redefine security from national security based on war and militarism to a feminist understanding of security centered on basic human needs and ecological sustainability (koreapeacenow.org).

23 Inter-Korean Summit 2018, "Panmunjeom Declaration," *The Korea Times*, April 27, 2018, <http://koreatimes.co.kr/www/nation/2018/04/731_248077.html> (date accessed April 1, 2020).

24 Christine Ahn and Catherine Killough, "Why North Korea and America Need Reconciliation—Not Endless Kim Jong-Un Death Rumors," *National Interest*, April 27, 2020, <<https://nationalinterest.org/blog/korea-watch/why-north-korea-and-america-need-reconciliation%E2%80%94not-endless-kim-jong-un-death>> (date accessed April 27, 2020).

for women's inclusion in the Korea peace process often referring to UNSC Resolution 1325 (WPS), which mandates that women must be given "full, equal, and meaningful participation" in all stages of a peace process because it leads to longer-lasting and durable peace.²⁵ The WPS agenda emerged out of a critical need for governments and international organizations to respond to unending gender and sexual violence in the 21st century, in addition to addressing the inadequate understanding of violence in so-called 'post-war' and 'post-colonial' states. KPN advances various grassroots perspectives to make space for imagining the 'human' costs to the unresolved war and seeks to humanize the North Korean people. The aim is to develop a wider and non-discriminate audience that is absent in most media content produced on North Korea.²⁶ This is critical given North Korea is the only U.S. foreign policy issue that has bipartisan support for a hostile posture.²⁷

The campaign centers the perspectives and experiences of women most impacted by the unresolved war, such as North Korean women

25 *Ibid.*

26 On October 17, 2019, Data for Progress released a report on an online survey of 1,009 self-identified voters, "Voters Want to See a Progressive Overhaul of American Foreign Policy." The report gaged registered voters' overall perception of what are key national security issues, both military and non-military. 29% of the respondents strongly supported a peace agreement with North Korea and 38% responded "somewhat" for supporting the peace agreement. On the other hand, 44% strongly supported the "no first use" of nuclear weapons policy and 22% responded "somewhat" for supporting a constrained nuclear weapons policy. In both cases, one-sixth of the respondents answered, "Don't Know." While the survey is not extensively on voter perception on North Korea, it contributes to further thinking on how North Korea compare to other countries deemed a threat to U.S. national security, under what circumstances voters are willing to take a more hawkish stance on North Korea, and the root causes of voter indecision on North Korea. Greater use of these surveys can potentially clarify what kinds of educational agendas are required for the current American public.

27 According to a 2018 survey conducted by Pew Research Center, "Partisans are in agreement in their sentiments toward North Korea; nearly identical shares of Republicans (62%) and Democrats (61%) express very cold feelings toward North Korea."

heavily impacted by economic sanctions. In October 2019, KPN commissioned an independent report on the gendered impacts of economic sanctions on North Korean Women.²⁸ The report was presented in New York and Geneva at the United Nations, and subsequently received a lot of media coverage for addressing how sanctions have “unintended humanitarian consequences” in North Korea.²⁹ Women Cross DMZ’s strategic work behind the scenes, alongside KPN’s national mobilizing, organizing, and advocacy, resulted in an important testimony from John C. Rood, the U.S. Under Secretary of Defense for Policy.³⁰ In response to Rep. Khanna’s questioning during a committee hearing, he stated that the “armistice was not intended to survive decade after decade” and voiced that the Department of Defense sees a long-term peace agreement with North Korea as “beneficial” to U.S. national security and long-term interests.³¹

According to Christine Ahn, the executive director of Women Cross DMZ, the campaign has also been able to shift the conversation on a critical issue that has been a key obstacle to advancing peace with North Korea: human rights. In the *Report of Special Rapporteur to the 43rd session of*

28 Passage selected from Women Cross DMZ Zoom Webinar “Celebrating Women’s Movements for Peace in Korea: 5th Anniversary of DMZ Crossing,” held on May 22, 2020.

29 See: Zack Budryk, “Nearly 4,000 civilian deaths in North Korea tied to sanctions: report,” *The Hill*, October, 30, 2019, <<https://thehill.com/policy/international/asia-pacific/468146-nearly-4000-civilian-deaths-in-north-korea-tied-to-sanctions-report>>(date accessed April 27, 2020); Courtney McBride, “North Korea Sanctions Contribute to Deaths of Innocent Civilians, Report Says,” *The Wall Street Journal*, October 30, 2019, <<https://www.wsj.com/articles/north-korea-sanctions-contribute-to-deaths-of-innocent-civilians-report-says-11572414898>> (date accessed April 27, 2020).

30 “Peace Agreement with North Korea is in US Interest Says US Under Secretary of Defense for Policy,” *Women Cross DMZ*, < <https://www.womenscrossdmz.org/peace-agreement-with-north-korea-is-in-us-interest-says-u-s-under-secretary-of-defense-for-policy/>> (date accessed April 1, 2020).

31 United States, House Armed Services Committee, “Full Committee Hearing: ‘Security Update on the Korean Peninsula’,” by John C. Rood, <<https://armedservices.house.gov/2020/1/full-committee-hearing-security-update-on-the-korean-peninsula>> (date accessed April 27, 2020).

the Human Rights Council, Tomas Ojea Quintana, the UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, called for a Korea peace agreement irrespective of denuclearization.³² Christine Ahn states that this is a major breakthrough in the recognition of the relationship between human rights, sanctions, and peace — a connection that was outlined in the KPN report on the impacts of sanctions in North Korea, which was delivered to Ojea Quintana. The pursuit of a peace agreement regardless of denuclearization is critical, she highlights, because “the U.S. leadership is singularly focused on forcing North Korea to unilaterally denuclearize as a necessary basis for peace talks. [Instead the U.S.] needs to establish peace first to create the necessary conditions for denuclearization.”³³

A feminist analysis of U.S. foreign policy on North Korea remains integral to introducing the ‘human’ and gendered costs of the Korean War, in addition to moving beyond the field of moral claims established by denuclearization and humans’ rights debates in the United States and United Nations. As I will later elaborate, the military and humanitarian discourses on security can mutually reinforce one another in practice (and politics), rather than produce a genuine alternative to the existing security paradigm.

The Korea Peace Now Grassroots Network (KPNGN) and Feminist Organizing

The grassroots network for Korea Peace Now! (KPNGN) was launched in the United States alongside the global campaign in 2019 and since then, the Korea Peace Now! has launched eleven regional chapters

32 United Nations, Human Rights Council, “Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea,” February 25, 2020. A/HRC/43/58.

33 Passage from Women Cross DMZ Zoom Webinar “Celebrating Women’s Movements for Peace in Korea: 5th Anniversary of DMZ Crossing” held on May 22, 2020.

in major cities.³⁴ These cities include Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Denver, Honolulu, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco Bay Area, Seattle, and Washington, D.C. The transnational campaign is organized and led by Korean American, South Korean, North American and European women from the four feminist peace organizations. Alongside in the United States is the Korea Peace Now Grassroots Network (KPNGN), which is predominantly organized and led by Korean American women. According to Elizabeth Beavers, who is leading the KPN advocacy efforts in Washington, D.C., the U.S.-based KPN is divided into a D.C. policy team and a field organizing team led by Hyun Lee, the national organizer for KPNGN.³⁵ These two teams work closely together to put pressure on Washington to sign a peace agreement with North Korea.³⁶

Hyun Lee organizes at the grassroots level and coordinates amongst KPNGN's eleven regional teams, in addition to collaborating with other Korea peace grassroots networks and anti-war peace movements in the United States. KPNGN is a multi-generational coalition of peace activists, humanitarian aid workers, veterans, academics, and Korean adoptees and diaspora, engaged in federal and international advocacy and public education on the ongoing impacts of the Korean War. In a recent Women Cross DMZ webinar celebrating the 5th anniversary of the DMZ Crossing, the national organizer stated: "Our two main organizing goals have been to: 1) change the thinking in Washington from a sole obsession with denuclearization to understanding the historical root cause of the conflict and the need to end the Korean War and 2) organize a broad grassroots base—primarily Korean Americans but also anti-war and peace activists and other allies." As a result, the Korean American members of KPNGN bring an important historical context to the feminist peace movement by

34 "Annual Reports," *Women Cross DMZ*, <<https://www.womencrossdmz.org/tag/annual-reports/>> (date accessed April 18, 2020).

35 Passage from Women Cross DMZ Zoom Webinar "Celebrating Women's Movements for Peace in Korea: 5th Anniversary of DMZ Crossing" held on May 22, 2020.

36 *Ibid.*

voicing their personal stakes in ending the seventy-year war. The KPNGN builds from bottom-up a women-led grassroots political base capable of re-shaping U.S. foreign policy on North Korea. While its grassroots membership cuts across all genders, including gender nonconforming individuals, it is a largely women-led effort.

Before the official launch of the campaign, Women Cross DMZ met with women members of the South Korean Parliament and U.S. Congress to discuss women's inclusion in the peace agreement process between North Korea and the United States, and to formalize U.S. commitments to a peace regime on the Korean Peninsula.³⁷ One organizing tool that the KPN campaign has been using is House Resolution 152 (H.Res.152), the first congressional resolution calling for the formal end to the Korean War with a peace agreement that also calls for women's inclusion in the peace process, which the campaign worked closely with Rep. Ro Khanna (D-CA) who introduced it. Currently, there are 42 co-sponsors of H. Res.152. More recent successes of the effective coordination of the grassroots network with members of Congress are two additional peace-oriented resolutions on North Korea: The H.R. 6639 - No Unconstitutional War Against North Korea Act of 2020 and S.3908 -Enhancing North Korea Humanitarian Assistance Act, which has been formally introduced in the Senate by Senator Ed Markey (D-MA).³⁸ KPN has also joined other Korean American voices to advocate for S.3395 - Korean War Divided Families Reunification Act.³⁹ The Congressional legislations are the first peace-oriented legislations on North Korea ever to be introduced in the history of U.S. law and is considered a historic achievement for the Korea

37 Interview with Christine Ahn, Executive Director of Women DMZ, by author, April 2020.

38 See United States, 116th Congress, H.R. 6639, <<https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-bill/6639/cosponsors?r=2&s=1&searchResultViewType=expanded&KWICView=false>> (date accessed April 1, 2020). See also 116th Congress, S. 3908, <<https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/senate-bill/3908/text>> (date accessed June 1, 2020).

39 See United States, 116th Congress, S. 3395, <<https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/senate-bill/3395/cosponsors?searchResultViewType=expanded&KWICView=false>> (date accessed June 1, 2020).

peace movement.⁴⁰ Although Korean Americans constitute 1.7 million people living in the United States, the Korean women diaspora is playing a significant role in shifting U.S. foreign policy on North Korea away from an “America-first” and “American exceptionalism” stance towards an internationalist commitment to global justice and peace. As a result, they play a pivotal role in mobilizing a feminist peace agenda for demilitarizing and democratizing U.S. foreign policy and challenging U.S.’s ongoing role in the Korean War.

It is important to take advantage of the current moment, where there is a growing support for progressive U.S. foreign policy in Congress. This movement is best exemplified by the massive mobilization of youth and young voters that emerged out of the Bernie Sanders campaign, in addition to the historic achievement of four Congresswomen of color elected in the House of Representatives in 2018. Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-NY) has advanced the idea of a “democratic socialist foreign policy” that signifies “less policy informed by frameworks of imperialism, colonialism, exploitation, and security state...more policy informed by decolonization, international labor rights, increased focus on economic opportunity for the poor, expanded indigenous rights and protections, and *very* important strong international agreements on climate change.”⁴¹ Representative Ilhan Omar (D-Minn), on the other hand, called on the need to “demilitarize” U.S. foreign policy, by increasing Congressional oversight on declarations of wars per War Powers Resolution and repealing the Authorization of the Use of Military Forces (AUMFs) immediately passed after 9/11.⁴²

40 Passage from Women Cross DMZ Zoom Webinar “Celebrating Women’s Movements for Peace in Korea: 5th Anniversary of DMZ Crossing” held on May 22, 2020.

41 John Gage, “AOC calls for ‘decolonization’ and ‘indigenous rights’ to be basis of US foreign policy,” *Washington Examiner*, February 8, 2020, <<https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/news/aoc-calls-for-decolonization-and-indigenous-rights-to-be-basis-of-us-foreign-policy>> (date accessed April 1, 2020).

42 United States, Representative Ilhan Omar, “Foreign Policy,” <<https://omar.house.gov/issues/ForeignPolicy>> (date accessed April 1, 2020).

These progressive changes in predominantly elite, white, and male-dominated institutions of power offer an opportunity for the Korea peace movement and open up political space for women of color to introduce an agenda for peace on the Korean Peninsula. The long-term goal of the Korea Peace Now! campaign is to redefine the national security paradigm that has defined U.S. foreign policy towards one that advances genuine human and ecological security.⁴³ This goal is in line with the overarching anti-war visions of transnational feminists advocating for a global paradigm shift in our collective conceptions of peace, security, and justice.⁴⁴ Arguably, U.S. foreign policy on North Korea is a feminist issue, and this perspective invites more opportunities for transnational grassroots solidarity (i.e. gendered impacts of sanctions on Iran, Venezuela, etc.) and intersectional analysis in light of this current domestic political climate. While US-DPRK talks and Inter-Korean relations have deteriorated in the past couple of months, a transnational feminist peace movement in coordination with a U.S.-based grassroots network offers a meaningful source of social and political change as a Korea peace agenda that has a unique emphasis on 'Women, Peace, and Security.' This is important given that it allows for feminist politics to be mainstreamed not only at the level of the international or amongst the political elites, but also at the grassroots level. The role of grassroots organizing is, what Jane McAlevey calls, "base expansion" that is "expanding either the political or

43 Interview with Christine Ahn by author, April 2020.

44 Transitional feminists have highlighted seven political issues direly in need of feminist analysis: 1) the gendered and racialized effects of nationalism and patriotism; 2) the impact of U.S. wars, internal repression, and the gendered impacts of global migration, exile, displacement, exploitation, etc.; 3) the dual use of military and surveillance technologies (i.e. border security, police) for both waging wars abroad and repressing civil unrest; 4) racialized and gendered stereotypes that follow crises and wars; 5) the feminization of emotions, such as grief, trauma, and melancholy and exploitation of sentimentality for war efforts; 6) media and mediation, and its role in the co-optation of feminist agenda by conservative or elite interests; and 7) movements that are based on the knowledge of global capitalism and globalization's impacts in the world. See Paola Bacchetta, et al, "Transnational Feminist Practices against War," *Meridians*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2002), pp. 302-308.

the societal basis from which you can later mobilize.”⁴⁵ As a result, explicitly introducing a feminist agenda from the very onset of the campaign allows for both laying down the general groundwork for participatory democracy and mainstreaming feminism within civil society.⁴⁶ As feminist legal scholars point out, gender violence is not only a result of legislative underenforcement of women’s rights, but also due to an absence of collective responsibility towards women and other marginalized communities, in addition to underenforcement in our everyday habits and practices.⁴⁷

Consequently, KPNGN is not just a peace movement with women’s leadership and participation but a *feminist* peace movement. It draws on a gender-based analysis that foregrounds women’s leadership and participation to enhance gender equality, but also integrates gender-balance and representation in the structure of the movement itself. For example, the current KPNGN webinar series team, working in coordination with other U.S. grassroots networks such as Korea Peace Network (KPN), Peace Treaty Now (PTN) and Re’Generation Movement, ensures that there will be at least one or two women moderators to bring a ‘gender balance’ to the webinar series. Another example is the intergenerational Korean women’s panel, an event postponed during the March National Advocacy Action in Washington, D.C. due to Covid-19, brings Korean American women together to speak about the human costs of the Korean War. The discussions with Korean women brought to light a gender dimension to the division and war that are not explicitly evident if we speculate on the impacts of war only in highly spectacular and military terms. The following section will

45 Ezra Klein, “Labor organizer Jane McAlevey on how the left builds power all wrong,” *Vox*, March 17, 2020, <<https://www.vox.com/podcasts/2020/3/17/21182149/jane-mcalevey-the-ezra-klein-show-labor-organizing>> (date accessed April 1, 2020).

46 Christine Bell and Catherine O’Rourke, “The People’s Peace? Peace Agreements, Civil Society, and Participatory Democracy,” *International Political Science Review*, vol. 28, no. 3 (2007), p. 294.

47 Fionnuala Ni Aolain, Eilish, Rooney, “Underenforcement and Intersectionality: Gendered Aspects of Transition for Women,” *The International Journal of Transitional Justice*, vol. 1 (2007), pp. 338-354.

examine how the inclusion of women in the Korea peace process and giving them a seat at the negotiation tables can be a starting point for healing and reconciliation of historical trauma of division and war.

The Insistence of Feminist Advocacy & Education

KPNGN and its strategy to push for Congressional H.Res.152 is one of the ways in which legal claims can open up space for addressing historical trauma and social healing through participatory democracy. Hyun Lee states that “all [of the Korean Americans in KPNGN, some of whom are mothers and housewives, come] together out of a shared desire for peace in Korea. [...] Korean Americans are telling their stories for the first time to their Representatives, and this has really made an impact on conveying why it’s so important to end the Korean War.”⁴⁸ Transnational feminists have observed that “people who have lost loved ones as a consequence of U.S. foreign policy elsewhere are not [seen as equally] sufferers of trauma or injustice.”⁴⁹ While the politicization of trauma has been thoroughly problematized, trauma has also been recognized as one of the leading moral frameworks for feminist and humanitarian arguments against torture, violence, and repeated injustices against marginalized communities.⁵⁰ Beyond its clinical origins, trauma has become a tool for demanding justice and claiming one’s rights.⁵¹ A feminist call for peace agreement on the Korean Peninsula with women’s inclusion in the peace process can be understood as an attempt to address “the complex nexus of history and

48 Passage from Women Cross DMZ Zoom Webinar “Celebrating Women’s Movements for Peace in Korea: 5th Anniversary of DMZ Crossing” held on May 22, 2020.

49 Paola Bacchetta, Tina Campt, Inderpal Grewal, Caren Kaplan, Mino Moallem and Jennifer Terry, “Transnational Feminist Practices against War,” *Meridians*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2002), pp. 302-308.

50 Didier Fassin, Richard Rechtman, *The Empire of Trauma: An Inquiry into the Condition of Victimhood* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 278-284.

51 *Ibid.*

geopolitics” of the Korean War and division in order to articulate new political legal claims.⁵²

Furthermore, since President Bush identified North Korea as an ‘Axis of Evil,’ U.S. media’s portrayal of North Korean people has been dehumanizing and problematically voyeuristic.⁵³ A voyeuristic and non-consensual gaze is both orientalist and patriarchal. Media plays a large role in influencing how most Americans see U.S. hostile foreign policy on North Korea as morally justified. Feminists have identified the role of media and technology in shaping images and narratives of human suffering, which often structure public sentiment and fidelity to the moral, patriotic, nationalist, racist, or sexist claims underlying them.⁵⁴ The resolution, therefore, is a starting step for including Korean women’s leadership, where they are not seen as passive recipients of a colonial and male gaze.

Finally, H.Res. resolution includes an important gender component, referring to other existing legislations:

Affirms the vital role that women and other marginalized groups who would be particularly vulnerable to any resumption of active hostilities must play in building a lasting, sustainable, and peaceful settlement, and calls on all parties to take greater steps to include women and civil society in ongoing discussions, as outlined in the Women, Peace, and Security Act of 2017.⁵⁵

The Women, Peace, Security Act of 2017 identifies women’s participation and leadership in “fragile environments, particularly

52 Paola Bachetta et al, pp. 302-308.

53 See David Shim, "Visual Politics and North Korea: Seeing is Believing," (New York: Routledge, 2013).

54 Judith Butler, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (London: Verso, 2004), p. 1.

55 See 116th Congress, H.Res. 152, <<https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-resolution/152/text?q=%7B%22search%22%3A%5B%22korean+war%22%5D%7D&r=2&s=1#H8BFAAA45578A4878BE6BCFE61D318E93>> (date accessed April 1, 2020).

during democratic transitions, is critical to sustaining lasting democratic institutions.”⁵⁶ The long-term implications of women’s participation in the peace process has been pointed out by the Feminist Transitional Justice (FTJ) literature that argues a peace agreement involving grassroots mobilization, a vibrant civil society, and transnational networks leads to lasting, durable peace.⁵⁷ As a result, FTJ observes that “peace agreements which emerge often include provision for civil society involvement as part of the new political and legal arrangements.”⁵⁸ In addition, a gender-based analysis heeds the common problem of post-peace agreements situations, where an underenforcement of intersectionality and women’s right and security has been reported in the transitional process.⁵⁹ Arguably, civil society, grassroots networks, and women’s leadership are critical components for not only participatory democracy but collectively initiating dialogue and everyday practices towards recuperative justice for Korean women in Korea and the United States.

Towards a Feminist Agenda for a Korean Peace Regime: A Conceptual Terrain

Understanding what makes KPN a feminist peace movement rather than just a peace movement is important for understanding the campaign and the grassroots network’s long-term contribution to gender-equality and women’s rights. Investigating sexual violence in the context of how it is differentiated by the war-peace continuum challenges the myth that wartime and peacetime are different kinds of political regimes. Furthermore, emphasizing the continuity of violence during and even long after armed conflict deconstructs the artificial boundary between military

56 United States, 115th Congress, Public Law No, 115-68, S. 1141 – Women, Peace, and Security Act of 2017, <<https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/senate-bill/1141/text>> (date accessed April 1, 2020).

57 Christine Bell and Catherine O’Rourke, p. 294.

58 *Ibid.*

59 Fionnuala Ni Aolain, Eilish, Rooney, pp. 338-354.

and civilian and war crimes and intimate crimes that normalize sexual subordination outside the boundaries of the legal battlefield. The final section will briefly introduce a conceptual terrain for a feminist agenda for a Korean peace regime and the overlapping theoretical and political concerns raised in the fields of Feminist Security Studies (FSS) and Feminist Transitional Justice (FTJ).

Both FSS and FTJ's predominant political and ethical concerns can be summarized as such: a deep apprehension of both state and non-state actor's use of and investment in military force. Traditionally, security has been understood as the object of a state's responsibility, and consequently, it has always been posed in geopolitical terms, where governments prioritized state sovereignty and territory above all and thereby, legitimated their use of military force.⁶⁰ These two schools of thought, on the other hand, argue that the logic of traditional security or *negative security* underlying today's national security discourse is "rooted in assumptions about a universally defined state and security issues, addressed by a universally agreed upon tool of security—the military."⁶¹ They articulate the critique of security by foregrounding an important connection between gender violence, state security, and international politics. This framework is meaningful for understanding how the underenforcement of human rights and civil rights, particularly women's rights, have had and will continue to have gendered consequences in various conflict and post-conflict situations if the root causes of sexual violence are not adequately addressed.

The relentless pursuit of negative security by the state, FSS argues, is at odds with enjoying actual and genuine security. Whereas, the concept of 'human security' was introduced in the 1994 Human Development Report released by the U.N. Development Programme as an alternative to security defined by the use of military force, feminist security scholars have pointed

60 See Nick, Vaughan-Williams, "Critical Security Studies: An Introduction," *Routledge* (2000), pp. 1-88.

61 Gunhild Hoogensen Gjørvi, "Security by Any Other Name: Negative Security, Positive Security, and a Multi-Actor Security Approach," *Review of International Studies*, vol. 38, no. 4 (2012), p. 836.

out that it is as equally normative and problematic as the concept of 'traditional security.'⁶² The U.N. agenda for 'human security' called for a re-definition of security in 'humanitarian' or moral terms against the traditional definition of security, where human beings were the main subjects of security governance that national governments and international organizations aspired towards. While the divide, in reality, is not so clear and distinct, the two concepts of security presumed a transition in global objectives from security by force towards security by humanitarianism. This epistemological turn on the concept of security, at least within the international institutions themselves, is important to keep in mind.

To the extent that one relies on the macro-political category, 'human security,' what is elided are the significant differences in what 'security' can mean for different kinds of subjects: women and other marginalized communities.⁶³ Feminist security scholars, as a result, critique the normative use of 'human security' that continues to broadly accept state intervention as long as it does not use military force. Consequently, human security as a global agenda fails to unsettle governments' reliance on military force, often misleadingly framed in humanitarian terms, applied to drone strikes or automation of border security. States, international organizations, or corporations that adopt the 'human security' framework often see individuals as passive recipients of security where, those with political and economic capital monopolize the active role of defining security. Gjørvi Gunhild states that positive security aims for a more meaningful participation of civil society where, "individuals and/or multiple actors have the freedom to identify risks and threats to their well-being and values...the opportunity to articulate these threats to other actors, and the capacity to determine ways to end, mitigate or adapt to

62 United Nations Development Programme, "Human Development Report 1994," by Oxford Press, New York, pp. 1-3 <<http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-report-1994>> (date accessed April 10, 2020).

63 The grassroots call for peace and security, arguably, preceded these institutional and intellectual turns in both global organizations and universities, and as a result, there are many reasons to be suspect of institutional and systematic change that does not acknowledge, include, and advocate grassroots politics and ideas.

those risks and threats either individually or in concert with other actors.”⁶⁴ Gunhild's point is well taken.

Unlike negative security, positive security first identifies individual and collective systems of values in order to re-evaluate and challenge the use of the technologies according to the former logic arguing for the use of military force.⁶⁵ As a result, positive security is an ‘enabler,’ thereby closely resembling the notion of freedom and empowerment.⁶⁶ Feminist scholars have pointed out that negative security invokes an epistemology of the enemy or the Other, where states often personify the roots of security threats through racialized and feminized images of the ‘terrorist,’ ‘communist,’ ‘foreigner,’ ‘criminal,’ or ‘the poor.’ As a result, they argue that conceptualizing security necessarily encounters ontological inquiries about systems of value (ethics) that undergird social manifestations of security within friends and families, and political manifestations through citizenship, nationality, and territoriality. Gjørv argues that a deeper exploration into values can potentially lead us to think through new conceptual relationships to security and insecurity in order to aspire towards positive security, which seeks to fundamentally transform political subjectivities that depends on institutions and infrastructures of negative security. As a result, there are some simple questions we can apply towards conceptualizing a positive security in the context of a feminist peace-building in Korea: Are women involved in positions of leadership and/or is gender violence sufficiently addressed in policies concerning security, both in its negative and positive sense? For whom and by whom are security discourses and practices undertaken? Are there genuine efforts to hold powerholders (governments, corporations, etc.) accountable so that civil society, especially women and marginalized communities, can enjoy positive security? Are we adequately ensuring that those who are most disenfranchised and disempowered are benefitting from these changes?

64 Gunhild Hoogensen et al, “Human Security in the Arctic – Yes, It Is Relevant!,” *Journal of Human Security*, vol. 5, no. 2 (2009), p. 836.

65 Hoogensen, et al. pp. 836.

66 *Ibid.*

One recent example where we see a feminist analysis contribute to a greater understanding of the relationship between policy and gender is the report “Human Sanctions and Gendered Impact of Sanctions on North Korea” commissioned by KPN.⁶⁷ The report broadly supports a “human centric perspective” while specifically addressing U.N. sanction’s disproportionate impact on North Korean women which “exacerbates rates of domestic violence, sexual violence, and the trafficking and prostitution of women.”⁶⁸ As it states, “sanctions significantly degrade women’s economic status and threaten their social rights,” this is an example where an international policy is failing to support ‘positive security’ that would aim to enable Korean women to pursue all the possible securities mentioned by its very definition. The report also observes that gendered and sexual violence more readily take place when there is ‘social disorder,’ and this is one of the main areas of concern for both FSS and FTJ. The latter is careful to observe that often state’s transitional rhetoric—from colonialism to post-colonialism, authoritarian rule to democracy, wartime to peacetime—obscures a continuum of gender and sexual violence. Finally, the report demonstrates that the concept of economic sanctions falls under the normative logic of ‘human security,’ where sanctions are introduced as an alternative to traditional security or military force, but in reality, fail to heed the disproportionate harm it causes for North Korean women’s futures.

Feminist transitional justice (FTJ) scholars, on the other hand, fill an important gap within FSS, particularly in linking aspirations towards positive security with legislative accountability and creating political space for recuperative, social justice. FTJ links the notion of positive security with the establishment of a rule of law and examines the gendered impacts of negative security within the context where law and rights have been suspended by wars, military occupations, military governments, etc. In

67 “The Human Costs and Gendered Impact of Sanctions on North Korea,” *Korea Peace Now!*, <<https://koreapeacenow.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/human-costs-and-gendered-impact-of-sanctions-on-north-korea.pdf>> (date accessed April 27, 2020).

68 *Ibid.*

this framework, FTJ sees hope for new laws and policies as technologies for conflict prevention or resolution. FTJ's main interventions can be summarized as such: they argue that stability of law offers the condition of possibility for basic gender security; they identify areas of gender-blindness in law and legal institutions that perpetuate gender discrimination and sexual violence as part of the patriarchal status quo⁶⁹; they aspire towards positive security as an enabler of individuals and communities to enjoy genuine security.⁷⁰ As a result, FTJ and FSS's discourses of gender security and women's rights often overlap.

Besides a juridical concept of positive security, FTJ also introduces an ecological concept. An 'ecological' approach to security in FTJ conceptualizes justice not only in legislative terms or as a juridical subjectivity, but locates its practices within a complex social system of deep relationalities that cut across atomistic units of identity, community, and state. As a result, FTJ links empirical studies of systematic and structural violence with theoretical inquiry on how individuals or communities make sense and meaning out of those event(s).⁷¹ Understanding how individuals make meaning, experience belonging, betrayal, and trauma, are foundational to building modes of recuperation that are enabling, empowering, and human-centered. FTJ scholars that emphasize an ecological approach to justice argue that "it is not surprising that any one approach to understanding the descent into violence or to rectifying and returning a country to peace, is doomed to failure without a consideration of the multiplicity of influences that determine those events."⁷² Consequently, they ask: how to assign responsibility for violent acts? How to build steps to repair and rebuild broken ties, broken communities, and broken lives? How to provide a framework to interpret events that arise from multiple causes and in multiple institutions and multiple

69 Joanne Conaghan, "Reassessing the Feminist Theoretical Project in Law," *Journal of Law and Society*, vol. 27 (2000), p. 357.

70 *Ibid.*

71 Laurel E. Fletcher, Harvey M. Weinstein, "Violence and Social Repair: Rethinking the Contribution of Justice to Reconciliation," *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 24, no. 3 (2002), pp. 573-639.

72 Laurel E. Fletcher et al, p. 621.

dimensions?⁷³ Unlike the usage of ecology as environment in eco-feminism and demilitarization, FTJ's use of ecology draws on political psychology, where the very foundations of social systems and relationality are interrogated.⁷⁴ Feminist legal scholars locate the possibilities for social recuperation and healing from collective violence by understanding the pivotal role that historical experiences and trauma play in shaping how individuals or communities could or could not experience 'security' in the world. As a result, these feminist perspectives emphasize the importance of highlighting collective meaning-making processes around violence, community, and belonging as an integral step towards political empowerment.

Lastly, FTJ perspectives can contribute to peace work in Korea in various ways, particularly in their studies on how prior peace processes and agreements have failed to aspire to be more democratic and participatory for women and civil society. They offers insights on how peace treaties and agreements are important not only because these documents legally end war and militarization, thereby reducing conditions for gender and sexual violence, but also as an opportunity to pursue democratization and enhancements of women's rights, a process undermined by militarization and war. As a result, peace agreements and processes are new constitutional and political moments that are an "important starting point in achieving other political, legal and social gains for women," including "complex arrangements for new democratic institutions, human rights and minority protections, and reform or overhaul of security and justice sector institutions."⁷⁵ Consequently, FTJ legislative strategies aspire to contest "power-maps" by re-distributing institutional and social power, and imbuing the legal document with social democratic aspirations for the future.⁷⁶ This strategies are grounded in studies that show how the exclusion of women in political processes and participation is exercised in very mundane ways. An elaboration of this can

73 Laurel E. Fletcher et al, p. 622.

74 Laurel E. Fletcher et al, pp. 573-639.

75 Bell, Christine et al, p. 946-948

76 *Ibid.*

be found in Christine Chinkin's study of how historically peace processes and agreements were held in locations that were far from local communities, making it hard for women to travel and attend.⁷⁷ A FTJ perspective on peace processes helps us visualize how women are disempowered by the absence of legal architecture, infrastructure, and logistics that address their specific needs such as, accessing resources for child-care or care-taking roles or guaranteed protection from sexual perpetrators.⁷⁸ The FSS and FTJ's perspectives that I highlighted in this essay can contribute to conceptualizing a (feminist) praxis for sustainable peace and justice in Korea and beyond. I argue that valuing positive security is a step towards finding ways to collectively divest from the unending Korean War and invest in a political processes that are inclusive, empowering, and safe for women and other marginalized communities. As both FSS and FTJ perspectives show, ending the Korean War with a peace treaty with women's inclusion in the peace process offers one major step towards building a sustainable peace regime on the Korean Peninsula.

Conclusion:

A feminist approach to Korea peace-building, I argue, links the textual absence of women in legal documents, such as the armistice agreement signed in 1953, with the contemporary need to include women in the Korea peace process; it connects the ongoing historical disavowal of the Korean War's impact on Korean women and women diaspora with the U.S. foreign policy on North Korea; and finally, it re-examines how the concept of security in the context of peace on Korea must necessarily heed a feminist agenda. This essay argued that feminist peace-building is meaningful and important for mainstreaming feminist politics at the international, national, and grassroots level, and can become an important starting point for healing and recuperation for

⁷⁷ Christine Chinkin, "Gender, Human Rights, and Peace Agreements," *Ohio State Journal on Dispute Resolution*, vol. 18 (2003), p. 872.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

Korean women and diaspora impacted by 75 years of division and 70 years of war. Like FTJ's ecological approach to transitional justice or FSS's approach to positive security as enabling of others, enhancing public consciousness of women's rights and gender equality in the Korea peace work can be carried out in all areas of grassroots organizing. Lastly, Korea Peace Now! will continue to pave the pathway for young women peace activists advocating for feminist peace work and the end to the Korean War. In the upcoming months, KPN will be releasing a "Path to Peace in Korea" report to address what feminist peace on Korea would look like and also launch a young ambassador's program to address the link between peace and human rights.⁷⁹ Envisioning a feminist Korean peace process in the 21st century should not only presume that radical change is possible, but necessary.

■ Article Received: 4/24 ■ Reviewed: 5/26 ■ Revised: 6/4 ■ Accepted: 6/4

⁷⁹ Passage from Women Cross DMZ Zoom Webinar "Celebrating Women's Movements for Peace in Korea: 5th Anniversary of DMZ Crossing" held on May 22, 2020.

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The Korean Peace System after the Korean War: International Factors and the Current Significance

Ihn-hwi Park*

A state of cease-fire has been maintained on the Korean Peninsula ever since the Korean War ended. Over the past 70 years, the debate on the peace system in the Korean Peninsula has been particularly acute on three distinguishable occasions, right after the Korean War, in the early 1970s, and from the end of the Cold War in the 1990s to the early 2000s. Interestingly, however, when discussions on the peace system on the Korean Peninsula were activated in the past, international political factors have influenced the discourse regarding the peace system. This paper explains in what context the discussion of a peace regime on the Korean Peninsula is linked to international political variables when it occasionally emerged in the past. Moon Jae-in administration's "Denuclearization & Peace Process" has revitalized discussions on institutionalizing peace. However, the contemporary discourse on the peace system is deeply influenced by one particular international political variable, the conflict between the U.S and China. It is indeed very difficult for the Korean government to achieve the goal while influenced by the U.S. and China - countries with much richer diplomatic assets than the two Koreas. Notwithstanding the diplomatic difficulties, however, President Moon Jae-in's "security-security trade-off" should be reviewed as a diplomatic breakthrough. Also, it should be noted that in the early stage of denuclearization, the strategic measures of countries with superiority in military security such as South Korea and the United States must be taken in advance.

Keywords: the Korean War, peace system, denuclearization, international factors, U.S.-China competition

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I. Introduction

Though the format of peace talks on the Korean Peninsula has varied over the decades, the purpose of such discussions has always been the same: to establish permanent and institutional peace on the Korean Peninsula, bringing an end to the state of armistice that has been maintained since 1953. Indeed, the main talking points raised during peace talks and the international political environment in which they have been conducted vary significantly. Although 70 years have passed since the outbreak of the Korean War, South Korean society still holds a strong desire to resolve the security situation on the Peninsula. As such, current President Moon Jae-in implemented a ‘denuclearization and peace process’ strategy with the aim of guaranteeing the North’s security and therefore eliminating the unstable state’s need for nuclear weapon development.¹ With the breakdown of talks between North Korea and the U.S., however, discussions between the two Koreas have also lost momentum.

By reviewing the various peace discussions held to end the Korean War, one can see the clear influence of changes in the international political environment. International political factors during the early Cold War, the detente in the 1970s, and the post-Soviet era influenced the peace talks to a large degree. These days, it is the competition between the U.S. and China that, along with other international factors, influences the Moon administration’s approach to peace talks. Since the collapse of the North Korea-U.S. summit talks, however, there have been no meaningful achievements in terms of inter-Korean relations.² Despite the myriad obstacles, including North Korean nuclear weapons development, peace talks could be brought back on track with a strategy that focuses on addressing external political pressures from the

1 *The Moon Jae-in administration’s National Security Strategy* (Seoul: The Office of National Security of the Republic of Korea, 2018), pp. 41-74.

2 After the collapse of the Hanoi summit between the U.S. and North Korea, there was working-level negotiations in Stockholm on October 2019. The negotiation turned out a failure as well. North Korea has also raised criticism and verbal provocation against South Korea after the beginning of 2020.

international environment.

This paper reviews the course of inter-Korean peace talks to the current era and analyzes the direction in which the Moon administration is pursuing such discussions.³ This paper starts by studying the peace talks that came just after the Korean War before examining efforts in the early 1970s and 1990s. Next, international political variables and their influence on peace talks are placed under the microscope. Following such analysis, this paper looks at the current South Korean government's North Korea policies and the background in which they were designed. This includes an examination of the Moon administration's logic behind addressing North Korea's nuclear development in terms of international politics, as well as a comparison with the efforts of past administrations. In conclusion, the paper suggests avenues for further study in order to reactivate the peace process.

II. Discussions of the Peace System after the Korean War

1. The Korean War and the Peace System

Peace talks first began at the end of the Korean War. It had taken 2 years for North Korea to be brought to the table for armistice talks but, when they did finally occur, negotiations progressed rapidly. This was, in part, due to the election of President Eisenhower and the death of Stalin in March 1953. As the armistice was signed between the United Nations Command, the Korean People's Army, and the Chinese People's Volunteer Army, South Korea was not technically a signatory to the armistice and so, when making future attempts at peace talks, faced

3 The discussion of the peace system on the Korean Peninsula includes many subjects such as peace treaty, ROK-U.S. alliance, divided family, North Korea-U.S. and North Korea-Japan diplomatic normalization, etc. This paper, however, only discusses the question on what the key international factors are behind the appearance of the peace talks between the two Koreas.

criticism from North Korea that it should not be allowed to participate in peace negotiations. This has represented an additional obstacle to South Korea's unification efforts.

The first peace discussions after the Armistice Agreement was signed were held at the 1954 Geneva Conference. Talks were held in Geneva as a stipulation of the original Armistice Agreement, in which it was agreed that peace discussions would be held within 3 months. Though representatives from South Korea, North Korea, and all other third parties to the conflict were in attendance at the conference, the talks ended without any declarations or joint proposals as no consensus could be reached.⁴ Despite this, the 1954 Geneva Conference is still worth studying as it sheds much light on the influence of the international political environment at the time. One such international factor that could be seen at the conference was the First Indochina War. France's earlier withdrawal from the Indochina region had resulted in a dichotomy of imperialism versus local liberation, which came to dominate discourse in the international arena.⁵ In light of what had happened in Indochina, North Korea insisted on the complete withdrawal of foreign troops from the Korean Peninsula as a precondition for the peace process. A peace process conducted in any other manner was construed by North Korean representatives as "imperialist vs. colonial."

The stalemate that characterized the 1954 Geneva Conference had an influence upon the wider international political environment as well. In fact, the Armistice Agreement and the failure of the 1954 Geneva Conference played a large part in solidifying the Cold War dynamic that would characterize international politics for decades to come. This dynamic was further solidified in the 1950s as the United States and the Soviet Union faced off in multiple crises around the world.⁶ During the

4 John L. Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1998), Ch. 2 & 3.

5 *Ibid.*, Ch. 6.

6 Thomas J. McCormick, *America's Half Century: United States Foreign Policy in the Cold War and After* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), pp. 72-90.

Cold War, the term “peace” meant little more than “not being at war.” There was no room for a real peace process to take place on the Korean Peninsula in this international environment, with both the United States and the Soviet Union using the Korean Peninsula as a strategic foothold in Asia.⁷ As South Korea, in turn, became dependent on its military alliance with the United States for much more than just its security, this Cold War framework came to govern South Korean domestic politics as well.

As opposed to governments of other divided nations at the time, such as West Germany under Konrad Adenauer, Taiwan under Chang Kai-shek, and South Vietnam under Ngo Dinh Diem, South Korea under President Syngman Rhee was able to enjoy a much greater degree of autonomy.⁸ Following the end of the Korea War, President Rhee emphasized the Korean Peninsula’s role as the “frontline” of the Cold War in order to secure greater defense support from the United States and, at the same time, strengthen his grip on power domestically.⁹ During this time, President Rhee also forged relations with Japan and Taiwan. Using the Cold War dynamic to his advantage, President Rhee stretched the possibilities of South Korea’s autonomy, though this precluded any attempts at forging peace with North Korea.

2. Peace Discussions in the 1970s

Immediately following the Korean War, the Korea-U.S. Mutual Defense Treaty was signed. Anti-communism was the hallmark of the

7 See Robert Jervis, “The Impact of the Korean War on the Cold War,” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 24, no. 4 (December 1980), pp. 563-592; Chae-jin Lee, *A Troubled Peace: U.S. Policy and the Two Koreas* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), pp. 25-63.

8 See Lorenz Luthi, *The Regional Cold Wars in Europe, East Asia, and Middle East: Crucial Points and Turning Points* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015); Mark Gilbert, *Cold War Europe: The Politics of A Contested Continent* (Lanham, MD: The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2014); Yuan Foong Khong, *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decision of 1965* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

9 Victor Cha, “Powerplay: Origins of the U.S. Alliance System in Asia,” *International Security*, vol. 34, no. 3 (Winter 2010), pp. 158-196.

South Korean liberal democracy while, in North Korea, Kim Il-sung established a single party dictatorship. Taking advantage of the centralized power and aid from Soviet bloc allies, North Korea achieved much greater economic progress than South Korea during this time, convincing many ethnic Koreans residing in Japan to be repatriated to the North, beginning in 1959. After a coup on May 16, 1961, Park Chung-hee came to power in South Korea. With such a political upheaval, it wouldn't be until the early 1970s that discussions regarding peace on the Korean Peninsula would be raised again.

Just as the early structure of the Cold War had influenced the peace talks at the end of the Korean War, the international political environment of the 1970s had a great influence upon the peace discussions held in Korea at the time. Internationally, this was a time of detente. A non-proliferation treaty (NPT) had been signed between the U.S. and the Soviet Union in 1969, the Nixon Doctrine for American forces withdrawing from the Vietnam War was announced that same year, and, in 1972, Nixon visited Shanghai, establishing relations with China. In addition, with the withdrawal of 20,000 U.S. troops from the Korean Peninsula in 1971, there was some semblance of military balance between the two Koreas.¹⁰

Park Chung-hee's move to dissolve the country's constitution in order to allow himself to begin a third consecutive term in power generated much controversy domestically. However, the economic progress achieved during his rule had brought South Korea on par with North Korea. Meanwhile, Kim Il-sung had purged all his domestic opposition in the North and was strengthening the country's offensive military capabilities. The international atmosphere of detente, in fact, acted as an obstacle for the North Korean leader's military ambitions.

President Park Chung-hee declared a "peaceful unification initiative" at a ceremony on August 15, 1970. In the declaration, Park

10 Don Oberdorfer, *The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History* (New York: Basic Books, 2013), Ch. 1 & 2.

Chung-hee proposed friendly economic competition between South and North Korea and proposed creating conditions for peaceful unification through exchanges and cooperation between the two Koreas. The week before, on August 6, 1971, in a welcoming speech for Cambodia's King Sihanouk in Pyongyang, Kim Il-sung announced that he would be willing to meet with South Korean officials without any strings attached.¹¹ Sometime later, dialogue between the two Koreas began in earnest. The two governments continued the talks through mediation by the Red Cross and through official channels as well. Through this cooperation came the historic "7.4 Joint Statement" announced simultaneously by the two Koreas in 1972. The statement agreed on the three principles of "independence, peace, and national unity" as a guide for inter-Korean relations as a whole, though these terms came to be interpreted far differently by both parties.¹²

By analyzing security on the Korean Peninsula under Park Chung-hee's regime, one can ascertain the context for the discussion of peace between the two Koreas in the 1970s and understand how it fit into the international political environment. For Park Chung-hee, inter-Korean dialogue and peace discussions were closely linked to the balance of power between Seoul and Washington.¹³ Judging that South Korea's strategic importance had declined from Nixon's point of view, Park Chung-hee attempted to realize a so-called "big" detente. By stressing the threat of North Korea to the United States, Park attempted to counter the changes that were unfolding in the international political environment, characterized by detente. By raising the North Korean

11 *Ibid*, Ch. 1.

12 Even though the two Koreas' interpretations on these three principals were different, they are the most critical part of the peace system of the Peninsula. "Independence, peace, and national unity" respectably mean a South-North centric approach, peaceful resolution without any military option, and national unification in the end.

13 Oberdorfer, *The Two Koreas*, Ch. 1 & 2; Ihn-hwi Park, (in Korean) "Park Chung-hee's and Kim Dae-jung's Idea on National Interest and the ROK-U.S. Relations: Segmentation or Integration between Alliance and Independence," *The Korean Journal of Area Studies*, vol. 28, no. 1 (2013), pp. 23-46.

threat to the international level, Park was able to gain greater bargaining power in relations with the U.S.¹⁴

3. *The End of the Cold War and International Factors of the Peace System*

The third attempt at peace discussions on the Korean Peninsula occurred in the 1990s. As with the previous two attempts, international political factors played a huge role. These factors included: 1) the end of the Cold War in 1990; 2) the signing of the Geneva Agreement between the United States and North Korea in 1994; and 3) the declaration of the September 19, 2005 Joint Statement. These events, included in the post-Cold War period, had a huge influence upon Korean peace talks.

The forthcoming collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War was viewed in South Korea as a victory over communism on the Korean Peninsula. In South Korean President Roh Tae-woo's "July 7 Declaration" in 1988, North Korea was spoken to as if it were a defeated country. The declaration called for a summit between the leaders of the Koreas with no conditions to be met beforehand. In a speech to the UN General Assembly on October 18, 1988, President Roh vowed to bring an end to the confrontation and establish peace.¹⁵ Working through the UN was very important to inter-Korean peace efforts in the post-Cold War era and seen as vital, given the international impact of the Korean War.¹⁶

To understand the background of the 1994 Geneva Agreement, one must examine the first North Korean nuclear crisis of 1993. To begin with, North Korea's pursuit of nuclear weapons can be interpreted as the result of a collapsing balance between the two Koreas.¹⁷ First of all, the balance

14 *Ibid*, pp. 28-29.

15 President Rho Tae-woo's speech in the UN General Assembly of 1988 was the first speech at the UN as the Korean president since the beginning of the South Korean government in 1948.

16 Regarding the strategic importance of the international recognition, see Christoph Bluth, *Crisis on the Korean Peninsula* (Arlington, VA: Potomac Books, 2011), Ch. 4; Victor Cha, *Alignment Despite Antagonism: the U.S.-Korea-Japan Security Triangle* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000).

17 Kab-woo Koo, "The System of Division on the Korean Peninsula and Building a

between South Korean “economic growth and self-defense” and the North Korean “military-first” approach was falling away. Secondly, the “external balance” of the military alliance between South Korea and the United States and the alliance North Korea had with other socialist countries was falling away as well. Faced with this great imbalance, both globally and on the Korean Peninsula, North Korea placed its survival in the success of its nuclear weapons development program.¹⁸

In regards to the 1994 Geneva Agreement, however, it should be noted that the Geneva Agreement was carried out as a bilateral negotiation between the U.S. and North Korea. Considering the international political environment following the end of the Cold War, the U.S. excluded the South Korean government in resolving the North Korean nuclear issue. After the sudden death of Kim Il-sung in July 1994, during the negotiation process for the Geneva Agreement, the North Korea-U.S. negotiations proceeded quickly, contrary to expectations. After coming to power, Kim Jong-il was guaranteed survival and economic aid by the U.S. in exchange for the destruction of his nuclear weapons program. Kim Jong-il’s option to rely on military forces is interpreted as a strategic choice to ensure the regime’s survival. The Geneva Agreement also included the normalization of ambassador-level relations between North Korea and the United States.¹⁹

Lastly, it is important to highlight the “9.19 Joint Statement” reached at the fourth round of the six-party talks in 2005. As is well known, paragraph 4 of the “September 19 Joint Statement” contains promises to establish a peace regime not only on the Korean Peninsula but also in Northeast Asia.²⁰ It seemed impossible for North Korea and the U.S. to

Peace State,” *Korea Journal*, vol. 46, no. 3 (Autumn 2006), pp. 11-48.

18 Oberdorfer, *The Two Koreas*, Ch. 13; Ihn-hwi Park, “Alliance Theory and Northeast Asia: Challenges on the 60th Anniversary of the Korea-U.S. Alliance,” *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, vol. 25, no. 3 (2013), pp. 320-325.

19 For the specific details of the Geneva Agreed Framework of 1994 see, <<https://www.iaea.org/sites/default/files/publications/documents/infircs/1994/infirc457.pdf>> (date accessed May 1, 2020).

20 For the specific details of the September 19 Joint Statement see, <<http://www>

resume discussions on a peace regime since there had been tension and conflict between the two countries since the Bush administration in 2001. Again, however, international variables had an important impact on the revitalization of discussions. This time it was China that played an important role in bringing peace discussions to the table. Whereas the 1994 Agreed Framework was the product of bilateral negotiations between the U.S. and North Korea, the September 19 Joint Declaration in 2005 was the result of multilateral negotiations in which China's leadership played a prominent role. China was quickly incorporated into the global economic system since its entry into the WTO in 2001 and, at the same time, raised its voice on various international political issues. The Sept. 19 Joint Statement therefore reflects China's effort to dismantle the Cold War structure in Northeast Asia, with China making efforts to emphasize the potential diplomatic relationships between the U.S. and North Korea and North Korea and Japan. It also emphasizes concrete efforts to improve the peace regime on the Korean Peninsula as well as the peace regime in Northeast Asia, accurately recognizing peace regimes on a regional level.

III. Moon Jae-in Administration and the Peace System

1. Moon Jae-in Administration and the "Denuclearization-Peace Process"

With the advent of the Moon Jae-in administration in 2017, the "Denuclearization-Peace process" was promoted as the prominent North Korea policy. The rise of the Moon government with its engagement policy toward North Korea is interpreted as the result of the opposition of South Korean people against the principle-based North Korea policy implemented by the conservative party of the former governments. It is an indicator that shows South Koreans have formed a

mofa.go.kr/www/brd/m_4079/view.do?seq=287161&srchFr=&srchTo=&srchWord=&srchTp=&multi_itm_seq=0&itm_seq_1=0&itm_seq_2=0&company_cd=&company_nm=&page=322 (date accessed May 1, 2020).

consensus that the North Korean issue should be resolved peacefully in the face of prolonged conflict with North Korea. At the center of Moon's strategy is the belief that functionalist approaches taken by former South Korean administrations are ineffective. In addition, the strategy places South Korea at the center of the peace process, rather than relying on the efforts of China or the United States.

The key characteristic of the 'functionalist' approaches taken by past South Korean administrations is that they have been highly transactional in their dealings with North Korea.²¹ The conservative approach labelled either as the "principled North Korea policy" or the "pressure and sanctions North Korea policy" is in a sense common to the progressive approaches, labelled either as the "engagement policy toward North Korea" or the "sunshine policy" in that they are both based upon the concept of trade-offs. This boiled down to providing economic rewards in exchange for nuclear disarmament. In the Geneva Agreement, such a trade-off was agreed to by the United States and North Korea, though the agreement was short-lived. South Korea followed the same transactional model in its dealings with North Korea. For example, liberal governments under Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun called for inter-Korean economic cooperation, social and cultural exchange and cooperation, tours, and the Kaesong Industrial Complex and through this cooperation they expected a spill-over effect. The former conservative governments under Lee Myung-bak and Park Geun-hye presented such policies as the "Non-nuclear Opening 3,000 Policy," "Korean Unification Bonanza," "Dresden Manifesto" and the "Marshall Plan in Korea." These plans all expected North Korea to select economic development in return for giving up nuclear weapon development.

For North Korea to have cooperated with any of these plans, it would have had to have selected economic compensation over its security interests. This choice lies at the heart of all transactional policies

21 Regarding the theoretical discussion of 'functionalism' in international relations see, Ernst Hass, *Beyond the Nation State: Functionalism and International Organization* (Colchester, UK: ECPR Press, 2008).

taken towards the North by South Korea. Therefore, North Korea has traditionally sought ways to bypass South Korea as a negotiating partner in peace talks and responded relatively negatively to Seoul's overtures.

It was against this backdrop that Moon Jae-in introduced peace talks on the Korean Peninsula. Whenever there is an opportunity, North Korea stresses that its nuclear weapons development is a self-defense effort to protect itself from external threats such as the U.S., while also insisting that building trust and normalizing relations between Pyongyang and Washington is the top priority for establishing peace on the Korean Peninsula.²² President Moon Jae-in does seem to understand that the role of the United States is important. Seoul supports dialogue between Washington and Pyongyang, emphasizing its own so-called "mediator role" or "facilitator role" rather than solely pursuing a role at the forefront of negotiations on the North Korean nuclear issue.²³ The revitalization of the peace regime discussions can be seen as a sign that the South Korean government is well aware that the success of negotiations between the U.S. and North Korea is most important towards securing peace on the Korean Peninsula.

A massive obstacle to achieving peace on the Korean Peninsula has been the rivalry between the United States and China. It is therefore important to examine the different views of the U.S. and China on the Korean Peninsula issue. For the U.S., the issue has only become urgent since North Korea has developed the ability to strike the U.S. mainland with intercontinental ballistic missiles. Prior to that, the United States did not view the North Korean nuclear issue with quite as much urgency and implicitly accepted the Korean conflict as the status quo. At the same time, North Korea made efforts to demonstrate to the U.S. that

22 The outcome of the first summit between North and the U.S. in Singapore shows this point clearly. The first clause of the joint statement of the two countries says that "The United States and the DPRK commit to establish new *U.S.-DPRK relations* in accordance with the desire of the population of the peoples of the two countries for peace and prosperity."

23 Min-hyung Lee, "Moon takes cautious approach as 'facilitator'," *The Korea Times*, October 10, 2019.

its military development was designed solely for the context of the Korean Peninsula, so as to not draw out full mobilization of the hegemonic power.²⁴

Though North Korea can damage Chinese national interests and be bothersome to China on the international stage, the Chinese government cannot deny the strategic value that North Korea's existence plays. China has always held that U.S. concessions are the only answer to the North Korean nuclear issue. At the same time, China has called for the United States to end its military threats against North Korea.²⁵ During the Park Geun-hye administration, the THAAD missile crisis led to a deterioration of South Korea-China relations. President Moon, though, seeing the value of China as a participant in Korean peace talks, has tried to improve South Korea-China relations.

In short, the U.S. and China have little motivation for solving the Korean conflict. Maintaining the status quo is favorable for the time being and increased tension over the Korean Peninsula would be seen as an undesirable addition to the U.S.-China rivalry.²⁶ Therefore, President Moon Jae-in has identified cooperation between the U.S. and China as a key external influence upon the Korean peace process.

2. Current Significance of the U.S.-China Rivalry

As can be witnessed in the examples previously discussed, international variables have often impacted Korean peace discussions.

24 Ihn-hwi Park, (in Korean) "Politics of Security and Insecurity on the Korean Peninsula: A Contradictory Connection between Korea-U.S. Relations and North-South Korean Relations," *Korean Journal of Political Science*, vol. 45, no. 2 (Summer 2011), pp. 229-249.

25 Under the name of 'Parallel-Track process,' the Chinese government has insisted the simultaneous stopping of the U.S. military pressures against North Korea and North Korean nuclear development for the constructive denuclearization process on the Korean Peninsula.

26 Sung-han Kim, "Three Trilateral Dynamics in Northeast Asia: Korea-China-Japan, Korea-U.S.-Japan, and Korea-U.S.-China," *International Relations Theory*, vol. 20, no. 1 (Spring 2015), pp. 71-86.

Recently, the aggravating competition between the U.S. and China is limiting the autonomy of the South Korean government in terms of pursuing peaceful inter-Korean relations. Some people may disagree that the current international relations are subject to U.S.-China competition, since there still should be a substantial gap between U.S. national competitiveness and that of China. At the same time it is true that even though there is a wide capability gap between the U.S. and China on a global scale, power competition between the two countries is quite meaningful on the East Asian scale.²⁷

For North Korea, however, tension between the U.S. and China serves to reinforce the country's security position, carving its long-term survival in an era of U.S.-China rivalry.²⁸ North Korea understood the rise of China and the related U.S.-China competition in East Asia as a very attractive security environment for its permanent survival. Intensification of the U.S.-China rivalry and Northeast Asian regional security condition is one of the most critical factors behind the current negotiation process of 2018. North Korea under Kim Jong-un's regime believes that U.S.-China competition in Northeast Asia provides a crucial opportunity for North Korea to strengthen its security position in the region. This is implied in both U.S.-North Korea relations and China-North Korea relations. Kim understands the current international

27 Robert S. Ross and Øystein Tunsjø, *Strategic Adjustment and the Rise of China: Power and Politics in East Asia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017). In particular, many scholars agree that the financial crisis in 2008 was an interesting moment to undertake the idea of G2 in which the U.S. and China began to share the global leadership: see, Joseph S. Nye, "American and Chinese Power after the Financial Crisis," *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 4 (Winter 2010), pp. 143-153.

28 Ihn-hwi Park, "Denuclearization and Peace Process on the Korean Peninsula and Neighboring Countries," *Journal of East Asian Affairs*, vol. 32, no. 2 (Winter 2018), pp. 59-82. For the discussion on the impact of the U.S.-China competition to the countries in the East Asian region see, David Kang and Xinru Ma, "Power Transitions: Thucydides didn't live in East Asia," *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 42, no. 1 (Spring 2018), pp. 137-154; David M. Edelstein, "Cooperation, Uncertainty, and the Rise of China: It's about time," *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 42, no. 1 (Spring 2018), pp. 155-171.

security environmental transition period, which is characterized by fierce competition between the U.S. and China, as an opportunity to enlarge its strategic space for permanent survival. Despite holding summit meetings with the U.S., Kim Jong-un has actively maintained relations with China and has held five recent summit meetings with Xi Jinping. For North Korea, summit meetings with the U.S. can be used as leverage against China and vice versa.

North Korea's military-first strategy may continue to draw the attention and ire of both China and the United States, making successful peace talks all the more unlikely. The North's nuclear development provides a justification for U.S. and Chinese involvement on the Korean Peninsula and will ensure that the Korean Peninsula remains an important sphere of influence for both superpowers. In the future steps of the Moon Jae-in administration's "denuclearization and peace process," both the U.S. and China should do their best to maximize each country's national interest, and in particular the way in which to define 'peace' on the Korean Peninsula could be done differently by the two countries. Playing President Trump and President Xi against each other even further, North Korea is finding a survival strategy through its own summit diplomacy.²⁹

IV. Future Prospects and Key Issues

At the moment, the peace process is stalling. President Moon had hoped to sign an agreement to end the war following the summit between President Trump and Kim Jong-un in June 2018 but, since that time, no progress has been made towards a peace treaty. There are two key issues that will affect future progress:

29 Some people argue that the so-called "Trump Effect" is one of the critical effects for North Korea to see the U.S.-China rivalry as its strategic opportunity. See, David Ignatius, "Trump Gets the Headlines on North Korea. But Keep an Eye on South Korea," *Washington Post*, October 2, 2018.

1. The Problem with the Denuclearization-Peace Strategy

Many experts emphasize denuclearization as a precondition to peace in Korea. Though North Korea does not have a strong enough nuclear arsenal to guarantee its security through “mutually assured destruction,” its ICBM capacity, as demonstrated through the Hwasong 15 test in November 2017, proves problematic.³⁰ North Korea’s tests can be interpreted as political statements to South Korea, the U.S., and the international community. Therefore, President Moon’s responses must also be political in nature. As with all political responses, there must be flexibility. Rather than simply forcing denuclearization, the Moon administration must demonstrate its willingness to respond to North Korean provocations with various measures such as partial sanctions and support of normalized relations between the U.S. and North Korea.³¹ Definition of ‘denuclearization’ is easy to agree, but definition of ‘peace’ is hard to agree.

The U.S. and North Korea must also show similar flexibility for peace talks to succeed. Sanctions, while successful in grabbing the attention of the North Korean regime, have not been proven successful at forcing the regime to give up its nuclear weapons program. For peace talks to go ahead and denuclearization to be achieved, the U.S. must take a different, perhaps more drastic approach. For instance, sanctions against the North Korean economy center on the debate. Policy makers in the U.S. strongly believe that sanction is the most reliable policy option to bring the North to the negotiation table. At the same time, however, some people insist that sanction could keep the North to stay in the negotiation table but never stop the North’s nuclear weapons program.

30 For the discussion of MAD see, Patrick Morgan, *Deterrence Now* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), Ch. 2. For the objective analysis on the North Korea’s nuclear capability see Sigfried S. Hacker, Chaim Braun, and Chris Lawrence, “North Korea’s Stockpiles of Fissile Material,” *Korea Observer*, vol. 47, no. 4 (Winter 2016), pp. 721-749.

31 For the related discussion see, Jihwan Hwang, “Face-Saving, Reference Point and North Korea’s Strategic Assessment,” *Korean Journal of International Studies*, vol. 49, no. 2 (2009).

2. A Competition between the United States and China regarding the Korean Peninsula

As previously explained, the Korean Peninsula can be viewed as a microcosm for global conflict, especially regarding Northeast Asian security. The peace process on the Korean Peninsula is inexorably linked to the U.S.-China rivalry and has the potential to upset the current regional balance of power. Changes to the U.S.-ROK alliance, establishment of diplomatic ties between North Korea and the U.S. or Japan, multilateral security dialogue, and rising U.S.-China tension all have the potential to significantly alter the course of regional security.

Would peace on the Korean Peninsula add to tension between the U.S. and China or deescalate the rivalry? U.S.-China competition can certainly be seen as the key factor in terms of Korean peace talks in the near future. If inter-Korean relations continue to deteriorate, the peace process could add to the tension between the U.S. and China. At the present course and with President Moon's accommodating diplomatic strategy, however, both countries are in favor of peace talks on the Peninsula. It is likely that Korean peace talks will depend upon the ability of China and the U.S. to reach a consensus on the issue. Though China and the U.S. may disagree in areas relating to energy and environmental issues and the South China Sea dispute, cooperation could be achieved in the realm of Korean peace talks.

On the other hand, the peace process on the Korean Peninsula could further fuel the U.S.-China rivalry. Though the tensions have been manageable up until now, a resolution to the Korean security crisis could intensify conflict between the U.S. and China. Disagreement could be had over the future of North Korea's economic growth, its opening, and its new relationships with the U.S. and China. Until now, conflict between the U.S. and China over the Korean peace process has been understated but, should the process progress, formal talks would be needed to resolve the superpowers' differences over the future of the Korean Peninsula.

V. Conclusion

This year marks the 70th anniversary of the outbreak of the Korean War. With the anniversary, sections of South Korean society have argued for a formal end to the war and the beginning of peace. The peace process, however, also may depend upon elements outside of South Korea's control. Besides the issues covered in this paper, there are other issues to contend with such as separated Korean families, the status of the US Forces Korea, U.S.-Japan cooperation, the Northern Limit Line demarcation, and management of the DMZ. All of these issues present obstacles to the progress of peace talks. Therefore, early and decisive political action must be taken by the United States in early negotiations with North Korea.

As explained in this paper, the success and the format of peace talks depends upon the international political environment. The wider international context had a massive impact upon the course of the 1954 Geneva Conference held after the Armistice Agreement as well the course of negotiations in the 1970s and in the 1990s. President Moon Jae-in's current efforts to denuclearize the Peninsula aim to guarantee North Korea's security through commitments by the international community. The current policy also keeps the wider international context in mind, as it factors in the influence of rising U.S.-China tension. Though the rivalry threatens to derail peace talks, it is important to consider it as the chief variable influencing the direction of future discussions.

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Socialization on a Second Track? European Track 1.5 Initiatives with North Korea

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Engaging North Korea in stable structures of international cooperation is among the most pressing challenges of international relations. While the country's formal (Track-1) foreign relations have repeatedly aroused the interest of international research, its informal foreign relations receive far less attention. Building on personal experiences and interviews with other practitioners and organizers, this study addresses the main characteristics as well as the strengths and limitations of European Track-1.5 initiatives with North Korea. It is argued that such European Track 1.5 initiatives are critical in order to facilitate dialogue with North Korea, especially when regular channels of communication are blocked. While these initiatives thus do play a critical complementary role to official dialogue with North Korea, they are faced with a number of challenges and limitations, ranging from a vulnerability to political framework conditions to a set of structural limitations.

Keywords: North Korea, Europe, Track 1.5 Diplomacy, Conflict Resolution, Regional Security

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I. Introduction

Maintaining peace and security on the Korean Peninsula is a task that ultimately requires a comprehensive engagement of North Korea on various levels and with a variety of actors and institutions. While the involvement of both Koreas, the U.S. and China is obvious, the process of transforming the Armistice Agreement into a comprehensive peace regime will require the support of further actors as well. Although Europe's immediate diplomatic clout is limited, there are a number of crucial contributions that can be made to support peace and stability in Korea. In fact, while the EU's North Korea policy, officially labeled as critical engagement, has become ever more restrictive in recent years – implementing the most comprehensive sanctions regime against North Korea currently in place¹ – individual EU member states and academic institutions throughout Europe have made valuable contributions by both sustaining channels of communication with North Korea (often when official dialogue was lacking) and repeatedly acted as facilitators of dialogue and created important spaces for discreet discussions between the DPRK and major conflict parties involved. Despite an increasing significance, however, there is very little documented information about these talks, as they are usually held informally, without media access and conducted under Chatham House rule.² Except in rare cases, even the fact that the talks took place – let alone their subsequent impact – is not made public. Against this background, it is hardly surprising that international scholarship on North Korea has rarely addressed this important issue. Based both on personal observations and experiences as a participant and organizer as well as

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- 1 Eric J. Ballbach, "The end of Critical Engagement: on the failures of the EU's North Korea strategy," *Analyses of the Elcano Royal Institute*, ARI 101/2019, <http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/portal/rielcano_en/contenido?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/elcano/elcano_in/zonas_in/ari101-2019-ballbach-the-end-of-critical-engagement-on-failures-of-eus-north-korea-strategy> (March 22, 2020).
 - 2 The Chatham House Rule originated in June 1927 and was refined in 1992. It states: "When a meeting, or part thereof, is held under the Chatham House Rule, participants are free to use the information received, but neither the identity nor the affiliation of the speaker(s), nor that of any other participant, may be revealed."

on interviews with other Track 1.5 organizers and practitioners, this study aims to provide a first approach to the phenomenon of European Track-1.5 initiatives with North Korea. The primary objective of this paper is therefore not on the individual motives of the parties involved, but rather to elaborate on the main characteristics of European Track-1.5 initiatives with North Korea as well as on their main strengths and the central challenges and limitations of these initiatives.

II. What is Track 2 and Track 1.5 Diplomacy?

While the term is used frequently among security experts, diplomats and academics, 'Track 2' and 'Track 1.5' are elusive concepts that defy any straightforward and easy definitions. At the same time, however, many attempts have been made over the years to approach the term and underlying concept of Track 2. These definitions have focused either on the specifics of the activities themselves, on the actors constituting the respective processes, on the different types of Track 2 / Track 1.5 processes or their place in the larger negotiation processes, among others.³ Given the lack of a common understanding, the terms Track 2 and Track 1.5, as used today, "cover[s] a myriad of different kinds of dialogues"⁴ – describing very different methods, objectives, participants, forms of organization and degrees of institutionalization. It is therefore essential to clarify how the term is understood in the following, whereby the distinction between Track-2 and Track-1.5 in particular is essential.

It is widely agreed upon that the term Track-2 was coined by Joseph Montville to denote unofficial conflict resolution dialogues. He defined Track-2 diplomacy as "unofficial, informal interaction between members of adversary groups or nations that aim to develop strategies, influence

3 Peter Jones, *Track Two Diplomacy in Theory and Practice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), pp. 7-8.

4 George P. Shultz, "Foreword," in *Track Two Diplomacy in Theory and Practice*, ed. Peter Jones (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), pp. xi.

public opinion, and organize human and material resources in ways that might help resolve their conflict.”⁵ The concept of Track-2 diplomacy is thus first and foremost to be distinguished from traditional official diplomacy, or Track-1 diplomacy.⁶ From a historical perspective, then, Track-2 activities were long conducted before the term was even coined. For example, the unofficial Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, a conference for scientists established in 1957 to assess the dangers of nuclear weapons and discuss strategies for nuclear disarmament, or the Dartmouth Conferences (first held in 1960) that covered U.S.-Soviet Union relations more broadly, are often described as leading examples of Track-2. Both of these conferences are characterized by two features that are still deemed central to (the success of) Track-2. Firstly, the conferences provided a crucial space for consultations among influential individuals to discuss issues of peace and security – often at times when official consultations were hard to realize. Secondly, they produced fresh ideas and provided crucial background work that (later) featured prominently in subsequent Arms Control Agreements such as the Partial Test Ban Treaty (1963), the Non-Proliferation Treaty (1968), the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (1972), the Biological Weapons Convention (1972), and the Chemical Weapons Convention (1993). The first acknowledged case of a modern Track-2 endeavor was initiated in the mid-1960s by former Australian diplomat John Burton and his colleagues at the University College London. Aiming to help resolve a boundary dispute between the newly independent countries of

5 Joseph V. Montville, “Track Two Diplomacy: The Arrow and the Olive Branch: A Case for Track Two Diplomacy,” in *The Psychodynamics of International Relations (Vol. 2): Unofficial Diplomacy at Work*, ed. Vamik D. Volkan, Joseph V. Montville and Demetrios A. Julius (Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1991), p. 162.

6 While this differentiation is straightforward, it naturally implies that Track-2 is still to be regarded as diplomacy, which, in most cases, it is simply not. Track-2 practitioners are no diplomats – and even if they did or still do hold a diplomatic position, they do not act in an official diplomatic capacity when performing Track-2. Track-2 activities are thus no substitute for Track-1 diplomacy, but rather are intended to provide a bridge to or complement official Track-1 negotiations (cf. Hussein Agha, Shai Feldman, Ahmad Khalidi and Zeev Schiff, *Track II Diplomacy: Lessons from the Middle East* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003)).

Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia, they established a series of workshops with influential non-officials of the respective countries to explore the causes and underlying aspects of the dispute(s) and developing potential solutions. At the heart of Burton's method of 'controlled communication' was the conduct of informal, unofficial workshops chaired by a neutral third party who facilitated the conflict parties' mutual analysis of problems with the aim of helping them develop solutions that were not apparent through traditional diplomatic techniques.⁷ The results of these informal consultations were then transmitted to their governments and were subsequently incorporated into a set of crucial agreements between the countries.

Drawing on Burton's ideas, Herbert Kelman, who initiated the longest-running informal dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians, defined his "interactive problem solving" method as

"an academically based, unofficial third-party approach, bringing together representatives of parties in conflict for direct communication. The third party typically consists of a panel of social scientists who, between them, possess expertise in group processes and international conflict, and at least some familiarity with the conflict region. The role of the third party (...) differs from that of the traditional mediator. Unlike many mediators, we do not propose (...) solutions. Rather, we try to facilitate a process whereby solutions will emerge out of the interaction between the parties themselves. The task of the third party is to provide the setting, create the atmosphere, establish the norms, and offer the occasional interventions that make it possible for such a process to evolve."⁸

The reference to the role of the third party is crucial to the discussion that follows, as they typically do not act as mediators and usually avoid pushing their own ideas, but rather take the role of facilitators that aim

7 John W. Burton, *Conflict and Communication: The Use of Controlled Communication in International Relations* (New York: The Free Press, 1969).

8 Herbert C Kelman, "Interactive Problem Solving as a Tool for Second Track Diplomacy," in *Second Track/ Citizens' Diplomacy: Concepts and Techniques for Conflict Transformation*, ed. John Davies, Edy Kaufman and Edward Kaufman (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), p. 82.

at helping the conflict parties to move beyond the mere exchange of official government positions and examine the roots of their disputes. Naturally this requires a process of ongoing interactions under controlled circumstances, key to which are the rules of the meetings to which the participants agree beforehand.

Since the 1960s and 1970s, a number of scholars and practitioners have contributed to the further development and refinement of the term and concept of Track-2. For example, Ron Fisher's "Interactive Conflict Resolution"⁹ model (1993) and Diamond and McDonald's (1996) concept of "multi-track diplomacy"¹⁰ both showed that Track-2 processes can have very different audiences and that such processes must not be reduced to the hitherto common portrayal of dialogues among "influential people." Rather, as peace is not made between elites only, a broader level of interaction may be vital depending on the conflict.

A crucial expansion of the general concept of Track-2 was made in the 1990s by Susan Nan and others, who have introduced the notion of Track-1.5, referring to a growing number of initiatives that are situated between the official (Track-1) and the unofficial (Track-2) level. Nan defines Track-1.5 as "diplomatic initiatives that are facilitated by unofficial bodies, but directly involve officials from the conflict in question."¹¹ Mapendere further clarifies that Track-1.5 aims "to influence attitudinal changes between the parties with the objective of changing

9 Ronald J. Fisher, "Developing the Field of Interactive Conflict Resolution: Issues in Training, Funding and Institutionalization," *Political Psychology*, vol. 14, no. 1 (1993), pp. 123-138.

10 Diamond and McDonald distinguish nine tracks of peacemaking activities, i.e. government, professional conflict resolution, business, private citizens, research, training and education, peace activism, religion, funding and media, and public opinion. See Louise Diamond and John McDonald, *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace* (Conneticut: Kumarian Press, 1996), p. 15.

11 Susan A. Nan, "Track One-and-a-Half Diplomacy: Contributions to Georgian-South Ossetian Peacemaking," in *Paving the Way*, ed. Ronald J. Fisher (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2005), p. 165.

the political power structures that caused the conflict.”¹² While Track-1.5 involves officials, they usually participate in such dialogues in a ‘private capacity’ and often rely on (unofficial) third parties to facilitate the process as a non-official dialogue, often in strict secrecy. Due to the involvement of government officials, Track-1.5 dialogues are therefore often much closer to official diplomatic processes and/or decision-makers. As Jones aptly puts it: “Track One and a Half is the closest that unofficial dialogues get to official diplomacy.”¹³ Most cases of unofficial dialogue with authoritarian states are therefore more fittingly understood as Track-1.5 initiatives, for the representatives of these countries are conventionally attached to their respective foreign ministry, defense ministry or other governmental institutions.¹⁴ In fact, understanding how close any given activity below the Track-1 is to official diplomacy has been among the recurring themes in attempts to define Track-2 and Track-1.5. This is indeed a very sensitive issue and, as will be discussed further below, a close proximity of Track-1.5 or Track-2 dialogues to official diplomacy can be enormously beneficial in some cases, while being perceived as harmful in others. Another important debate relates to the subject matter of the respective dialogues. While conflict resolution is a central theme of many Track-2 dialogues, a number of unofficial dialogues are focused more generally on exploring new approaches to a multitude of policy-relevant issues. These may include dialogues aimed at building new norms, and discussions of regional security or specific steps to peace and security building.

12 Jeffrey Mapendere, “Track One and a Half Diplomacy and the Complementarity of Tracks,” *Culture of Peace Online Journal*, vol. 2, no. 1 (2000), p. 69.

13 Jones, *Track Two Diplomacy in Theory and Practice*, pp. 19-20.

14 As Track 1.5 meetings often involve official participants from the countries in question, this type of diplomacy is also described as “hybrid diplomacy,” because it ultimately is a mixture between Track 1 and Track 2.

III. North Korea's Participation in Security-Related Track-1.5/II Initiatives: An Overview

Despite the widely held belief of an overall isolated state, expressed most commonly by the label of the “hermit kingdom,” North Korea is embedded in a multilayered and complex web of bilateral and multilateral structures of interactions. These structures encompass official and unofficial channels of dialogue on different levels, with different actors and institutions involved, different forms of organization, different degrees of institutionalization as well as different objectives. Within this complex web of interactions, North Korea's multilateral relations to international organizations and institutions have come to play an ever more crucial role.¹⁵ While North Korea has more broadly participated with international organizations ever since the 1970s, Pyongyang's increasing engagement with security-related Track-1.5 structures are a comparably new phenomenon in the country's foreign policy canon. However, since the end of the Cold War, the mere number of such Track-1.5 initiatives in which North Korea did or still does participate successively increased – and European Track-1.5 initiatives with North Korea have played an increasingly important albeit mostly overlooked role. Against this background, the remainder of this chapter first provides a broader overview on security-related Track-1.5/II dialogues with North Korea, before the different arrangements of these dialogues are discussed.

1. North Korea and Security-Related Track-1.5/II Dialogues: A Genesis

Since the outbreak of the long-running North Korean nuclear crisis over a quarter-century ago, Track 1.5 dialogues and people-to-people exchanges between North Korea and the international community, and

15 Eric J. Ballbach, “Engaging North Korea in International Institutions: The Case of the ASEAN Regional Forum,” *International Journal of Korean Unification Studies*, vol. 26, no. 2 (2017), pp. 35-65.

particularly the U.S., have, at times, played a significant role in getting official negotiations on track, sending diplomatic signals, and regularizing interactions between North Korean officials and international experts. While international experts have visited North Korea before the 1990s, tangible Track-1.5 contacts between North Korea and the outside world only began to take place on a regular basis as the Cold War was coming to a close. As the first North Korean nuclear crisis unfolded in the early 1990s, unofficial talks and back-channel messages played an important role, often complementing official talks, e.g. through the “New York Channel” – the DPRK Mission to the United Nations. For instance, in 1993, a North Korean delegation attended the first meeting of the Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD) – an annual Track 1.5 multilateral forum which convened the U.S., China, Russia, Japan, and the two Koreas, although North Korean diplomats did not resume attendance at NEACD meetings until 2002. At the same time, North Korean diplomats did regularly attend meetings convened by the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP) and worked with renowned international think tanks, such as the Atlantic Council, to send occasional delegations abroad.

Amidst revelations of a secret North Korean uranium enrichment program and the collapse of the Agreed Framework in 2002, North Korean engagement with Track-II and Track-1.5 interlocutors further increased, for these unofficial dialogues repeatedly helped jumpstart and/or complemented official negotiations. For instance, during the Six Party process (2003-2008), the multilateral format designed to address the North Korean nuclear challenge, Track-1.5/II dialogues frequently provided the opportunity to complement official negotiations with unofficial discussions in a less rigid format. In specific terms, the annual NEACD conferences, whose makeup mirrors that of the Six Party Talks, provided the opportunity for officials to engage in informal side conversations. Moreover, a series of Track-1.5/II conferences jointly organized by The National Committee on American Foreign Policy (NCAFP) and The Korea Society brought North Koreans to New York for discussions with prominent American foreign policy experts, and

occasionally included U.S. officials participating in an unofficial capacity.

In other occasions, these Track-1.5 talks helped kickstart official dialogue, or at least allowed both North Korean diplomats as well as representatives from other participating countries to refine their negotiating positions. An NCAFP meeting convened in the summer of 2005, for example, achieved – in the words of Han Songryol, then the DPRK’s Ambassador to the UN – a “decisive breakthrough for the resumption of the nuclear six-party talks,” leading to the September 19, 2005 statement on the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. Track-1.5 dialogue also helped the Six Party Talks get back on track in the spring of 2007, after U.S. financial sanctions imposed in response to North Korean illicit financial activities and North Korea’s subsequent first nuclear test had led to a breakdown in negotiations.¹⁶

In the absence of sustained official dialogue between the U.S. and North Korea since the collapse of the Six Party Talks (apart for the talks leading to the Leap Day Deal), Track-1.5/dialogues have continued to serve as a mechanism for communication and information gathering. These talks have more recently often been held throughout Europe and Asia, both in the form of regular conferences and especially in an ad hoc format.

2. *The Different Arrangements of Track 1.5 Dialogues with North Korea*

There are numerous Track 1.5 dialogues throughout Europe and Asia involving North Korean representatives. While there naturally are a number of intersections, there are also considerable differences between them, e.g. with regard to their thematic focus, their personnel composition, or their degree of institutionalization. Another important

16 Lee, Karin J, “The DPRK and Track II Exchanges,” *NCNK Newsletter*, vol. 1, no. 6, November 6, 2008, <<http://www.ncnk.org/resources/newsletter-content-items/ncnk-newsletter-vol-1-no-6-the-dprk-and-track-ii-exchanges/>> (date accessed March 22, 2020).

difference is the respective dialogues' organizational structure, and we may distinguish between conference-type Track 1.5 dialogues from more exclusive, informal initiatives.

Conference-type Track 1.5 dialogues are usually held in a larger, conference-like setting, not necessarily but often in the form of (bi-) annual gatherings. Typical examples for such conference-like Track 1.5 dialogues involving North Korean officials are the biannually held General Conferences of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific¹⁷ and the annual meetings of the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue on Northeast Asian Security.¹⁸ At these comparatively large gatherings, a

17 Founded in 1993 with the objective of initiating a multilateral process of security cooperation below the formal Track 1 level, CSCAP was established to contribute to regional confidence-building by strengthening dialogue, consultation and cooperation on the issue of regional security among experts, officials and others in a private capacity, as well as to formulate policy recommendations for various international and regional organizations and institutions. Primarily, membership in CSCAP is based on the participation of experts from renowned research institutions and consists of national membership committees (NMCs) composited from single countries and/or regions (cf. Dirk Strothmann, *Das ASEAN Regional Forum: Chancen und Grenzen regionaler Sicherheitskooperation in Ostasien* (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2012), p. 137). While CSCAP aims at disseminating a cooperative security approach and innovative ideas, the member committees differ at times significantly with regard to their respective interest, norms and worldviews. With its distinct organizational structure consisting of a steering committee, specific sub committees, a secretariat, the NMCs, and a number of working and study groups, CSCAP is the most densely institutionalized security-related Track-1.5 process in East Asia. The significance of the security dialogue within CSCAP primarily arises from the issuance of tangible confidence-building measures such as the publication of annual outlooks on the respective national security policies of the member states or the passage of recommendations and cooperation guidelines. Moreover, CSCAP is a vivid example for the creation of 'epistemic communities' (cf. Peter M. Haas, "Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination," *International Organization*, vol. 46, no. 1 (1992), pp. 1-35).

18 The UB Dialogue emerged from the 2008 conference on "Security Perspectives of Central and Northeast Asia: Ulaanbaatar as a New Helsinki," organized by the (foreign ministry affiliated) "Institute for Strategic Studies." The UB Dialogue was first held in 2014 and is based on three interrelated objectives: the establishment of an institutionalized dialogue mechanism in Northeast Asia as a building block to achieve the long-term objective of regional peace; to increase mutual understanding and regional cooperation (both through the annual conference and further initiatives such as the "NEA

rather broad spectrum of topics is discussed, often concerning different aspects of regional security. It is important to note that while the developments on the Korean Peninsula are among the important topics discussed, these initiatives are not limited to said issues.

North Korea has participated since 1994 in CSCAP-related events via the “Institute for Disarmament and Peace.” In its interaction with CSCAP, North Korea focused its attention on the biennially held General Conference, which constitutes an international forum enabling the exchange among high-ranking officials and security experts from the Asia-Pacific region on relevant security issues. In the context of the General Conference, North Korean representatives frequently participated in both formal and informal meetings, thereby seizing on the opportunity to present its own views and perspectives on the security-related developments and challenges in the East Asian region. For instance, in 2003, a North Korean representative used one of the few opportunities at that time to transmit to the other participants Pyongyang’s own view regarding the intensifying nuclear conflict. On the other hand, North Korea’s participation in CSCAP time and again revealed the immediate influence of the national government in Pyongyang on the DPRK’s member committee, for the delegates solely expressed official government positions in the nuclear conflict without putting forward new ideas or room for maneuvering. Besides its participation in the General Conference and the contributions to the ‘Annual Security Outlook,’ North Korean representatives participate,

Mayors Forum” or the “NEA Youth Symposium,” among others); and contributing to tangible confidence-building in the region, especially with regards to the reduction of military tensions between the states. The UBD focuses on topics and issues of common regional interest and bases its modus operandi on the principles of mutual respect, trust, multilateralism, openness, and transparency. Beyond the core states of East Asia – China, Russia, Mongolia, Japan, North Korea, and South Korea as well as the U.S. – the UBD also involves representatives from further regions as well as from regional and international organizations such as the U.N. or the E.U. Against this background, the UBD constitutes a Track-1.5 process which comprises of government officials, diplomats, and scholars and that aims at tangible security cooperation and consultation in the following issue-areas: Traditional Security Issues, Non-Traditional Security Issues, Energy Connectivity, Infrastructural Development, and Environmental Protection.

albeit intermittently, in (some of) CSCAP's working groups/study groups. For instance, representatives from the DPRK participated in the study groups on "Preventive Diplomacy" (2013), "Regional Security Architecture" (2013-2014), "Countering the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Asia-Pacific" (2005-2014), and "Nonproliferation and Disarmament in the Asia-Pacific" (2014-2017).

Between 2014 and 2018, North Korea participated annually at the UBD and uses the rather open format both for statements and presentations in the domain of traditional security issues as well as for informal side-line consultations. In the ensuing debates, North Korean representatives do use their right of rebuttal. However, the UBD not only provides a space for formal consultations within the realm of the annual conferences, but also allows for informal contacts on the sidelines of the event. The fact that the conference is held within the premises of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs already suggests those intentions. For example, demonstrating the political significance of the 5th round of the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue, informal meetings between representatives of Japan and North Korea took place on the sidelines of the conference. According to reports in the Japanese press, after that meeting, Taro Kono, the Japanese Foreign Minister, announced in a press conference in Tokyo that Japan would seek opportunities to set up direct contacts with North Korea, so that the Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe could hold meetings with Kim Jong Un. This is also reflected in the composition of North Korea's delegation. While the North Korean delegations at the UBD are in flux, they usually comprise representatives from the Institute for Disarmament and Peace as well as officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the North Korean embassy in Ulaanbaatar. Moreover, sideline events of the UBD also allow for informal consultations with other participants – an opportunity which is regularly seized upon by North Korean representatives at the UBD.

Exclusive, Informal Dialogues

Besides such conference-type Track-II dialogues, North Korea also

participates in informal, non-institutionalized, and often more exclusive dialogues. In fact, the security-related Track 1.5 dialogues in Europe are usually organized in this more exclusive format. Compared to the conference-like Track 1.5 dialogues involving North Korean officials, the more exclusive dialogues usually differ both in terms of a usually narrower and more specified set of issues, such as C(S)BMs, risk-reduction or regional security, and with regard to its format and organizational structure that may be held ad-hoc or in a more institutionalized setting. Overall, European Track-1.5 initiatives with North Korea have more recently taken place in Geneva, Oslo, Madrid, Helsinki, and Stockholm, among others. As these discussions are generally conducted on the basis of the Chatham House rule, the results are usually not conveyed to the public. Moreover, such informal ad hoc dialogues also vary with regard to the respective topics discussed, the participants, and the objectives linked to them. While conference-type dialogues conventionally address a broader set of issues and topics, informal dialogues tend to discuss a more confined set of issues in a much narrower thematic focus, such as particular military and/or political confidence-building measures. Rather, such informal dialogues often aim at an open, yet intensive exchange of ideas regarding specific topics or sets of topics, such as decided steps to confidence-building.

IV. European Track-1.5 Initiatives with North Korea

1. General Characteristics of European Track-1.5 Initiatives with North Korea

European Track-1.5 activities with North Korea, while differing in their respective objectives, personnel constitution, and degree of institutionalization, share some key characteristics, as is shown in Table 1.

<Table 1> Major European Track 1.5 Initiatives with North Korea

Country	Official nature of meeting	Participants	North Korean participants (level)
Finland	Explores approaches to building confidence and reducing tensions on the Korean Peninsula	NK diplomats, former U.S. and South Korean officials and academics, observers from the United Nations and Europe	Choe Kang Il, a deputy director general for North American affairs at North Korea’s foreign ministry
Sweden	Regional security issues, confidence and security building	NK diplomats, European experts, supplemented occasionally by U.S. experts and observers from regional and /or international institutions and organizations such as the EU or the UN	Vice Foreign Minister level, Korea Europe Association
	CBMs	Experts and government figures from South and North Korea, sometimes also from the U.S., Japan or China	Institute for Disarmament and Peace
Spain	Regional security	NK diplomats, experts from Europe, South Korea, China, Russia, Japan, observers from EU	Vice Foreign Minister level, Korea Europe Association, Institute for Disarmament and Peace
Switzerland	Regional security	Bilateral dialogue and annual conference (Zermatt roundtable)	Institute for Disarmament and Peace

European Track-1.5 processes with North Korea are, for the most part, not organized in large conference-type settings, but are usually conducted as rather exclusive, informal dialogues typically facilitated by an impartial third party, often a think tank or, less common, a university institution. While the personnel composition might differ, these dialogues usually bring together North Korean representatives (typically from the Institute for Disarmament and Peace¹⁹ or the Korea-Europe

19 According to information provided by the DPRK’s Foreign Ministry, the Institute for Disarmament and Peace (IDP) is a policy research institute under the Ministry and

Association²⁰) with academics from Europe and other countries of the Northeast Asian region. Officials from European countries and/or international organizations such as the EU or the U.N. are frequently invited to participate in these dialogue initiatives as well – albeit they usually do so in a private capacity or as observers. Though these dialogues are unofficial in the sense that the participants, apart from the North Koreans, do not officially represent their respective country or institution, the involved participants usually do have access to decision-makers at home. And in most European Track-1.5 exercises there is in fact an essential understanding that the attendees, upon return, will brief authorities. Track-1.5 dialogues therefore simultaneously constitute an informal, back-channel method for communications, while providing everyone involved with “an elegant protective layer of ‘plausible deniability’” (Zuckerman 2005: 5-6). For government officials participating in a private capacity, Track-1.5 dialogues enable them to present “personal views that are not necessarily authorized by government (...) [which] allows for some degree of candor.”²¹ In a limited number of cases, European Track-1.5 meetings with North Korea involved more high-ranking decision-makers from the concerned

studies ways for achieving disarmament, peace, and security on the Korean Peninsula and on regional and worldwide basis, and makes policy recommendations in this regard, organizes and conducts academic exchanges on an international scale, as a member of the “Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region,” focuses on promoting the process of peace and disarmament in Asia, and exchanges experiences and information on disarmament, peace, and security affairs with its foreign counterparts. The Institute for Disarmament and Peace consists of the Disarmament Division, the Peace and Security Division, the Reunification Division and the External Affairs Division.

20 The Korea-Europe Association is a ‘civil organization sponsored by the MoFA. The mission of KEA is to “realize interchange and cooperation with the European policy study institutes and civil organs in the domain of media, education, culture, art, sports, etc., promote exchange of views on major international issues including situations of Europe and Northeast Asia, and provide advisory service for making policies in the areas concerned. The Association involves sitting and former officials from various fields, and it is composed of the sections of respective relevant fields” (DPRK, Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

21 Michael J. Zuckerman, “Track II Diplomacy: Can ‘Unofficial’ Talks Avert Disaster?,” *Carnegie Reporter*, vol. 3, no. 3 (2005), p. 6.

parties, as was the case with the unofficial meeting in January 2019 in Sweden. Overall, European Track-1.5 initiatives have contributed to the development of a community of experts who are engaged in discussing new approaches to regional security and confidence- and trust-building and debate, in detail, what contributions European countries and /or the EU can make in this regard.

While the overall thematic orientation and the respective aims of European Track-1.5 dialogues with North Korea differ, they share the main objective of opening new or maintaining existing channels of communication with North Korea. Hence, we might state that European Track-1.5 dialogues with North Korea are especially important in times when official relations are blocked, i.e. when there are few other and in some cases no means of communicating. While these dialogues also involve the discussion of current positions of the conflicting sides, they usually aim at moving beyond the mere debate of official positions. Rather, most of these dialogues are designed as one- or two-day workshops in which the participants are given the opportunity to step back from official positions. This allows for the exploration of the underlying causes of the dispute in the hope of jointly developing alternative ideas, thereby fostering, over time, a changed perception of the conflict and the “other.” Against this background, many European Track-1.5 dialogues with North Korea are designed as ongoing processes rather than “one-off” meetings.²² All of these meetings, while not exactly secret, are conducted quietly and informally. This is done to create an atmosphere within which “outside-the-box” thinking can flourish and participants are not afraid to propose and explore ideas that could not be entertained by an official process or by one where exchanges might be repeated in the press.

22 While ad hoc Track-1.5 meetings do occur, as was the case in January 2019 in Sweden, these are built on the success of previous and continuous engagement initiatives on the Track 1.5 level.

2. Main Strengths of European Track-1.5 Initiatives with North Korea

It is among the major strengths of European Track-1.5 initiatives with North Korea that they are often successful in opening new and sustaining existing channels of communication with North Korea, thus providing a critical space for dialogue with Pyongyang. In so doing, European Track-1.5 initiatives with North Korea both opened and sustained direct channels of communication between European academic institutions and the DPRK and have repeatedly facilitated unofficial dialogue between academics and officials of the Northeast Asian region. It has been acknowledged by numerous Track-1.5 organizers and practitioners that the European dialogues facilitated with North Korea gained a particular significance in times when official Track-1 dialogue channels with North Korea are blocked or restricted, when Track-1.5 processes serve as a bridge for allowing direct communication among states that do not have formal relations on the official Track-1 level or when the relations of the involved parties are locked in a confrontational relation, in which official Track-1 dialogue might not be realized due to political opposition. In such circumstances, European Track-1.5 dialogues regularly offer an alternate route to the continuation of the discussion of pressing issues when official routes are blocked. While European Track-1.5 initiatives with North Korea are in no way a substitution for official Track-1 negotiations, such processes can and repeatedly did play a critical complementary role, and they are particularly useful in “hard cases such as North Korea or Iran” in order to facilitate communication where and when regular channels of communication are closed or non-existent.²³ For example, following North Korea’s expansion of both missile and nuclear testing activities since 2015 and the subsequent expansion of the international community’s sanctions regime against North Korea, official dialogue with the DPRK by and large broke down. Although several informal Track-1 meetings between North Korea and the USA and between North and South Korea continued to take place after 2008, the dialogue

²³ Zuckerman, “Track II Diplomacy,” p. 6.

between the reunification ministers of the two Koreas in January 2018 was the first formal meeting between the two Koreas since December 2015. The last official meeting between North Korea and the US before the resumption of the dialogue on the two secret services in 2018 took place within the framework of the negotiations of the so-called Leap Day Agreement. In 2015, furthermore, the EU halted the political dialogue with North Korea originally established in 1998 and only a few European countries made efforts to continue (bilateral) dialogue with North Korea outside the framework of the EU. In this particular context, European think tanks and university institutions played a crucial role in sustaining existing and opening new channels of communication with North Korea. Moreover, European Track-1.5 dialogues have repeatedly provided an informal space for (semi-) formal Track-1 consultations between North Korean officials and their counterparts from other countries, as is illustrated in Table 2.

<Table 2> Major Meetings Facilitated by Europe

Country	Time	Official nature of meeting	Major Participants	Remarks
Norway	May 2017	Explore bilateral issues between U.S. and North Korea	Choi Son Hui, Vice Foreign Minister of the DPRK, diplomats, former officials and scholars from SK and U.S.	First direct consultations between North Korea and the U.S. following the election of Donald Trump
Sweden	January 2019	Discussion of issues concerning security developments on the Korean peninsula, including confidence building, economic development and long-term engagement	Choi Son Hui, Vice Foreign Minister of the DPRK, Stephen Biegun, U.S. Special Representative for North Korea, and Lee Do-hoon, Special Representative for Korean Peninsula Peace and Security Affairs	First working-level consultations between North Korea and the U.S. since resumption of dialogue in 2018
	October 2019	Exploring possibility for finding common ground between U.S. demands for North Korea's complete and verified denuclearization and Pyongyang's demands for sanctions relief and security guarantees	Kim Myong Gil and Stephen Biegun	First formal working-level discussion since Hanoi summit between U.S. President Donald Trump and North Korean leader Kim Jong Un

While the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) in Sweden has carried out informal Track-1.5 initiatives with North Korea for a number of years, in 2019, these endeavors provided the space for a more high-ranking dialogue initiative directly facilitated by the Swedish Foreign Ministry. The meeting, which brought together high-ranking officials from North Korea, South Korea, the U.S., and European experts, and which was jointly organized by SIPRI and the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, constituted the first working-level meeting between the envoys of the U.S. (Stephen Biegun), North Korea (Choe Son Hui), and South Korea (Lee Do-hoon). Moreover, a Track-1.5 meeting held in Oslo in May 2017 provided the framework for the first official discussions between the new Trump administration and North Korean government representatives in Oslo in May 2017. The informal discussions between Joseph Yun, then special representative in the U.S. State Department, and Choi Son Hui, Chairwoman of the influential America Bureau in the DPRK's foreign ministry, paved the way for further discussions via the New York channel in June 2017, which ultimately allowed for the consultations that lead to the release of U.S. student Otto Warmbier.

It is noteworthy the Track-1.5 initiatives in both the case of Norway and Sweden have been supported by the respective Foreign Ministries. This goes to show that, if supported by the respective government of the organizing third party, European Track-1.5 initiatives can, and by all means repeatedly did, serve as a facilitator for official Track-1 diplomacy among the main conflict parties. While Europe's limited influence on hard security issues in Northeast Asia may be considered a shortcoming, it is precisely the fact that European countries are not considered as strategic powers that allow European actors to serve as facilitators of dialogue with North Korea – and Track 1.5 initiatives play a crucial role in this regard. In fact, several officials from the conflict parties that participated in European Track-1.5 initiatives, including those from the U.S. and North Korea, acknowledged how useful these can be. Among others, the officials emphasized the role of the participating European experts and officials in contributing to the discussions, allowing issues to

be probed and questions to be raised that the participating officials from the main conflict parties could respond to. While no one expects that any government official (even when participating in a private capacity) would stray too far from official positions, European Track-1.5 dialogues certainly provide a space for the participating representatives to discuss certain ideas, options, and concepts more freely. As such, on the most basic level, European Track-1.5 dialogues (can) help the participants to better understand the policies and perspectives of the involved parties as well as of European countries. In this regard it was pointed out by a number of European Track-1.5 practitioners with North Korea that the respective initiatives can serve as laboratories for the development and testing of new ideas, “offering new inputs, impressions, ideas for consideration.”²⁴ Given their informality and the fact that they are usually private, not governmental initiatives, new concepts or specific proposals can be debated without officials having to commit. While on the one hand no binding decisions are made in such discussions, it is precisely due to the suitable institutional design of such dialogues that allows all participants to gain full benefits from incorporating itself into Track-1.5. In the best case, Track-1.5 processes can serve as a mechanism for the development of policy advice to governments, particularly with regard to new issues or longer-term questions that require a continuous discussion. European Track-1.5 initiatives can thus also serve as a kind of “reserve of intellectual capacity.”²⁵

Aside from the discussion of new ideas, European Track-1.5 dialogues involving North Korean officials time and again served as crucial mechanisms for information-gathering, to determine red lines, hint at upcoming actions by the respective governments or float trial balloons, and convey certain messages when other lines of communication were blocked. For example, following the election of Donald Trump, when official Track-1 dialogue with the U.S. was non-existent, North Korean representatives have repeatedly used their participation in informal dialogue processes in Europe, which regularly

24 Zuckerman, “Track II Diplomacy,” p. 7.

25 Jones, *Track Two Diplomacy in Theory and Practice*, p. 28.

involve U.S. experts as well, to gain information on the policy positions of the incoming Trump administration. On the other hand, international participants have been able to probe North Korea's positions in more depth and to assess what might be realistically expected from pursuing Track-1 talks.²⁶

Lastly, continued Track-1.5 dialogues with North Korea have allowed the participants to maintain or build working relationships and to get to know each other. This social component should not be underestimated, as it can lead to greater trust among participants, which, in turn, increases the possibility to discuss more sensitive topics and issues, which might not have been possible at the beginning of a dialogue. Beyond this, Track-1.5 initiatives allow the participants to develop a keener appreciation of each other's perspectives and concerns, which is a prerequisite for achieving shared understandings on difficult issues.

3. Challenges and Limitations of European Track-1.5 Initiatives with North Korea

While European Track-1.5 initiatives with North Korea without a doubt are a crucial asset, they also face a number of challenges and limitations. Among the major challenges is the dependence of European Track-1.5 initiatives on the political environment. Although European Track-1.5 with North Korea is usually facilitated by private institutions such as think tanks and university institutions, they are all but immune to an unfavorable political environment. One of the factors that determines the 'political vulnerability' of any European Track-1.5 dialogue is the attitude of the government within which the organizing third party operates. Simply put, when the respective governments are

26 Joel Wit, "How to Talk to a North Korean," 38 *North*, April 22, 2011, <<http://38north.org/2011/04/joelwit042011/>> (date accessed April 1, 2020); John Power, "Millions Spent, But What Has Track II with N. Korea Achieved?" *NK News*, October 29, 2015, <<https://www.nknews.org/2015/10/millions-spent-but-what-hastrack-ii-with-n-korea-achieved/>> (date accessed March 25, 2020).

skeptical towards any form of engagement with North Korea, political challenges for Track-1.5 organizers and practitioners in those countries can and frequently do occur. Among others, Track-1.5 organizers (and to some extent Track-1.5 practitioners) have been accused of pursuing activities that run contrary to the respective government's foreign policy, and in a few cases the issuance of visa to North Korean participants have been denied. In other words, when Track-1.5 is seen as a hindrance to the official policy line in the respective country, some of the core functions of Track-1.5 dialogues are at risk, such as the communication and transmission of information from the Track-1.5 to the Track-1 level, which is naturally much more complicated when the Track-1 level is not receptive. This suggests that not every European country is equally well positioned to conduct Track-1.5 initiatives with North Korea. Moreover, an unfavorable political environment also bears the risk of North Korea cancelling its participation in European Track-1.5 dialogues. For example, following the failed Hanoi summit, North Korea not only withdrew from most official Track-1 dialogues with the U.S. and South Korea, but also temporarily cancelled its participation in European Track-1.5 dialogues.

Another crucial challenge for European Track-1.5 dialogues with North Korea is to manage the sometimes extremely high expectations placed on these initiatives. Especially when official Track-1 dialogue with North Korea was absent, European Track-1.5 dialogues with North Korea have repeatedly been confronted with unrealistic and ultimately unfulfillable expectations. While the off-the-record format of Track-1.5 talks with North Korea has been extremely important to allow for a more candid discussion of ideas, and for government officials to review the proposals that come out of such meetings without having to immediately take a public stance on them, the quiet nature has frequently led to media speculation about "secret talks" on the hard security issues on the Korean Peninsula. However, Track-1.5 initiatives are no substitute for official Track-1 diplomacy, and Track-1.5 practitioners usually do not possess political power. As such, they typically do not have the ability to linearly influence foreign policy or

even encourage an agreement or enforce agreement implementation.²⁷ Moreover, especially in authoritarian regimes such as North Korea, it is uncertain in how far the leadership is open to advice from lower level officials. Further complicating the situation is the lack of coordination among many of the existing Track-1.5 processes in Europe. This lack of coordination – caused partly by the informal nature of these dialogues but also by institutional competition – not only encourages avoidable thematic overlaps, but also provides Pyongyang with a selective approach to when, and with whom, they will engage in Track-1.5 talks. Another major challenge for European Track-1.5 dialogues with North Korea is the challenge to broaden the topics that are discussed as well as to incorporate a broader range of perspectives into such meetings. While the discussion of regional security, peace-building, and confidence-building are of the utmost importance, there are further issues that need to be tackled with North Korea below the official level. For example, in contrast to Track-1.5 dialogues with Iran, Track-1.5 talks with North Korea have generally not featured extensive discussions on the technical aspects of potential nuclear agreements. For quite some time now, a number of experts have called for quiet unofficial talks with North Korea to discuss such issues as the safety and security of its nuclear arsenal, to better understand North Korea's conceptions of nuclear deterrence, command and control, and strategy as well as, more recently, on the technical aspects of North Korea's denuclearization process. However, it is extremely difficult to implement ongoing dialogues with North Korean institutions outside of the Foreign Ministry, which might not be the most appropriate interlocutors for such technical discussions. Finally, while it was argued that the social component of such dialogues is crucial, as trust is built successively, it is questionable if or in how far European Track-1.5 dialogues with North Korea can achieve what some observers and practitioners of such initiatives have described as a crucial measure of success: socialization. While the dialogues might very well have an impact on the perceptions and attitudes of the participating officials, it

27 It should be reminded, however, that these are not the objectives of European Track-1.5 initiatives.

is questionable if they can encourage more moderate views at home.

V. Track-1.5 with North Korea – Some Lessons Learned

This study addressed the comparatively new phenomenon of European Track-1.5 initiatives with North Korea, focusing primarily on the general characteristics of these initiatives as well as their strengths and limitations. However, the question remains of how we measure success? How do we know if and when a Track-1.5 initiative with North Korea is useful? While the answer to this question depends heavily on the objectives of the respective initiatives and although there is no universal playbook for successful Track-1.5 initiatives with North Korea, some practices have proven generally effective in the contexts of European Track-1.5 dialogues with North Korea.

To begin with, ongoing initiatives have proven to be much more effective than one-off programs, both in terms of its effectiveness to establish working relationships and as a way to ensure that projects have a broader impact and discernable outputs. The social component of such dialogues is of crucial importance. In fact, some of the most valuable exchanges during Track-1.5 talks with North Korea, as well as relationship-building, have taken place away from the conference table in less formal settings. Convening Track-1.5 talks in relatively isolated settings, where participants can venture out of the conference room and engage in lengthy one-on-one conversations, has proven effective in the past – while ensuring confidentiality especially from media reporting. Socializing over dinner, after a day’s meetings have wrapped up, has also enabled more candid conversations. While any individual Track-1.5 meeting “may fail to produce immediate and tangible results, the process of ongoing dialogue builds a foundation upon which successful initiatives can be built.”²⁸

28 Daniel Wertz, “Track II Diplomacy with Iran and North Korea: Lessons Learned from Unofficial Talks with Nuclear Outlier,” *The National Committee on North Korea*, June 2017, p. 12.

This, however, requires that both Track-1.5 organizers and funders have deep commitments to the process, continuing even amidst potentially unfavorable political framework conditions and short-term setbacks such as temporary suspensions of participation by individual participants, visa cancellations, complications related to sanctions, or a lack of broader political progress. It is only this combination of continuity and commitment that allows Track-1.5 practitioners to take a more long-term view not driven by governmental political agendas or affected by election cycles, which is crucial in terms of creating a climate that allows frank discussions.

Another crucial element determining the success of any European Track-1.5 initiative with North Korea is the role of the third party. There is no overstating the significance of the role of the third party to a dialogue's success, which is the key to providing the space where participants feel sufficiently comfortable, and yet also challenged, so that new thinking can flourish, even in the most difficult situations. "The third party role is an art, like being an outstanding negotiator. But it is an art which must be informed by careful study of the process and by much experience."²⁹

Track-1.5 dialogues have also proven most effective when participants have sought to identify realistic goals – such as refining proposals for confidence-building measures, achieving greater clarity on a party's policy objectives or negotiating stance, discussing possible contributions that involved third-parties can make or balancing steps necessary to overcome specific roadblocks to Track-1 talks. As Jones puts it, "there has to be the capacity for (...) a sensible, informed, yet at the same time far-reaching and unconstrained discussion of the issues at hand."³⁰ Productive Track-1.5 dialogues therefore need to strike a balance between seeking to break with conventional thinking and allow for the discussion of new and potential transformative ideas while at the same time stay within the realm of what is ultimately possible and

29 Jones, *Track Two Diplomacy in Theory and Practice*, p. 171.

30 Jones, *Track Two Diplomacy in Theory and Practice*, p. 169.

realistic. In practice, this means discussing discrete, achievable steps that may lead to tangible results and positive momentum, while those aiming to outline grand bargains will likely be ignored by policymakers and have little impact. That is not easy, but progress in particularly intractable disputes requires a space for ideas which fall between well-established positions, on the one hand, and fantasy, on the other. Such ideas are hard to find, especially in situations of conflict, but they are the key to real change.

Ultimately, a crucial factor in identifying what is possible – and what is not – are the participants of the respective dialogue. Overall, it is of crucial importance to the success of European Track-1.5 initiatives that the people involved have a standing in their respective communities. If the objective of the exercise is to develop ideas which can influence events, the people at the table must have the ability to make themselves, and the ideas they have developed, heard at the appropriate levels when they go home.

■ Article Received: 4/22 ■ Reviewed: 5/27 ■ Revised: 6/5 ■ Accepted: 6/5

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When the Lights Went Out: Electricity in North Korea and Dependency on Moscow

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The division of the Korean Peninsula has been symbolized by electricity. While South Korea lights up on satellite images, North Korea is dark. Using archival documents from North Korea's former communist allies and Pyongyang's state-run media, the author argues that the DPRK's electricity shortages were not a result of the regime's Juche ideology but rather an outcome of overreliance on Soviet assistance. This analysis disputes the notion of North Korea's Juche ideology as a totalizing phenomenon within the DPRK's political structure. By presenting a multifaceted history of North Korea's electricity sector, the author highlights the ways in which Pyongyang engaged with Soviet electrification aid and global energy trends generally.

Keywords: North Korea, Kim Il Sung, Electricity, Russia, Kim Jong Un

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On December 22, 1920, Soviet leader Vladimir Lenin announced in a report on the work of the Council of People's Commissars, "Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country. Otherwise the country will remain a small-peasant country, and we must clearly realize that."¹ As the founder of the first self-proclaimed workers' state, Lenin's emphasis on electricity as the basis of communism would have reverberations throughout the Eastern Bloc for decades to come. After the division of the Korean Peninsula in 1945 between the Soviet-controlled North and the U.S.-controlled South, electricity would become a symbol of North Korean power. Founded in 1948, the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (the official title of North Korea, hereafter DPRK) featured a coat of arms, which positioned a hydroelectric power plant in the middle. Lenin's expression of electricity as communism was alive and well in the nascent DPRK.

However, as most outside observers are aware, North Korea is a country that currently lacks sufficient electricity. The famous satellite image of a dark North Korea contrasted with a well-lit South Korea (officially known as the Republic of Korea, hereafter ROK) makes the division all the more tangible. In 2002, U.S. Secretary of State Donald Rumsfeld said, "If you look at a picture from the sky of the Korean Peninsula at night, South Korea is filled with lights and energy and vitality and a booming economy; North Korea is dark." Rumsfeld concludes, "It is a tragedy what is being done in that country."² The regular blackouts in the DPRK, especially in the rural provinces, have seemingly become the ultimate symbol of North Korea's backwardness and its dysfunctional economy. While scholars of North Korea often emphasize the regime's Juche ideology as the reason for the country's

1 Vladimir Lenin, Report on the Work of the Council of People's Commissars, December 22, 1920. Original Source: *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, 5th ed. (Moscow, 1975-79), vol. 36, pp. 15-16, <<http://soviethistory.msu.edu/1921-2/electrification-campaign/communism-is-soviet-power-electrification-of-the-whole-country/>> (date accessed December 17, 2019).

2 Donald H. Rumsfeld, Defense Department Briefing Transcript, December 23, 2002, <<https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/news/2002/12/mil-021223-usia01.htm>> (date accessed December 17, 2019).

electricity shortages, little systematic research has actually been done on the history of North Korea's electricity. One of the primary reasons for this lack of research is due to the fact that the DPRK government does not publish reliable economic data. Despite regular blackouts throughout the country, North Korean state-run media regularly boasts about the well-lit streets of Pyongyang and the robust industrial production of the DPRK's factories. In North Korea's state-controlled media landscape, it is hard to discern reality from propaganda. However, with the help of archival documents from North Korea's former communist allies and a critical analysis of the Kim family regime's state-run media, I piece together a qualitative history of North Korea's electricity. In so doing, I argue that North Korea's electricity shortages were not a consequence of the regime's Juche ideology but rather a result of the DPRK's overreliance on Soviet aid.

Analysts of North Korea often cite Juche ideology as a reason for the country's economic troubles and electricity blackouts. For example, Chae-Jin Lee said, "Aside from the structural deficiencies of its centrally planned economic system, North Korea suffered from the constraints of the Juche (self-reliance) ideology and the heavy burden of defense expenditures."³ Ian Rinehart explains, "Juche-inspired policies severely limited North Korea's economic growth by allocating scarce resources to unproductive industries for the sake of self-reliance."⁴ Valentin I. Moiseyev wrote that "considering North Korea's Juche tenets and, fearing a raw material dependence on the Soviet Union (adding to the existing technological dependence), Kim Il Sung insisted on using domestic coal as fuel for the thermal power plants."⁵ While the costs of North Korea's excessive militarization surely deepened the country's economic issues,

3 Chae-Jin Lee, *A Troubled Peace: U.S. Policy and the Two Koreas* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), pp. 283-284.

4 Ian Rinehart, "Nothing to be Afraid Of? North Korean Political Economy and Economic Reform," *Korea Economic Institute, Joint U.S.-Korea Academic Studies Emerging Voices Working Paper*, vol. 22 (2011), p. 8.

5 Valentin I. Moiseyev, "The North Korean Energy Sector," in *The North Korean Nuclear Program Security, Strategy and New Perspectives from Russia*, ed. James Moltz Clay and Alexandre Y. Mansourov (New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 53.

Pyongyang's adherence to Juche ideology as an economic model and electrification strategy seems to be based on mere assumption.

In order to dig deeper into this assumption, it is important to discuss Juche ideology. In 1955, Kim Il Sung first promoted the idea of Juche within the DPRK. He said, "What is Juche in our Party's ideological work? What are we doing? We are not engaged in any other country's revolution, but precisely in the Korean revolution.... Therefore, all ideological work must be subordinated to the interests of the Korean revolution."⁶ This ideology, which champions self-reliance and self-sufficiency, has continued to inform official DPRK rhetoric since 1955. However, as this article explains, North Korea's dependence on Soviet aid for electricity stands in stark contrast to the nationalistic character of the Juche ideology. So what does Juche mean? Bruce Cumings explains, "The term is really untranslatable; the closer one gets to its meaning, the more the meaning slips away."⁷ Bradley K. Martin explains that the broader meaning of Juche is "putting Korea first."⁸ Alzo David-West contends that "Juche is not a philosophy, but an ideology of political justification for the dictatorship of Kim Il Sung."⁹ Perhaps the one characteristic of Juche that all of these scholars can agree upon is that the ideology was designed to signify North Korean autonomy, whether real or perceived. "Self-reliance" is the general definition fixed upon Juche by North Korea scholars and many of these analysts grasp for a deeper meaning beyond this simple phrase. However, what has been missed in most analyses of Juche is the extent to which it represents the DPRK's utopian motivations.

6 Kim Il Sung, "On eliminating dogmatism and formalism and establishing Juche in ideological work," *Kim Il Sung: Selected Works* 1 (1955), p. 582-606, <<https://www.marxists.org/archive/kim-il-sung/1955/12/28.htm>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

7 Bruce Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1997), p. 404.

8 Bradley K. Martin, *Under the Loving Care of the Fatherly Leader* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2004), p. 363.

9 Alzo David-West, "Between Confucianism and Marxism-Leninism: *Juche* and the Case of Chong Tasan," *Korean Studies*, vol. 35 (2011), p. 107.

The North Korean leadership hoped to build a staunchly independent economy based on Juche's utopian principles of self-reliance, self-strengthening, and self-sufficiency. As with most Marxist states, utopianism was a central component of the state's future-oriented political culture. Lenin wrote in *What Is To Be Done?* that communists "should dream."¹⁰ Utopian thought was a way to construct a shared value system, revolutionary society, and new collective consciousness. Robert Winstanley-Chesters writes, "Juche has been the vessel through which utopian possibility has filtered into the more conventional forms of developmental and institutional approach and governmental function in North Korea as well as in its narratives of presentation, support, and legitimacy."¹¹ Despite this Juche rhetoric, North Korea was heavily dependent on the Communist Bloc for aid throughout the Cold War era. According to the U.S. Library of Congress's official book *North Korea: A Country Study*, "Estimates vary, but it is likely that the equivalent of U.S. \$4.75 billion of aid was accepted [by North Korea] between 1946 and 1984. Almost 46 percent of the assistance came from the Soviet Union, followed by China with about 18 percent, and the rest from East European communist countries."¹² Liudmila Zakharova explains, "By the early 1990s, the facilities built in the DPRK with Soviet help produced up to 70% of electricity, 50% of chemical fertilisers, and about 40% of ferrous metals. The aluminum industry was created entirely by Soviet specialists. Approximately, 70 large industrial enterprises in North Korea were built with the assistance of the USSR."¹³ Therefore, Juche was not an economic blueprint for North Korea but a form of

10 Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, "What Is To Be Done?," *Lenin's Selected Works*, vol. 1, first published as a separate work in March 1902, <<https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1901/witbd/v.htm>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

11 Robert Winstanley-Chesters, *Environment, Politics, and Ideology in North Korea: Landscape as Political Project* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2014), p. 5.

12 Andrea Matles Savada, ed., *North Korea: A Country Study* (Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1993), <<http://countrystudies.us/north-korea/54.htm>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

13 Liudmila Zakharova, "Economic Cooperation between Russia and North Korea: New Goals and New Approaches," *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, vol. 7, no. 2 (July 2016), p. 152.

utopianism that the Kim family regime sought to achieve one day. North Korea's electricity shortages were not a result of the leadership's strict adherence to Juche ideology as they never strictly followed a policy of economic self-sufficiency.

While the DPRK and the Soviet Union sometimes disagreed with each other's policies, Pyongyang depended on Moscow for technical assistance and financial aid.¹⁴ In the same 1955 speech where Kim Il Sung first promoted Juche, he also praised Soviet internationalism. He said, "For the victory of the Korean revolution and for the great cause of the international working class, we should strengthen solidarity with the Soviet people, our liberator and helper, and with the peoples of all the socialist countries."¹⁵ Without Moscow's help, the DPRK most likely would not have survived as a nation-state during the Cold War era. Despite officially promoting self-reliance in public discourse, the North Korean leadership depended heavily on Soviet technical expertise for electric power. Whether it was the construction of the Supung Power Plant or the delivery of fuel, the Soviet Union invested heavily in the DPRK's electrification. By relying so heavily on Soviet assistance, the North Korean leadership was unprepared for the Soviet Union's sudden dissolution in the 1990s.

While the North Korean government imposes a strict information blockade on international news and events, electricity is one of the few areas where the average North Korean can tangibly see the opaque party-state's difficulties. As journalist Barbara Demick explains, "North Koreans complain bitterly about the darkness, which they still blame on the U.S. sanctions. They can't read at night. They can't watch television. 'We have no culture without electricity,' a burly North Korean security guard once told me accusingly."¹⁶ In addition with satellite imagery, the

14 Harry Gelman and Norman D. Levin, "The Future of Soviet-North Korean Relations," Rand Corporation - A Project Air Force Report Prepared for the United States Air Force (October 1984), pp. 1-52.

15 Kim Il Sung, "On eliminating dogmatism and formalism and establishing Juche in ideological work."

16 Barbara Demick, *Nothing to Envy: Ordinary Lives in North Korea* (New York:

outside world now sees the glaring inefficiencies of the DPRK's power grid. However, outside of Demick's journalistic account of North Korea in the mid-1990s, few scholars have qualitatively examined the history of the DPRK's electricity sector and the ways in which the leadership in Pyongyang addressed electricity scarcity in the country. The notable exception here is Alex S. Forster's 2014 paper, entitled "Electrifying North Korea," which focuses more on contemporary energy issues in the DPRK and how to address them.¹⁷ Scholars have not systematically investigated the transition of postcolonial North Korea with its mighty hydroelectric power plants to a candle-lit nation that now deals with regular blackouts. Using qualitative data analysis from Communist Bloc archives and declassified U.S. government documents, I argue that in order to better understand the DPRK's electricity shortages, we must look at the history of the Soviet Union's electrification aid to North Korea.

From Postcolonialism to Postwar: North Korea, 1945-1959

While the Japanese colonialists exploited the natural resources and labor of the Korean people, they did leave one benefit behind in their destructive wake: large-scale hydroelectric power plants. According to Andrei Lankov, the northern part of Korea produced 85% of all of the peninsula's electricity in 1940.¹⁸ These large-scale facilities, which were primarily concentrated in northern Korea due to its mountainous terrain, became massively useful for Kim Il Sung's nascent regime. In fact, immediately after the collapse of the Japanese Empire in 1945, North Korea started selling electric power to their southern brethren. In January 1947, the Colonel-General of Soviet forces in North Korea, Terenty Fomich Shtykov, sent a letter to the U.S. General-Lieutenant in South Korea, John

Random House, 2010), p. 4.

17 Alex S. Forster, "Electrifying North Korea: Bringing Power to Underserved Marginal Populations in the DPRK," *East-West Center Working Papers*, no. 69 (April 2014), pp. 1-24.

18 Andrei Lankov, *The Real North Korea: Life and Politics in the Failed Stalinist Utopia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 72.

R. Hodge, in which he alerted the Americans that South Korea had not paid for any electricity that was provided by the north. According to the letter, the bill in U.S. dollars was \$4,240,261. Shtykov explained, "This arrangement has led to the economic downfall of North Korean power stations. Due to the balance deficit, major repairs and equipment maintenance are not taking place, and there are great delays in the salary of the maintenance personnel."¹⁹ This image of an energy-deficient South Korea and a high-powered North Korea in the post-liberation period stands in stark contrast to the present-day electricity situations of the two Koreas. With substantial rainfall, North Korea's hydroelectric stations were producing large amounts of power in the post-liberation era.

American journalist Anna Louse Strong visited the DPRK in 1948 and remarked, "The great power stations on the Yalu River were built by the Japanese. The Russians seized them as war booty and promptly gave them 'to the Korean people' in the summer of 1946." In fact, Soviet engineers hoped to replicate the design of the Yalu River hydroelectric power plant's generators for their own country's energy sector. According to a declassified U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) document, Soviet specialists dismantled two generators and two transformers in December 1945 from the DPRK's Supung power plant and transported them to the Soviet Union.²⁰ On March 5, 1949, Kim Il Sung told Stalin "that after the liberation of Korea by Soviet troops, the Soviet Government and the Soviet Army rendered aid to Korea in the matter of economic development." Kim continued, "The assistance of the Soviet Union is required for the further development of the Korean economy and culture."²¹ Strong explained that the U.S. forces in South

19 "Letter to General-Lieutenant Hodge on Northern Korea Providing Electricity to Southern Korea," January 01, 1947, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, TsAMO, Fond not listed, Opis 480c, Delo 25, listi 22-23. Obtained by Kim Dong-gil and translated by Aleksandr Gorokhov and James Person, <<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/114896>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

20 Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), "Report on the Electrical Industry in North Korea," Information Report, January 1957, p. 16.

21 "Notes of the Conversation between Comrade I.V. Stalin and a Governmental

Korea were not paying their electric bills to Pyongyang as the North Korean government demanded payment in electric equipment, not U.S. dollars or goods. Strong added, "The Americans offered nylon stockings and tobacco and Hollywood movies. But the North Koreans stood pat on getting electric equipment." Strong continued, "The reason was plain: so much electric development was going on in all the farming villages of North Korea that they simply could not spare power for South Korea unless they got more equipment. It was as simple as that."²² In May 1948, the North Koreans shut off the power to South Korea altogether.

The situation for North Korea's energy infrastructure predictably deteriorated during the Korean War. According to Cheehyung Harrison Kim, "In June 1950, 90 percent of North Korea's electric power potential was wiped out."²³ Due to U.S. aerial bombardment, a majority of the hydroelectric power plants were out of commission from 1950 to 1953. In an August 1952 report, the Polish embassy in the DPRK commented, "The bombing of four large hydro-electric power stations on Yalu on 20-23 June of this year deprived all of North Korea and a part of North-Eastern China of electric energy, that is, industry stopped almost completely, some rice fields that were artificially irrigated and cities remained without water." The report continued, "Electrification is universal in Korea, and therefore a shortage of electric energy is felt so strongly." The Korean War devastated North Korea's electric output, and this wreaked havoc on the entire country's economy.

Less than a year later, the Polish embassy explained, "The bombarding of the electric power plant in Supung in July 1952, and the subsequent

Delegation from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea headed by Kim Il Sung," March 05, 1949, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, AVP RF, fond 059a, opis 5a, delo 3, papka 11, listy 10-20, and RGASPI, f. 558, op. 11, d. 346, ll. 0013-0023, <<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/112127>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

22 Anna Louise Strong, "In North Korea: First Eye-Witness Report," <<https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/strong-anna-louise/1949/in-north-korea/ch07.htm>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

23 Cheehyung Harrison Kim, *Heroes and Toilers: Work as Life in Postwar North Korea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), p. 76.

destruction of other electric power plants, has largely made the execution of plans for industry and agriculture difficult, since the basic sources of energy were destroyed or damaged." The report added, "Not only industry but also rice paddies, which are artificially watered by electric pumps, have been endangered."²⁴ As the Polish diplomatic reports explain, electricity from hydroelectric power plants also fueled agricultural pumps on North Korean farms. This overreliance on hydroelectricity would later have devastating effects for the North Korean people during periods of drought.

After the war, the Korean Workers' Party immediately established a five-year plan for rebuilding the country's economy. Due to assistance from the Communist Bloc, especially the Soviet Union, North Korea's postwar development was rapid. The postwar reconstruction plan stressed "the production of electric turbines, which are indispensable to equipping the rebuilt power plants."²⁵ With Soviet assistance, the North Koreans emphasized the rebuilding of the Supung power plant. The Japanese colonialists originally built the Supung power plant in 1943, which was the largest hydroelectric facility of its kind in Asia at the time.²⁶ On one hand, North Korea depended on Soviet aid in the postwar period but on the other hand, Kim Il Sung started to promote an independent line. Kim Il Sung's 1955 Juche speech to North Korean propagandists was the first clear expression of Korean nationalism. In 1959, Juche started to appear widely in internal Korean Workers' Party reports and lectures. Pak Deok-hwan, a Soviet-Korean and counselor in

24 "Note from the Embassy of the Polish Republic in Korea," January 27, 1953, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, Polish Foreign Ministry Archive. Obtained for NKIDP by Jakub Poprocki and translated for NKIDP by Maya Latynski, <<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/114945>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

25 "Report no. 5 of the Embassy of the People's Republic of Poland in the Democratic Republic of Korea for the Period of 1 August 1953 to 30 September 1953," September 30, 1953, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, Polish Foreign Ministry Archive. Obtained for NKIDP by Jakub Poprocki and translated for NKIDP by Maya Latynski, <<http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/114958>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

26 Hy-Sang Lee, *North Korea: A Strange Socialist Fortress* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 2000), p. 102.

the DPRK's Foreign Ministry, explained that the substance of Juche "was that everything Korean is better compared to [anything] foreign."²⁷

Despite Kim's promotion of Juche in 1955, the Supung power plant on the Yalu River, also known as the Amnok River, became a symbol of Soviet-DPRK comradeship during the mid to late 1950s. The KWP's Central Committee explained in their August 1953 plenum, "Thanks to the enormous technical and material assistance from the Soviet Union, the DPRK government has begun to rebuild the largest power plant on the river Amnok in Supung, which was damaged during the war." The committee announced, "This year still, the Supung power plant is to produce three times more electrical energy than it does currently. Right now, thanks to the evacuation in the war of its valuable equipment, the workers are completing the assembly and restoration of one of the largest generators in that power plant." As this Polish report mentions, much of the "valuable" equipment from the Supung power plant was evacuated during the Korean War. As Cheehyung Harrison Kim explains, "The wartime production regime involved the relocation of production sites (sogae) – the tremendous project of dismantling vital factories, evacuating them to safe locations, often underground or in caves, and reassembling them to resume production."²⁸ The North Koreans used their mountainous landscape to their advantage during wartime and hid their most valuable industrial equipment from U.S. air bombing in this rugged terrain.

It was in the immediate postwar period when the Kim family regime decided to focus its energy resources on the capital city, Pyongyang. As the showcase capital and home of the most loyal KWP members, the residents of Pyongyang have historically enjoyed longer bouts of electricity than their countrymen in the provinces. According to Kim Il Sung himself, 36% of the North Korean countryside had no access

27 "From the Journal of N. Ye. Torbenkov, Record of a Conversation with DPRK MFA Counselor Pak Deok-hwan," June 01, 1960, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, Translated for CWIHP by Gary Goldberg. AVPRF fond 0102, opis 16, delo 6, <<http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/121622>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

28 Kim, *Heroes and Toilers*, p.30.

to electricity in 1958.²⁹ As explained in his first five-year plan, Kim Il Sung intended to build a thermal power station in Pyongyang in order to give those residents central heating. In 1957, the Soviet ambassador to the DPRK, A.M Puzanov, remarked in his journal, "An important task of the heat and power station will be to supply the housing facilities of the capital with heat for central heating. This heat and power station will also yield electrical power and improve the republic's energy mix during low loads due to a shortage of water for hydroelectric power plants."³⁰ While Pyongyang residents enjoyed central heating during the winter months, those in rural areas dealt with inconsistent electricity or complete blackouts.

The North Korea electrical grid was heavily dependent on rainfall in the Yalu River area. Thus, Kim Il Sung intended to diversify the electrical grid of the DPRK away from large-scale hydroelectric power plants on the Yalu River. In 1958, Kim told China's Premier Zhou Enlai about severe droughts in North Korea and the problems this caused for the country's electric output. Kim explained, "This year has had the least amount of rain water [on record]. The elderly say that this is the worst it has been in 100 years... At present, we have started an electricity conservation campaign [because] in the past [electricity] was wasted."³¹ Kim suggested the construction of small-scale hydroelectric plants, rather than the large-scale facilities originally built by the Japanese, for

29 "Record of Conversation from the Premier's Reception of the Korean Government Delegation," November 22, 1958, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, PRC FMA 204-00064-02, 9-25. Translated by Jeffrey Wang and Charles Kraus, <<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/114176>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

30 "Journal of Soviet Ambassador to the DPRK A.M. Puzanov for 8 June 1957," June 08, 1957, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, AVPRF F. 0102, Op. 13, P. 72, Delo 5, Listy 114-130. Translated by Gary Goldberg, <<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/115624>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

31 "Record of Conversation from the Premier's Reception of the Korean Government Delegation," November 22, 1958, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, PRC FMA 204-00064-02, 9-25. Translated by Jeffrey Wang and Charles Kraus, <<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/114176>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

rural areas. Kim explained, "We have already established some small-scale hydroelectric power stations in rural areas, and we estimate that by next year all rural areas will have electricity."³² While Kim's energy plan for all of rural North Korea obviously did not come to fruition, his focus on electricity in his nation-building program was in line with Lenin's original motif that "Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country."

One of the major reasons for North Korea's poor electric output was its overreliance on these outdated large-scale hydroelectric power plants. In May 1964, Kim Il Sung vented his frustrations to his Chinese counterparts, "The Japanese constructed Supung Dam is of poor quality and requires repairs every year. It is really bad. It took the Japanese nine years to build the Supung Dam."³³ Electricity and industry were intimately linked in the DPRK due to the country's reliance on hydropower. As Hy-Sang Lee explains, "Though very low in operating costs, hydropower plants required the highest investment cost per unit of generating capacity created."³⁴ In June 1960, the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Far East Department commented, "As the past year showed, electric power is the bottleneck in industry. In 1959 the electric power industry produced 7.8 billion kilowatt-hours against the 9.7 billion kilowatt-hours planned for the next year of the five-year plan."³⁵

32 "Record of Conversation from the Premier's Reception of the Korean Government Delegation," November 22, 1958, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, PRC FMA 204-00064-02, 9-25. Translated by Jeffrey Wang and Charles Kraus, <<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/114176>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

33 "Cable from the Jilin Provincial Party Committee, 'Report on Comrade Kim Il Sung's Report'," May 09, 1964, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, PRC FMA 106-00767-02, 14-18. Obtained by Shen Zhihua and translated by Jeffrey Wang and Charles Kraus, <<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/116547>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

34 Lee, *North Korea*, p. 102.

35 "The Economic and Political Situation of the DPRK," June 12, 1960, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, AVPRF fond 0102, opis 16, papka 87, delo 27. Translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg, <<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/116389>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

Electricity Conservation in North Korea from the 1960s to the Early 1990s

In 1960, the DPRK government formally asked the Soviet Union for technical assistance in building a large-capacity thermal power station and hydroelectric facilities. Due to a lack of technical expertise within the country, the North Korean leadership depended on Soviet specialists for assistance. In March 1960, the North Korean government sent “a request to the Soviet government to provide technical help by sending skilled specialists to assist in the planning and manufacture of turbine generators (60 Hz, 6-25,000 kilovolt-amperes), turbines, boilers, etc.”³⁶ Despite this dependence on Soviet aid, the year 1960 was actually a period of high electric output for the North Korean people due to above average rainfall. In August 1960, Kim Il Sung told the Soviet ambassador to the DPRK, “In particular, there is so much water on the Yalu [Amnok-gang] River that a surplus of it in enormous quantities was thrown over the reserve sluices of the Supung Hydroelectric Station and there was even a danger of flooding Sinuiju. At the present time Pyongyang is receiving electricity without restrictions.”³⁷ However, the DPRK’s dependence on rainfall in the Yalu River basin for electricity meant the countryside was extremely susceptible to irregular rainfall and subsequent blackouts.

In addition, since the Yalu River borders China and North Korea, coownership of the body of water was negotiable. In 1955, the two sides agreed in principle to share the energy generated by the river. The Supung power station on the Yalu River was actually joint managed by

36 "Journal of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A.M. Puzanov for 30 March 1960," March 30, 1960, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, AVPRF fond 0102, opis 16, delo 6, p.129-146. Translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg, <<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/116168>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

37 "Journal of Soviet Ambassador in the DPRK A.M. Puzanov for 16 August 1960," August 16, 1960, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, AVPRF fond 0102, opis 16, delo 7, p.43-71. Translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg, <<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/119446>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

Beijing and Pyongyang. However, Kim Il Sung complained that the DPRK received a lower share of the power generated from Supung station.³⁸ It was during China's Cultural Revolution that relations between the two neighboring countries quickly soured and border river usage became heavily politicized. In the late 1960s, the Yalu River in particular became an ideological battleground between China's zealous Maoist sycophants, better known as the Red Guards, and North Korea's state security services. In January 1969, the Soviet embassy in the DPRK commented, "According to the testimony of eyewitnesses, a sort of propaganda duel is being waged on the Korean-Chinese border passing along the Yalu River: enormous portraits of the leaders, billboards with political content, and loudspeakers directed at the opposite bank have been set up on both sides of the river."³⁹ In the late 1960s, relations between the PRC and DPRK were not "as close as lips to teeth," which was the traditional expression of revolutionary solidarity between the two neighboring Asian communist governments.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Chinese government started building dikes on PRC-DPRK border rivers without approaching the North Korean leadership first. Thus, the North Korean leadership held talks with the PRC government in 1970 regarding joint utilization of the border waters. The Soviet Ambassador to the DPRK, Nikolay Georgievich Sudarikov, explained to his Hungarian counterparts that the North Korean Deputy Foreign Minister Kim Jae-bong was particularly unhappy about Chinese construction on border rivers. The North Korean official explained, "Some of the dikes which the Chinese side recently built on the border rivers deprive Korea of the natural water output of the rivers and thus hinder the utilization of the latter, while the other dikes, during heavy raining, expose the Korean villages and areas to flooding and inundation; at the same time, both types of the

38 Lee, *North Korea*, p. 102.

39 "First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy in North Korea, 'Korean-Chinese Relations in the Second Half of 1968'," January 06, 1969, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, RGANI, fond 5, opis 61, delo 466, listy 1-14. Obtained by Sergey Radchenko and translated by Gary Goldberg, <<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/134218>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

Chinese dike systems hinder shipping on the border rivers."⁴⁰ While the Soviet Union greatly assisted their North Korean comrades in constructing their energy sector, the People's Republic of China oftentimes made life worse for their energy-deficient neighbors.

From the mid-1960s to the early 1970s, energy problems within the DPRK came to a head and the North Korean government started nationwide energy conservation drives. In 1966, the North Korean magazine *Chollima* published an article, entitled "Electricity and Life," in which the author Cho Ch'ŏn-ho explained, "The easiest thing we can do is to conserve electricity and the best thing to do for the nation is to conserve electricity." He continued, "Those who produce electricity will try hard to produce more power and those who consume will conserve."⁴¹ In March 1969, the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Far East Department said, "The difficulties caused by drought in a number of regions of the country has also had an effect on the operation of industry. The shortage of water in reservoirs has led to a reduction of the production of electrical power, as a result of which in the first half of 1968 production capacity in the chemical, foundry, and other energy-intensive industries was [3]0-[6]0 % used."⁴² In April 1968, Dr. Ervin Jávör, the Chairman of the Hungarian-Korean Commission of Technical and Scientific Cooperation, explained, "Although by now they have built a great number of hydroelectric power plants [...], the DPRK is struggling with considerable energy problems. For the sake of conserving energy, workers in the production plants take their day off

40 "Report, Embassy of Hungary in North Korea to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry," May 05, 1970, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, MOL, XIX-J-1-j Korea, 1970, 54. doboz, 81, 00843/7/1970. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Balázs Szalontai, <<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/116578>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

41 Cho Ch'ŏn-ho, "Ch'ŏn'gi wa uri saenghwal," *Chollima* (April 1966), pp. 27-29.

42 "Far East Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'The Domestic Situation and the Foreign Policy of the Korean People's Democratic Republic,'" March 28, 1969, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, RGANI, fond 5, opis 61, delo 466, listy 71-81. Obtained by Sergey Radchenko and translated by Gary Goldberg, <<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/134226>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

on a staggered schedule rather than on the same day of the week."⁴³ Even communist allies of the North Korean socialist system noticed how dire the energy situation was in the country during the late 1960s.

North Korea's electricity shortages in the 1960s and 1970s correlated with an increase in Pyongyang's public promotion of Juche. For example, in 1965, Kim Il Sung gave a speech in Indonesia where he outlined the main principles of Juche and in 1972 Juche was cemented as the Party's guiding ideological force in the DPRK's Constitution. During a visit to Jakarta in 1965, Kim Il Sung emphasized that "our Party consistently sticks to self-reliance in ideology, sovereignty in politics, independence in economy, and self-protection in national defense."⁴⁴ Seven years later, Juche was enshrined in North Korea's political culture. Ironically, at the same time as Kim Il Sung depended on Soviet energy assistance, the DPRK's Constitution underwent a Juche-inspired revision in 1972. Article Four of the North Korea's revised 1972 Constitution stated, "The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is guided in its activity by the Juche idea of the Workers' Party of Korea, a creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions of our country."⁴⁵ Instead of reaffirming Marxism-Leninism as the ideological foundation of the Korean Workers' Party, the DPRK government positioned Juche as a uniquely Korean approach to Marxism-Leninism.

Behind the public Juche discourse, North Korea continued to ask Moscow for assistance in improving the country's electrical grid. In 1969, the North Korean leadership attached "great importance to accelerating the construction of the Bukchang [Pukchang] thermal power station

43 "Report on the 27 March-2 April 1968 session of the Hungarian-Korean Commission of Technical and Scientific Cooperation," April 16, 1968, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, MOL, XIX-J-1-j Korea, 1968, 58. doboz, 5, 001364/3/1968. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Balazs Szalontai, <<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/110629>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

44 Seong-Chang Cheong, "Stalinism and Kimilsungism: A Comparative Analysis of Ideology and Power," *Asian Perspective*, vol. 24, no. 1 (2000), p. 142.

45 Christopher Hale, "Multifunctional Juche: A Study of the Changing Dynamic between Juche and the State Constitution in North Korea," *Korea Journal*, vol. 42, no. 3 (Autumn 2002), p. 296.

being built with the technical assistance of the Soviet Union." On December 2, 1969, Kim Il, a North Korean Politburo member, told the Soviet embassy in Pyongyang, "We need three units with a total capacity of 300,000 kwt to be in operation at this station by the end of 1969 and a fourth unit in the first quarter of 1970." Kim Il admitted, "Even considering the putting of this additional capacity in operation, the country's economy will nevertheless experience a shortage of a supply of electric power." The North Korean official added "that everything possible [must] be done to accelerate the installation of equipment at the Bukchang thermal power station. While he said this he stressed that the Soviet specialists at Bukchang are working very well."⁴⁶ It was increasingly clear that Pyongyang promoted Juche in public-oriented rhetoric but when it came to actual practice, Kim Il Sung's regime depended heavily on Soviet electrification aid.

In the early 1970s, North Korea's energy sector continued to suffer from its unreliable hydroelectric power plants. In a June 28, 1972 conversation with I.T Novikov, the Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Kim Il Sung said, "The Pyongyang TEhTs [thermal power plant] and the Bukchang TEhS [thermal power station], built with the aid of the Soviet Union, have helped during this difficult period, as a result of which the chronic shortage of electrical power was overcome to a considerable degree." Kim continued, "However, this has nevertheless been insufficient."⁴⁷ This contradiction between state ideology and

46 "From the Journal of N.G. Sudarikov, 'Record of a Conversation with Kim Il, Member of the KWP CC Politburo and First Deputy Chairman of the DPRK Cabinet of Ministers,'" December 02, 1969, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, RGANI, fond 5, opis 61, delo 463, listy 267-272. Contributed by Sergey Radchenko and translated by Gary Goldberg, <<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/134266>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

47 "From the Journal of Y.D. Fadeev, 'Record of Conversation between I.T. Novikov, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the KWP CC and Chairman of the DPRK Cabinet of Ministers, 28 June 1972,'" July 03, 1972, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, RGANI, f. 5, op. 64, d. 423, ll. 20-32. Contributed by Sergey Radchenko and translated by Gary Goldberg, <<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/134136>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

action suggests that North Korea's electrification strategy depended on Soviet aid, not the Juche idea.

In the 1970s, South Korea built its first nuclear power plant in Gori, a village on the outskirts of Busan, which exacerbated concerns in the DPRK that the Republic of Korea (the official title of South Korea, ROK) was quickly becoming the dominant economic power on the peninsula. Kim Il Sung admitted to Soviet officials in 1972 that North Korea was "experiencing those difficulties which for Soviet people are a past stage, that is, we are behind you."⁴⁸ The North Korean leader understood that his country was underdeveloped vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. Despite his public-facing Juche rhetoric, Kim was never shy about requesting energy assistance from his Soviet comrades. In 1979, the Hungarian ambassador to the DPRK explained, "With the nuclear power plant in Gori included, the output of electric power generation in South Korea reached 6.59 million kW. With the completion and activation of the sixth nuclear power plant, in 1986 its output will reach 20 million kW." He continued, "By the end of 1986 they want to complete and operate 7 nuclear power plants, 5 hydroelectric power stations, 24 thermal power stations, and an ebb and flow power plant. 26 nuclear power plants will be built by 2000." With South Korea's nuclear development, Kim Il Sung increasingly felt that the DPRK would be left behind in this inter-Korean competition.

Faced with the idea of a more prosperous and electrified ROK, the leadership in Pyongyang "strongly urged the socialist countries—for instance, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and China—to provide it with equipment for nuclear power plants or even to build a nuclear power plant." The Hungarian ambassador then concluded, "It tries to make up for its lag behind South Korea in this way, with the hidden intention that later it may become capable of producing an

48 "From the Journal of N.G. Sudarikov, 'Record of a Conversation with Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the KWP CC and Chairman of the DPRK Cabinet of Ministers, 9 October 1972,'" November 16, 1972, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, RGANI, f. 5, op. 64, d. 423, ll. 38-53. Contributed by Sergey Radchenko and translated by Gary Goldberg, <<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/134145>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

atomic bomb." While North Korea's electricity problems were most likely not the primary cause for the Kim family regime's pursuit of nuclear technology, it seems that it played a small role in the construction of the DPRK's nuclear program.

In the 1980s, Kim Il Sung faced a dilemma: continue his emphasis on hydroelectric power or foster the development of coal-powered thermal power stations. At the Sixth Party Congress in 1980, the North Korean leader stated, "Together with the construction of hydropower plants it is necessary to widen the construction of thermal power plants (TPPs)... To start a wide construction of TPPs performing on low-calorie coals, as well as that of medium and small TPPs using the radiating and excessive heats."⁴⁹ Hydroelectric power stations were too dependent on rainfall while thermal power stations depended on the DPRK's scanty coal reserves. As Hy-Sang Lee explains, "Behind the emergent shortage of coal was everything that was wrong with Juche socialism – the technical obsolescence, shortages of equipment and supplies, shortage of manpower, etc., all of which applied not just to the coal industry but to others as well except ordnance."⁵⁰ However, a third possibility for solving North Korea's electricity scarcity problem was nuclear energy. In his Sixth Party Congress speech, Kim acknowledged, "In order to sharply increase electric energy production, it is necessary to build an atomic power plant and other plants using new energy resources."⁵¹

In the early 1980s, Pyongyang asked the Communist Bloc for assistance in starting its nuclear energy program. For example, the DPRK government sent students to Czechoslovakia and East Germany to study nuclear physics. The Hungarian embassy in Pyongyang explained that the North Korean students "are concerned mainly about the subject of nuclear energy and they are interested in every question related to it. This interest is not a recent one."⁵² In 1983, the leadership in Pyongyang asked

49 Moiseyev, "The North Korean Energy Sector," p. 53.

50 Lee, *North Korea*, p. 103.

51 Moiseyev, "The North Korean Energy Sector," p. 53.

52 "Report, Embassy of Hungary in North Korea to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry," April 30, 1981, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive,

Hungary for technical expertise in nuclear development “since the DPRK will soon start building its first nuclear power plant.”⁵³ Initially, Kim Il Sung explained his desire for nuclear power plants as a way to alleviate the DPRK’s chronic energy shortage. Kim told East German leader Erich Honecker in May 1984, “During my visit to the Soviet Union, I also made agreements with our Soviet comrades to build nuclear power plants. We are convinced that when we have accomplished this task, we will certainly be able to produce 100 billion kWh of energy. And once we have done this, developing agriculture is no longer a problem. Once we have solved the industry problem, nothing else will be an issue.”⁵⁴ Was the construction of nuclear energy power plants in the DPRK a Trojan horse for the regime’s development of nuclear weapons? Perhaps, but I believe Kim Il Sung initially wanted to use nuclear facilities for energy production within the DPRK.

In February 1985, the Soviet Union entered into negotiations with the Kim family regime regarding the construction of the DPRK’s first nuclear power plant. North Korea’s Premier Kang Seongsan “emphasized to the deputation that the project to be built was not only of economic but also of political importance.” As the Hungarian embassy in Pyongyang commented on the North Korean mindset concerning nuclear energy, “On the one hand, they would like to offset the fact that a nuclear power plant is already in operation in South Korea; on the other hand, [the project] is to enhance the DPRK’s

MOL, XIX-J-1-j Korea, 1981, 86. doboz, 72, 003729/1981. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Balazs Szalontai, <<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/110137>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

53 "Memorandum, Hungarian Academy of Sciences to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry," March 07, 1983, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, MOL, XIX-J-1-k Korea, 1983, 73. doboz, 81-73, 2856/1983. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Balazs Szalontai, <<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/110138>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

54 "Stenographic Record of Conversation between Erich Honecker and Kim Il Sung," May 30, 1984, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, SAPMO-BA, DY 30, 2460. Translated by Grace Leonard, <<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/113197>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

economic prestige in foreign eyes.”⁵⁵ According to a declassified document from the CIA, “In December 1985, the Soviets also agreed to help the North build its first nuclear power plant, which reportedly will have a capacity of about 1.4 million kilowatts... This project would be a boon to the North because it would allow for diversification of energy sources and provide relatively stable supplies.”⁵⁶ Thus, Kim Il Sung’s pursuit of nuclear energy may have been economically-motivated rather than solely military-focused.

In addition, at the same time as the DPRK government covertly pursued nuclear energy, Kim Il Sung publicly advocated a nuclear-free zone on the Korean Peninsula. During Erich Honecker’s 1986 visit to North Korea, Kim Il Sung told his East German counterpart that he favored Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev’s proposal of turning the Asia-Pacific region into a “peace zone” and was also “in favor of the proposed halt to the nuclear arms race and averting the danger of a nuclear inferno.”⁵⁷ Kim Il Sung particularly detested the presence of U.S. nuclear weapons on South Korean soil. In July 1988, the North Korean leader told a visiting East German military delegation, “The Democratic People’s Republic of Korea is confronted with many nuclear weapons in South Korea that belong to the U.S.” Kim continued, “This is why the leadership of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea has also already made numerous proposals for the withdrawal of U.S. troops and their nuclear weapons, for ending the arms race, and for reducing the armed

55 “Report, Embassy of Hungary in North Korea to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry,” March 09, 1985, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, MOL, XIX-J-1-k Korea, 1985, 76. doboz, 81-532, 2745/1985. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Balazs Szalontai, <<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/110142>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

56 CIA Research Paper, “North Korea: Energy Scene,” Directorate of Intelligence, July 1987, <<https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP88T00539R000500760002-1.pdf>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

57 “Report on Erich Honecker’s visit to North Korea, October 1986,” October 18, 1986, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, Foundation Archive of the Parties and Mass Organizations in the Federal Archive [Berlin] (SAPMO-BA), DY 30, 2460. Translated by Grace Leonard, <<http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/110758>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

forces on the Korean Peninsula in stages in order to transform it into a nuclear-free zone of peace.”⁵⁸ The U.S. nuclear arsenal in the ROK greatly worried the security-conscious North Korean leader and made him into an unlikely champion of nuclear nonproliferation during the mid to late 1980s.

North Korean Electricity from the 1990s to the Present Day

The 1990s were a tumultuous period for the North Korean leadership. From Kim Il Sung’s death in 1994 to the nuclear crisis with the U.S. government, the Kim family regime faced many challenges. For North Korea’s energy sector, the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the collapse of the Warsaw Pact meant Pyongyang was increasingly isolated economically and diplomatically on the global stage. With the end of energy subsidies and aid from the Soviet Union, the North Korean people encountered even more electricity shortages in the 1990s. With no Soviet assistance, the energy situation in the DPRK during the 1990s deteriorated from bad to horrendous and the country’s economy stalled to a halt.⁵⁹ As a way to guarantee regime stability, North Korea eventually prioritized nuclear weapons development over all domestic sectors, including electricity. During the 1990s, the leadership in Pyongyang clung even tighter to militarism. Under Kim Jong Il’s rule, the nuclear program in the DPRK was to be solely dedicated to military needs, not electricity shortages. Kim Jong Il also shifted North Korea’s ideological priorities to *Songun* (military-first politics). Kim Il Sung’s balancing act of Juche rhetoric and Soviet dependency in the energy sector was replaced by Kim Jong Il’s sole focus on militarization.

Known in official DPRK rhetoric as the “Arduous March,” the 1990s

58 “Report on Visit of East German Military Delegation to North Korea,” July 19, 1988, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, SAPMO-BA, DY 30, 2508. Translated by Grace Leonard, <<http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/113202>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

59 Demick, *Nothing to Envy*.

were a period of great suffering and famine for most North Korean people. Much of this was exacerbated by the lack of electricity. According to the U.S. Energy Information Administration, “During North Korea’s economic downturn in the early 1990s, the country’s electricity consumption dropped by more than half from 33 billion kilowatthours (BkWh) in 1990 to 16 BkWh by 2000. The country experiences chronic electricity shortages and a deteriorating industrial sector.”⁶⁰ According to data from the International Energy Agency (IEA), North Korea’s “per capita electricity consumption in 2008 remained just 819kWh, substantially lower than the 919kWh recorded in 1971.”⁶¹ This significant drop in electricity consumption suggests that Soviet tutelage essentially prevented mass blackouts in North Korea. Without Soviet aid, Kim Jong Il’s regime was unable to prevent constant electricity shortages around the country.

In addition, testimony from high-level defector Hwang Jang Yop suggests that Kim Jong Il personally approved electricity requests from the DPRK’s “power organizations,” such as the military. Hwang said, “All power organizations directly requested Kim Jong Il to provide electricity to those organizations and he approved the requests... it was revealed that Kim approved as many as 190 counts of electricity-concerned requests the power organizations raised.”⁶² Thus, Kim Jong Il prioritized certain sectors, such as the military and the police, when it came to electricity supply. Kim Jong Il exerted personal control over the DPRK’s scant electricity resources. This energy strategy also pitted the DPRK’s power organizations against one another and further consolidated Kim Jong Il’s iron rule. Despite the country’s unstable electrical grid and Kim Jong Il’s oppressive policies, the North Korean

60 “North Korea: Overview,” *U.S. Energy Information Administration*, June 2018, <<https://www.eia.gov/beta/international/analysis.php?iso=PRK>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

61 Kim Tae Hong, “Economic Collapse Reflected in Scarce Electricity,” *DailyNK*, August 6, 2012, <<https://www.dailynk.com/english/economic-collapse-reflected-in-sca/>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

62 Jae-Cheon Lim, *Kim Jong-il’s Leadership of North Korea* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

people persevered and participated in local black markets in order to survive. These black markets became spaces of grassroots capitalism in the DPRK. Chinese-made solar panels began to be sold in these North Korean markets.

After Kim Jong Il's death in 2011, Kim Jong Un took power in the DPRK and struggled to increase his nation's electricity supply. However, Kim Jong Un took a page from his grandfather's book and enlisted the help of Russian energy specialists. In 2019, the DPRK and Russian governments "agreed to continue cooperation in the field of experience exchange and training specialists for the design, construction and operation of the 500-kilowatt energy grid."⁶³ In addition, there have been talks between Moscow and Pyongyang regarding the construction of an "electric energy bridge." In January 2015, Russia's largest-power generating company, RusHydro, "signed a memorandum of understanding with the South Korean company K-water where they agreed to start preparing a feasibility study for creating an energy bridge from Russia to the Republic of Korea through the territory of the DPRK."⁶⁴ While no concrete results have yet been yielded from this energy bridge idea, it does suggest that Kim Jong Un's electrification strategy resembles his grandfather's dependency on Moscow for energy assistance.

Under Kim Jong Un's reign, renewable energy and improving the country's electric output has been a domestic priority. Currently, around 55% of North Korean households are equipped with solar panels.⁶⁵ In October 2018, DPRK state-run media featured a documentary on domestic renewable energy products, such as high voltage inverters. The

63 Vusala Abbasova, "Russia Helps North Korea Modernize Its Energy Sector," *Caspian News*, December 11, 2019, <<https://caspiannews.com/news-detail/russia-helps-north-korea-modernize-its-energy-sector-2019-12-11-55/>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

64 Zakharova, "Economic cooperation between Russia and North Korea," p. 158.

65 Hyonhee Shin, "Cheap solar panels power consumer appliance boom in North Korea," *Reuters*, April 17, 2019, <<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-northkorea-solar-feature/cheap-solar-panels-power-consumer-appliance-boom-in-north-korea-idUSKCN1RT2P1>> (date accessed May 17, 2020).

documentary narrator said, “Electricity was the biggest problem but we achieved such a highly advanced, cutting-edge technology ourselves from scratch, which was once monopolized by developed nations.”⁶⁶ In addition, Kim Jong Un hopes to expand the state’s alternative energy resources by investing in “huge sea barriers with electricity-generating turbines to harness the power of the ocean’s tides.” The North Korean leader may also be interested in “transforming coal into synthetic fuels that can serve as substitutes for liquid petroleum fuels like gasoline and diesel.”⁶⁷ While the state still mostly depends on hydroelectric and coal-fired power plants, this newfound emphasis on renewable energy fits with global environmentalist trends.

In summation, I aimed to show that North Korea’s electricity shortages stemmed from an overreliance on Moscow. Despite numerous setbacks, the North Korean people persisted and remained resilient in the post-Cold War era. Using solar energy as a way to overcome the nation’s electricity shortages, the North Korean people are on the cutting edge of green energy trends and asserted their own agency in solving their energy scarcity. New evidence suggests that Kim Jong Un is resurrecting Kim Il Sung’s dependency on Moscow for electrification aid, which may lead to economic trade imbalances for the DPRK. As I explained in this paper, North Korea’s electricity issues did not result from the regime’s Juche ideology. The legacy of Soviet energy dependency left the North Korean government unprepared for the post-Cold War world.

■ Article Received: 3/11 ■ Reviewed: 5/14 ■ Revised: 5/20 ■ Accepted: 5/29

66 Shin, “Cheap solar panels power consumer appliance boom in North Korea,” *Reuters*.

67 Heesun Wee, “Kim Jong Un is skirting sanctions and pursuing this energy strategy to keep North Korea afloat,” *CNBC*, April 11, 2019, <<https://www.cnbc.com/2019/04/11/kim-jong-un-pursues-this-energy-strategy-to-keep-north-korea-afloat.html>> (date accessed June 1, 2020).

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India's Policy towards the North Korean Nuclear Weapons Program*

Ranjit Kumar Dhawan**

After the end of the Cold War, which marked the end of ideological rivalry between the two superpowers of the world, it was often thought that the threats of nuclear warfare had declined. However, the South Asian region and the Korean Peninsula in Northeast Asia have emerged as the new nuclear hotspots. The denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula is being regarded as a necessary step towards building peace in the region. Although the conflict on the Korean Peninsula does not affect India directly, the exchange of nuclear and missile technology between Pakistan and North Korea has been an issue of deep concern to New Delhi. India's stand on the North Korean nuclear weapons issue has evolved over the years and in 2017 the Indian Government came out with official notifications which have imposed severe restrictions on any cooperation with North Korea, except for providing food and medical assistance to this isolated state. This article aims to explain India's policy towards the North Korean nuclear weapons program.

Keywords: India, North Korea, nuclear weapons, nuclear non-proliferation treaty, denuclearization

* An earlier version of this article titled "Building Peace through Denuclearization: India and the North Korean Nuclear Weapons Program" was presented in the World Congress for Korean Politics and Society 2019 on "Korean Peninsula for Peace and Prosperity: Integration and Innovation," organized by the Korean Political Science Association at Konkuk University, Seoul Campus, Republic of Korea, 24-26 June 2019.

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Introduction

After the end of the Cold War, which marked the end of ideological rivalry between the two superpowers of the world, it was often thought that the threats of nuclear warfare had declined. However, the spread of nuclear weapons since the end of the Cold War is indeed a dangerous development as the chances of miscalculations and conflicts have increased substantially. The South Asian region and the Korean Peninsula in Northeast Asia have emerged as the new nuclear hotspots. These two regions are also among the major conflict zones in the world and have witnessed violent conflicts in the past. The Korean Peninsula still remains a Cold War zone and the two Koreas have remained divided for the last seven decades.¹ Despite several punitive measures and sanctions by the international community, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK or North Korea) has not curtailed its nuclear ambitions. The denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula is being regarded as a necessary step towards building peace in the region. Although the conflict on the Korean Peninsula does not affect India directly, the exchange of nuclear and missile technology between Pakistan and North Korea has been an issue of deep concern to New Delhi. Some of the missiles being possessed by Pakistan are stated to have been developed in North Korea.² On the other hand, the North Korean nuclear weapons program got support from Islamabad,

- 1 After the defeat of Japan in 1945 the Korean Peninsula became independent from brutal Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945). However, in the same year, the Korean Peninsula was divided along the 38th parallel by the Allied Powers, which eventually led to the establishment of two ideologically opposed regimes on the Korean Peninsula in 1948. On June 25, 1950, North Korea invaded South Korea to unify the country, which triggered a protracted Korean War. During the Korean War, South Korea was supported militarily by the U.S.-led United Nations coalition forces while North Korea was supported by China and the Soviet Union. An armistice agreement on July 27, 1953 brought an end to the hostilities, but there was no peace agreement. As a result, the two Koreas are still officially at war with each other.
- 2 B. Raman, "Pakistan's missile-rattling," *Business Line: The Hindu*, June 10, 2002, <<http://www.thehindubusinessline.com/2002/06/10/stories/2002061000080900.htm>> (date accessed September 29, 2017).

particularly the Pakistani scientist Abdul Qadeer Khan played a crucial role in the proliferation of nuclear technology.³ The nuclear bombs and ballistic missiles are key elements of the nuclear weapons program. The spread of these weapons of mass destruction (WMD) also reflects the failure of Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) in preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons technology. Although India is itself a non-signatory state of NPT, it has always supported the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolutions against the North Korean WMD issue and has been vigilant against the proliferation of nuclear weapons by this reclusive regime with India's neighbouring countries. The available literature on this issue largely focuses on the exchange of nuclear weapons and missile technologies between Pakistan and North Korea and its impact on the regional security dynamics in South Asia and Northeast Asia.⁴ However, there is a lack of literature which examines India's policy towards the North Korean nuclear weapons program. India's policy towards the North Korean nuclear issue is largely shaped by New Delhi's stand on the nuclear non-proliferation regime and regional security dynamics in South Asia. This article aims to explain India's policy towards the North Korean nuclear weapons program.

India and the NPT

The NPT has been an effort to control the spread of nuclear weapons in the world. This treaty came into effect in 1970 and it recognized only those countries as nuclear weapons states which had tested nuclear

3 David Albright, Paul Brannan, and Andrea Scheel Stricker, "Detecting and Disrupting Illicit Nuclear Trade after A.Q. Khan," *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 2, April (2010), pp. 85-106.

4 Prakash Nanda, *Nuclearisation of Divided Nations: Pakistan-India-Korea* (New Delhi: Manas Publications, 2001); Gaurav Kampani, "Second Tier Proliferation: The Case of Pakistan and North Korea," *The Nonproliferation Review*, vol. 9, no. 3 (2002), pp. 107-116; P.R. Chari and Vyjayanti Raghavan, *Comparative Security Dynamics in Northeast Asia and South Asia* (New Delhi: Pentagon Security International, 2010).

devices before January 1, 1967. On the issue of NPT India's position has been that this treaty allows few countries to possess nuclear weapons and therefore, discriminates between nuclear "haves" and "have-nots." India's opposition to the NPT has been rooted in its policy of non-alignment and it has been opposed to any international agreement which is discriminatory in nature. Since its independence from Britain in 1947, India has strived to pursue an independent and non-aligned foreign policy.⁵ During the Cold War period, when the world was divided between the two military blocs led by Soviet Union and the United States of America (U.S.), India did not join any of these groups and remained non-aligned. Although India established a treaty of "Peace, Friendship and Cooperation" with the Soviet Union on August 9, 1971, New Delhi never became a full-fledged military ally of the Communist bloc. In order to maintain "strategic autonomy" in international relations, New Delhi recognized the importance of nuclear weapons. As the country of Gautama Buddha, Mahatma Gandhi and Mother Teresa, India has always advocated for global peace and disarmament, but the world is certainly not an ideal place. India learnt this lesson when it was attacked and defeated by China in 1962. Despite seeking *Panchasheel*⁶ in relations with its Asian neighbour, China's attack was an eye-opener to New Delhi and since then India has taken "China's threat" very seriously. Two years later, China conducted its first nuclear test which propelled India to actively engage in the development of nuclear weapons technology, resulting in the first "peaceful nuclear explosion" by this South Asian nation in May 1974. On the other hand, India's rivalry with the Islamic Republic of Pakistan is almost eternal and both countries had fought at least four wars since their independence after partition of erstwhile British India on the basis of religion in 1947. The close alliance between China and Pakistan is a major challenge to the Indian security establishment. As a result, in May 1998, India conducted nuclear tests

5 Sumit Ganguly and Manjeet S. Pardesi, "Explaining Sixty Years of India's Foreign Policy," *India Review*, vol. 8, no. 1, January-March (2009), pp. 4-19.

6 *Panchasheel* refers to the five principles of good neighborliness and peaceful coexistence. These were the guiding principles of the China-India agreement in 1954.

and declared itself a nuclear weapons state. After the nuclear tests, in a letter to the then U.S. President Bill Clinton, the then Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee had pointed towards China and Pakistan as the major reasons for India's nuclear weapons program.⁷

In recent times India's application for membership in the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG)⁸ has been stalled by China and some other countries on the ground that India is a non-signatory state to the NPT. However, India has consistently opposed the proliferation of nuclear weapons and has refrained from sharing this technology with any other country. India has pursued a "dual track strategy" of developing a nuclear deterrence in defiance to the nuclear non-proliferation regime, but also advocating for nuclear disarmament.⁹ India has fully abided by the UNSC resolutions against proliferation of nuclear weapons by any other country. As a responsible nuclear power state India has also played its role in checking the proliferation of WMD technology in the world. India's track record regarding nuclear non-proliferation has been recognized by the world powers and the U.S. has particularly been keen to cooperate with New Delhi in civilian use of nuclear energy. Although the India-U.S. civilian nuclear agreement of 2005 is a deviation from the non-proliferation regime, it acknowledges India's strong commitment towards nuclear non-proliferation. Ironically, three decades earlier, in 1975, the U.S. created laws against nuclear weapons development by India itself.¹⁰ In recent years the U.S. has also been pushing for India's membership in the NSG.

7 "Nuclear Anxiety; Indian's Letter to Clinton On the Nuclear Testing," *The New York Times*, May 13, 1998, <<https://www.nytimes.com/1998/05/13/world/nuclear-anxiety-indian-s-letter-to-clinton-on-the-nuclear-testing.html>> (date accessed May 16, 2019).

8 NSG is a 48 member group which was created in the wake of India's first "peaceful nuclear explosion" in 1974. The aim of this group is to limit the trade of nuclear material with only those countries which are signatories of NPT.

9 Leonard Weiss, "India and the NPT," *Strategic Analysis*, vol. 34, no. 2 (2010), pp. 255-271.

10 Mumin Chen, "Re-assessing the International Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime: A Comparison Between India and North Korea," *Jebat: Malaysian Journal of History, Politics & Strategic Studies*, vol. 38, no. 2, December (2011), p. 144.

India-North Korea Relations

India's relations with North Korea go back to historical times. In the ancient period Indian cultural influences through Buddhism spread to the Korean Peninsula. However, in the modern period after India got independence from British colonial rule in August 1947, it briefly got involved in the Korean conflict. India contributed whatever it could have done in its capacity to bring a peaceful resolution to the Korean conflict and unification of the two Koreas.¹¹ KPS Menon from India supervised over the United Nations (UN), organized elections in South Korea in 1948, in which North Korea did not participate. Later, during the Korean War (1950-1953) India sent a medical team and as chairman of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission (NNRC), New Delhi played an important role in the repatriation of prisoners of war. India along with other neutral nations also made efforts in the signing of the armistice agreement in 1953, which brought an end to the hostilities on the Korean Peninsula.¹² However, realizing the complexity of the Korean conflict India maintained a low profile engagement with both Koreas after the Korean War and in 1962 New Delhi established a consulate level relationship with both Seoul and Pyongyang. Nonetheless, India's relations with North Korea remained uneasy vis-à-vis India's relations with South Korea during the Cold War period. On the issue of the China-India border conflict in 1962 North Korea supported China. Subsequently, New Delhi came out with a strong protest note on July 20, 1963, which regarded Pyongyang's support of Beijing as "an unfriendly act amounting to interference in the internal affairs of the Government of India."¹³ Later, during the India-Pakistan

11 Ranjit Kumar Dhawan, "India's Efforts for Peace and Unification of the Korean Peninsula," *Tamkang Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 19, no. 4 (2016), pp.1-35; Kim ChanWahn, "The Role of India in the Korean War," *International Area Review*, vol. 13, no. 2 (Summer, 2010), p. 26.

12 India, Ministry of External Affairs, "India-Republic of Korea Bilateral Relations," *Briefs on India's Bilateral Relations*, New Delhi, October 2017, <http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Republic_of_Korea_October_2017.pdf> (date accessed October 31, 2017).

13 India, Ministry of External Affairs, MEA Library, *Annual Report (1963-64)*, New

war in 1971 over Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan), North Korea criticized India for dismembering Pakistan and supported Islamabad by supplying some military equipment such as artillery ammunition, multiple rocket launchers and spare parts of the weapons.¹⁴ In May 1971 New Delhi also threatened to expel some North Korean officials from the country due to their alleged involvement in certain “undesirable activities,” such as promotion of the revolutionary movement in India.¹⁵

As a non-aligned country India recognized the existence of the two Korean states and established embassy level diplomatic relations with Pyongyang and Seoul in 1973. In August 1975, North Korea also became a member of Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) – to which India was a founding member. As members of NAM, New Delhi and Pyongyang share similar views on several international issues including disarmament and elimination of nuclear weapons from the world.¹⁶ In the various NAM summits, India has consistently supported the unification of the two Koreas in a peaceful manner and without any interference from foreign powers.¹⁷ However, despite having diplomatic relations and common views as being members of NAM, India maintained minimal relations with North Korea. Although there were regular meetings by diplomats and leaders of both countries, there had

Delhi, p. 44, <<http://mealib.nic.in/?2386?000>> (date accessed October 1, 2017).

14 Yatindra Bhatnagar, *Korean Experience* (New Delhi: Deepsadhana Publication, 1979), pp. 129-130; Prakash Nanda, *Nuclearisation of Divided Nations: India-Pakistan-Korea*, p. 65; David Brewster, “India’s Developing Relationship with South Korea: A Useful Friend in East Asia,” *Asian Survey*, vol. 50, no. 2 (2010), p. 407.

15 *The Times* (London), May 7, 1971, cited in David Brewster, “India’s Developing Relationship with South Korea: A Useful Friend in East Asia,” p. 405 in Footnote 3.

16 India, Ministry of External Affairs, *Briefs on India’s Bilateral Relations*, “India-DPR Korea Relations,” New Delhi, August 2017, <http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/2_DPR_Korea_October_2017.pdf> (date accessed October 19, 2017).

17 *Summit Declarations of Non-Aligned Movement (1961-2009)*, Kathmandu: Institute of Foreign Affairs, April 2011, <<http://namiran.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Declarations-of-All-Previous-NAM-Summits.pdf>> (date accessed October 23, 2017).

been no meeting at the highest level. This shows that the bilateral relationship between India and North Korea has been merely formal without much substance.

After the end of the Cold War, New Delhi introduced changes in its economic and foreign policies, which played an important role in realigning India's relations with both Koreas. India's economic liberalization and "Look East"¹⁸ policy found more common ground with South Korea, and relations between the two countries have developed substantially in the last two and half decades. In contrast to this, India's relations with North Korea have remained marginal in the post-Cold War years due to Pyongyang's reluctance to adopt economic liberalization measures and its role in the proliferation of WMD with Pakistan. As a result, India maintained its "small" embassy in Pyongyang to have some engagement with this isolated country. The relations between New Delhi and Pyongyang in the post-Cold War period were largely shaped by India's non-alignment policy and the humanitarian support needed by North Korea due to frequent famines and economic sanctions imposed on Pyongyang because of its nuclear weapons program. India sent thousands of tons of food and humanitarian aid to North Korea. Also, India made a small contribution in the human resource development of North Korea by providing educational training to North Korean students and researchers. A children's school, an agricultural farm and a shoe factory in North Korea received regular grants and support from India. However, due to the several international sanctions on this "Hermit Kingdom,"¹⁹ trade relations between India and North Korea have remained minimal (Table 1).

18 The "Look East" policy was initiated in the early 1990s by P.V. Narasimha Rao administration to improve India's relations with the countries of Southeast and East Asia.

19 North Korea is also referred to as "Hermit Kingdom" due to its isolationist policies. In fact this term was used for the Korean Peninsula in the pre-modern period. The term "Hermit" was first used for Korea by William Elliot Griffis. See William Elliot Griffis, *Corea: The Hermit Nation* (London: W.H. Allen & Co., 1882).

<Table 1> North Korea's trade partners in year 2016

	Percentage of North Korea's trade with foreign countries				
North Korea's export destinations	China (83%)	India (3.5%)	Pakistan (1.5%)	Burkina Faso (1.2%)	Others (10.8%)
North Korea's import origins	China (85%)	India (3.1%)	Russia (2.3%)	Thailand (2.1%)	Others (7.5%)

Source: The Observatory of Economic Complexity, North Korea, Trade Balance, <http://atlas.media.mit.edu/en/profile/country/prk/#Trade_Balance> (date accessed October 23, 2017).

North Korea-Pakistan WMD Trade

Despite having vast differences in socio-cultural and political systems, North Korea and Pakistan share a unique relationship. One common thread that binds these two countries is China, as they both are the closest allies of this Asian giant. They also share similar origins as they emerged with the division of their motherland — the Korean Peninsula in the case of North Korea and British India in the case of Pakistan. The relations between Pyongyang and Islamabad were established in 1971 during the India-Pakistan war over Bangladesh. During this war Pakistan allegedly got some military support from North Korea and after the liberation of Bangladesh, Pyongyang criticized India for its role in the dismemberment of Pakistan. After the end of the Cold War, North Korea-Pakistan relations found new purpose with regards to the exchange of missile and nuclear technologies. In the post-Cold War period, due to the loss of economic and military support from the Soviet Union, North Korea emerged as an exporter of ballistic missiles and started seeking nuclear weapons technology for the survival of the ruling Kim dynasty.²⁰ Although North Korea was a signatory state of NPT, it withdrew from this non-proliferation treaty in 2003. Pakistan was also looking for ballistic missiles which could target Indian cities. As a result, the convergence

20 North Korea has established a hereditary succession of power in the country. Kim Il-sung (1948-1994), Kim Jong-il (1994-2011), and Kim Jong-un (since 2011) have been the rulers of North Korea.

of military interests brought North Korea and Pakistan together. In 1993, Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto visited Pyongyang and allegedly received missile technology from the North. Some of the missiles being possessed by the Pakistani army are stated to be of North Korean origin.

On the other hand, North Koreans got help from Pakistan in the development of nuclear weapons. The probable reason which led to transfer of the nuclear weapons technology by Islamabad to Pyongyang was due to Pakistan's lack of hard currency to pay for the North Korean ballistic missiles. This is also evident from the fact that during the 1990s, Pakistan was under U.S. sanctions due to its nuclear weapons program. According to Gaurav Kampani, "Above all, Pakistan's proliferation behaviour is evidence that in some circumstances, reliance on sanctions to manage proliferation carries the risk of producing negative outcomes."²¹ This can be applied to the North Korean case as well. Due to international sanctions, Pyongyang has largely depended on illicit trade of WMD for the survival of its regime. North Korea has also depended on barter trade or has often demanded "deferred payment" in its trade with foreign countries for food and fuel. As a result, in exchange for North Korean ballistic missiles, Pakistan provided in-part nuclear technology, in-part cash and fertilizers and in-part wheat, which was either from Pakistan or imported from the U.S. and/or Australia to North Korea.²² Pakistan's military ruler Pervez Musharraf has mentioned this illicit trade in his memoir in the following words,

Doctor A.Q. [Abdul Qadeer] Khan transferred nearly two dozen P-I and P-II centrifuges to North Korea. He also provided North Korea with a flow meter, some special oils for centrifuges, and coaching on centrifuge technology,

21 Gaurav Kampani, "Second Tier Proliferation: The Case of Pakistan and North Korea," p. 107.

22 Prakash Nanda, p. 71; see P.R. Chari and Vyjayanti Raghavan, *Comparative Security Dynamics in Northeast Asia and South Asia*, p. 141; B. Raman, "Pakistan's missile-rattling."

*including visits to top-secret centrifuge plants.*²³

North Korea's role in the proliferation of missile and nuclear technology has been an issue of concern for India. The North Korean missiles acquired by Pakistan are a threat to India's own security as these missiles have brought Indian cities within the range of Pakistan's nuclear weapons. Similarly, Pakistan's support of North Korean nuclear weapons program is a threat to India's "strategic partners" such as U.S., South Korea and Japan. A statement by the Government of Germany in 2019 revealed that Pakistan's nuclear proliferation activities have "increased sharply" in recent years.²⁴ As a result, New Delhi has remained vigilant against the proliferation of WMD in its neighbourhood.

India's Position on the North Korean WMD Program

Although India has maintained normal diplomatic relations with North Korea since 1973, relations between the two countries have remained uneasy, particularly due to Pyongyang's belligerent behaviour and the exchange of nuclear and missile technologies with Islamabad. During the Cold War period, North Korea's anti-India activities, including its support of China during the Sino-India border conflicts of 1962 and of Pakistan during the 1971 Indo-Pak war, created frictions between Pyongyang and New Delhi. In the post-Cold War period, India has remained concerned over the issue of the spread of WMD technology in its neighbourhood. North Korea's involvement in the proliferation of nuclear technology with Pakistan, Iran and Myanmar is against India's interests. Therefore, on several occasions, India has taken actions against

23 Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2006), p. 294.

24 Rezaul H Lashkar, "'Sharp increase' in Pakistan's efforts to illegally get N-tech: Berlin," *Hindustan Times*, November 16, 2019, <<https://www.hindustantimes.com/world-news/sharp-increase-in-pakistan-s-efforts-to-illegally-get-n-tech-berlin/story-7EoBewOumY6JqlMR4w2meI.html>> (date accessed November 16, 2019).

North Korean shipping vessels, suspecting them of transporting nuclear materials or parts of ballistic missiles (Table 2).

<Table 2> List of North Korean ships confiscated by Indian officials

Name of the North Korean ship	Time of confiscation	Place of confiscation	WMD materials on board
Ku Wol San	June 1999	Gujarat coast	Parts of ballistic missiles
MV Musan	August 2009	Andaman coast	Not found
Hyangro	October 2009	Kerala coast	Not found

Sources: Prakash Nanda, *Nuclearisation of Divided Nations: Pakistan-India-Korea* (New Delhi: Manas Publications, 2001), pp. 68-69; John Cherian, "In murky waters," *Frontline*, vol. 26, no. 18, August 29-September 11, 2009, <<http://www.frontline.in/static/html/fl2618/stories/20090911261805700.htm>> (date accessed February 17, 2018); Special Correspondent, "North Korea ship," *The Telegraph* (India), October 5, 2009, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/1091005/jsp/nation/story_11574195.jsp> (date accessed February 17, 2018).

On the request of U.S. officials a North Korean jet was denied permission by the Government of India to cross Indian airspace in August 2008. This North Korean aircraft was supposedly destined for Iran and was suspected of carrying parts of ballistic missiles or other WMD materials.²⁵ Apart from these incidents, India has repeatedly condemned the testing of nuclear devices or missiles by North Korea and has raised concern regarding involvement of Pyongyang in the proliferation of WMD in South Asian region. However, it is indeed interesting to note that North Korea never made any serious complaints over these issues to New Delhi, and bilateral relations remained as usual. On the other hand, India sent thousands of tons of humanitarian assistance to North Korea and abstained from voting against this secretive regime on human rights related issues in the UN and its affiliated agencies. India also provided some technical training to North Korean researchers and students. Some of the scientists from North Korea who were trained in the Centre for Space Science and Technology Education in Asia and the Pacific (CSSTEAP) in Dehradun, India were

25 "N Korean jet denied permission to cross Indian airspace," Bureau Report, *Zee News*, November 5, 2008, <http://zeenews.india.com/news/nation/n-korean-jet-denied-permission-to-crossindian-airspace_481092.html> (date accessed January 9, 2015).

later found to be actively involved in the North Korean WMD program.²⁶ This alleged “Indian connection” to the North Korean nuclear program was mentioned in an UN report. But the spokesperson of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs denied these allegations and maintained that the courses provided by CSSTEAP to foreigners including North Koreans is “very general” and is “available in open-source.”²⁷

However, the shift in India’s policy towards the North Korean nuclear weapons program was evident in April 2017 when its Ministry of External Affairs came out with an “extraordinary” official notification which has put severe restrictions on any cooperation with this reclusive state, except with regards to food and medical aid.²⁸ Later in October 2017, the Government of India published another notification regarding economic sanctions on North Korea.²⁹ The nationalist administration of Prime Minister Narendra Modi in India has taken a harder stand on North Korean provocations and has been more assertive in raising issues of North Korea’s nuclear proliferation activities at the international forums. After coming to power in May 2014, the Modi administration

26 Nilanjana Bhowmick, “India’s embarrassing North Korean connection,” *Al-Jazeera*, June 21, 2016, <<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2016/06/india-embarrassing-north-korean-connection-160620195559208.html>> (date accessed October 10, 2017).

27 India, Ministry of External Affairs, *Media Briefings*, “Official Spokesperson’s response to a question on an article in Al Jazeera on Indian and DPRK,” New Delhi, June 23, 2016, <<http://www.mea.gov.in/media-briefings.htm?dtl/26945/official-spokespersons+response+to+a+question+on+an+article+in+al+jazeera+on+india+and+dprk>> (date accessed October 10, 2017).

28 The notification by Indian Ministry of External Affairs against the North Korean WMD program is in reference to several UNSC resolutions: 1718 (2006), 1874 (2009), 2087 (2013), 2094 (2013), 2270 (2016) and 2321 (2016). India, Ministry of External Affairs, “Democratic People’s Republic of Korea-Non-Proliferation order,” *Press Releases*, New Delhi, April 21, 2017, <http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/28415_DPRK_Non_Proliferation_Order_April_2017.pdf> (date accessed April 30, 2017).

29 India, Ministry of External Affairs, “Non-Proliferation Order related to UN Security Council Resolutions on DPRK (October 31, 2017),” *Press Releases*, New Delhi, November 4, 2017, <http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/29093_New_DGFT.pdf> (date accessed April 22, 2018).

initiated the “Act East” policy to further deepen India’s economic and strategic partnership with the countries of Southeast Asian and East Asian region.³⁰ Nevertheless, India’s approach towards North Korea under the Modi administration has remained lukewarm.

Although the Modi government in India abstained from voting against North Korean human rights situation in the UN on November 18, 2014 and provided Pyongyang with food aid worth U.S. \$ 1 million in 2016, it firmly conveyed to North Korea that New Delhi would not tolerate the proliferation of nuclear weapons. During the visit of the then Indian Minister of External Affairs Sushma Swaraj to South Korea in December 2014, the then South Korean President Park Geun-hye thanked her for New Delhi’s support on the issue of North Korea’s denuclearization.³¹ When Foreign Minister Ri Su Yong visited New Delhi in April 2015, which was the first ever trip by any foreign minister from the DPRK to India, Swaraj “conveyed to her [North] Korean counterpart the significance of peace and stability in the Korean peninsula for India’s Act East policy.”³² Later, during the visit of Prime Minister Narendra Modi to Seoul in May 2015, the joint statement for “Special Strategic Partnership” between India and South Korea expressed concern over the North Korean WMD program.³³ In recent years India has begun considering North Korea’s WMD program as a national security threat

30 The period of the first Narendra Modi government was from May 2014 to May 2019. Prime Minister Narendra Modi got re-elected with majority seats in the lower house of Indian Parliament in May 2019.

31 Sohn JiAe, “President meets Indian foreign minister,” *Korea.net*, December 30, 2014, <<http://www.korea.net/NewsFocus/Policies/view?articleId=124301>> (date accessed January 10, 2015).

32 India, Ministry of External Affairs, “Visit of Foreign Minister of Democratic People’s Republic of Korea,” *Press Releases*, New Delhi, April 13, 2015, <<http://www.mea.gov.in/press-releases.htm?dtl/25062>> (date accessed October 10, 2017).

33 India, Ministry of External Affairs, “India-Republic of Korea Joint Statement for Special Strategic Partnership (May 18, 2015),” *Bilateral/Multilateral Documents*, Seoul, May 18, 2015, <<http://www.mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/25261/india++republic+of+korea+joint+statement+for+special+strategic+partnership+may+18+2015>> (date accessed October 16, 2017).

and supported the multi-nation forum called “Vancouver dialogue” in January 2018 to control North Korean nuclear weapons proliferation.³⁴

India and North Korea's Denuclearization

Till this date India has largely been a passive actor on the issue of controlling North Korea's WMD program. New Delhi has been taking measures against Pyongyang in response to the resolutions passed by the international community. Even the notifications published by the Narendra Modi administration in 2017 were in support of the resolutions passed by the UNSC against the WMD program of North Korea. This raises an important issue over whether India can play a more active role in the affairs of the Korean Peninsula and contribute to the reduction of the North Korean nuclear arsenal, if not its complete denuclearization? In the present context, India's participation in the issues related to the Korean Peninsula remains limited, mainly due to limitations in India's own capabilities. According to Wang Hwi Lee, Sang Yoon Ma, and Kun Young Park,

*India's impact on the Korean peninsula is neither direct nor explicit. However, its strategic relations with China, Russia, and the United States may have significant implications for the balance of power in the Northeast Asian region.*³⁵

India's economic, diplomatic and military influence beyond the South Asian and Indian Ocean region remains questionable. Although the importance of India in the geo-politics of the “Indo-Pacific” region has been increasing, it has still a long way to go before New Delhi could be regarded as a major power beyond the Indian Ocean region. However, India, in alliance with like-minded countries like Japan, U.S. and

34 Saubhadra Chatterji, “N Korea's nuclear tests a threat to our security,” *Hindustan Times* (New Delhi), December 26, 2017, p. 9.

35 Wang Hwi Lee, Sang Yoon Ma, and Kun Young Park, “Korean Foreign Policy and the Rise of the BRICs Countries,” *Asian Perspective*, vol. 31, no. 4 (2007), p. 219.

Australia, could put substantial pressure on China to restrain North Korea's belligerent behavior. Beijing still remains the most important diplomatic, economic and military partner of North Korea. Despite the harsh economic sanctions placed on the Kim dynasty, petroleum tankers and pipelines from China keep North Korean military vehicles rolling on the streets and along the demilitarized zone (DMZ) that has been the de-facto border between the two Korean states since 1953.

In this regard, the U.S. has also been seeking India's greater role in the denuclearization of North Korea. This is apparent from the statement of the former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Kurt Campbell before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee in 2011 when he revealed that, "the United States and India have discussed North Korea in our Strategic Dialogue and other bilateral and multilateral exchanges."³⁶ In July 2017, a delegation from the U.S. State Department visited New Delhi to seek India's active role in curtailing North Korea's WMD program by scaling down diplomatic relations between India and North Korea.³⁷ Later, in August 2017, the then commander of the U.S. Pacific Command, Admiral Harry Harris, said that India can play a significant role in defusing the North Korean nuclear weapons threat.³⁸ However, despite substantial U.S. pressures, New Delhi did not completely break bilateral diplomatic relations with Pyongyang and during the visit of U.S. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson to New Delhi in October 2017, Sushma Swaraj said that, "India believed a diplomatic presence in

36 "US seeks India help to deal with North Korea," *The Indian Express* (Agencies), March 2, 2011, <<http://indianexpress.com/article/india/latest-news/us-seeks-india-help-to-deal-with-north-korea/>> (date accessed October 09, 2017).

37 Indrani Bagchi, "Scale back engagement with North Korea, US tells India," *The Times of India*, July 30, 2017, <<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/scale-back-engagement-with-north-korea-us-tells-india/articleshow/59828183.cms>> (date accessed October 21, 2017).

38 Press Trust of India, "India A Loud Voice, Can Help Resolve N Korea Crisis: Top US Commander," *NDTV*, August 12, 2017, <<https://www.ndtv.com/world-news/india-can-help-defuse-north-korea-crisis-top-us-commander-1736856>> (date accessed October 09, 2017).

North Korea was necessary to keep lines of communication open.”³⁹ The Narendra Modi government’s efforts to continue engagement with Pyongyang was evident when General VK Singh, the then Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs visited North Korea in May 2018, which was the first ministerial level visit from India to this reclusive state after a gap of almost two decades.⁴⁰

The recent developments on the Korean Peninsula and the diplomatic activities of China, South Korea and the U.S. with the Kim dynasty in North Korea have also not gone unnoticed in India. In the backdrop of April 27, 2018 inter-Korean summit, New Delhi voiced its apprehensions regarding the proliferation connections of North Korea’s WMD program.⁴¹ The Indian foreign policy establishment has been keeping an eye on the rapprochement between Pyongyang and Washington DC. India’s Ministry of External Affairs welcomed the U.S.-North Korea summit in Singapore in June 2018 but also reiterated its concerns about the North Korean nuclear proliferation linkages in South Asia.⁴² According to noted Indian strategic analyst, C. Raja Mohan, “Whether they [Donald Trump and Kim Jong-un] succeed or fail [on

39 “Terror groups threatening stability of Pakistan govt: Tillerson after talks with Sushma,” *Hindustan Times* (Agencies), October 25, 2017, <<http://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/terror-groups-threatening-stability-of-pakistan-govt-tillerson/story-wlcJg5UBV5iwAi6l6HoeN.html>> (date accessed October 25, 2017).

40 India, Ministry of External Affairs, “Visit of Minister of State for External Affairs General Dr. V.K. Singh (Retd.) to the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea,” *Press Releases*, New Delhi, May 16, 2018, <<https://mea.gov.in/press-releases.htm?dtl/29899/Visit+of+Minister+of+State+for+External+Affairs+General+Dr+VK+Singh+Retd+to+the+Democratic+Peoples+Republic+of+Korea>> (date accessed June 15, 2019).

41 India, Ministry of External Affairs, “Inter-Korean Summit meeting at Panmunjom,” *Press Releases*, New Delhi, April 28, 2018, <<http://www.mea.gov.in/press-releases.htm?dtl/29856/InterKorean+Summit+meeting+at+Panmunjom>> (date accessed April 29, 2018).

42 India, Ministry of External Affairs, “India Welcomes the U.S.-DPRK Summit,” *Press Releases*, New Delhi, June 12, 2018, <https://mea.gov.in/press-releases.htm?dtl/29973/India_Welcomes_the_US_DPRK_Summit> (date accessed May 28, 2020).

issue of denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula], India would be staring at a very different set of geopolitical equations in East Asia."⁴³ This is indeed an important moment for the NPT regime and security dynamics in the Northeast Asian region. However, it appears that India's role shall remain marginal in this whole process of the rapidly changing geopolitical situation on the Korean Peninsula. On the other hand, there is a possibility that North Korea may never completely give up its nuclear weapons as they are the most important tool for the survival of the Kim dynasty's regime in the country. As a result, it would be much more pragmatic for India to continue to be vigilant against North Korea's WMD proliferation activities in the South Asian and Indian Ocean region where New Delhi has been an influential power and in this regard cooperate with other major powers of the Indo-Pacific region.

An Analysis

India's policy towards the North Korean nuclear weapons program has evolved over time. During the Cold War period, and as members of NAM, India shared a similar view with North Korea on the issue of disarmament. In the post-Cold War period, and with changes in India's economic and foreign policy goals, there has been a shift in New Delhi's approach towards the North Korean nuclear weapons program. India has remained wary of the proliferation of WMD in its neighbourhood. The role of North Korea in the development and proliferation of nuclear and missile technology with India's archrival Pakistan has certainly strained New Delhi's relations with this "Hermit Kingdom." As a result, India has kept a low profile engagement with North Korea. Although India is stated to be one of the major trade partners of North Korea after China, the actual trade between the two countries is very small (Table 3).

43 C. Raja Mohan, "Raja Mandala: A Korean miracle," *The Indian Express*, March 13, 2018, <<http://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/raja-mandala-a-korean-miracle-donald-trump-kim-jong-un-5095542/>> (date accessed April 22, 2018).

Despite India's opposition to the NPT, it has shown a strong commitment on the issue of nuclear non-proliferation. Similar to North Korea, harsh economic sanctions by the U.S. failed to deter India from developing its own nuclear weapons.⁴⁴ But India has refrained from sharing nuclear weapons technology with any other country of the world. In this regard, India's opposition to the North Korean nuclear weapons program reflects New Delhi's policy of preventing the spread of WMD in the South Asian region. In 2017, the Government of India came out with comprehensive measures against the North Korean nuclear program, which has significantly curtailed any Indian collaboration with this reclusive state, except for food and medical assistance. On the other hand, the U.S. has also been seeking India's greater role in solving the North Korean nuclear issue.

<Table 3> India-North Korea bilateral trade (Values in U.S. \$ millions)

Year	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19
Export from India to North Korea	76.52	110.88	44.84	57.55	26.99
Import from North Korea to India	131.93	87.90	88.59	25.08	3.30
Total trade	208.45	198.78	133.43	82.63	30.28

Source: India, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Department of Commerce, "Export-Import Data Bank," Kolkata, <<https://commerce-app.gov.in/eidb/iecntq.asp>> (date accessed July 13, 2019).

In recent years, India has taken a tougher stand on the North Korean nuclear weapons program, but it seems that New Delhi also does not want to completely isolate North Korea. India has continued to maintain some level of engagement with the North. This is also evident from the fact that the then Indian Minister of State for Home Affairs, Kiren Rijju visited the North Korean embassy in New Delhi in 2015 to participate in an event and expressed his desire for improved trade relations between the two countries.⁴⁵ However, North Korea's continued provocations,

44 Nitya Singh and Wootae Lee, "Survival from economic sanctions: a comparative case study of India and North Korea," *Journal of Asian Public Policy*, vol. 4, no. 2, July (2011), pp. 171-186.

45 Kallol Bhattacharjee, "India reaches out, wants to upgrade ties with North Korea,"

including two nuclear tests in 2016, did not go well with the Indian authorities. As a result, India decided to restrict trade relations with North Korea, except for food and medicinal assistance. In recent years the Kim dynasty has become more careful to dodge UN surveillance and sanctions regarding North Korean nuclear proliferation activities, so India has been seeking support from the international community on this matter. Apart from regional security concerns in South Asia, India is also concerned that the North Korean WMD program adversely affects the strategic balance in the Northeast Asian region and hampers the security interests of South Korea and Japan. In meetings with South Korean and Japanese leaders, New Delhi has shared concerns about the detrimental impact of the North Korean WMD program in the Northeast Asian region. At the same time Indian leaders have been advising their North Korean counterparts to refrain from belligerent and provocative behaviour that may endanger peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula. South Korean leaders and the U.S. have also been seeking India's support and cooperation to denuclearize North Korea.

Conclusion

The spread of nuclear weapons in states like North Korea and Pakistan is indeed a worrisome development for the international community. However, for India, it is an issue of deep concern. The exchange of nuclear and missile technologies between Islamabad and Pyongyang has been detrimental to India's security. On the other hand, the possibilities of a nuclear war between North Korea and the U.S. have also increased in recent years. During his speech in the United Nations General Assembly in 2017, the U.S. President Donald Trump even threatened to "totally destroy" North Korea. Denuclearization of North Korea is regarded as an important step towards building peace and

The Hindu, September 16, 2015, <<http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/india-reaches-out-wants-to-upgrade-ties-with-north-korea/article7656332.ece>> (date accessed October 17, 2017).

stability on the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asian region. However, all efforts to denuclearize the North have failed. Economic sanctions have only made the life of the North Korean people miserable but have not deterred its regime to give up its WMD program. Any major conflict on the Korean Peninsula would have disastrous consequences. Although India does not have much leverage on issues related to the Korean Peninsula, it has consistently opposed the North Korean nuclear weapons program and has supported UNSC resolutions on this issue. India's position on the issue of nuclear non-proliferation and its deepening engagement with the East Asian region has been recognized by the U.S. As a result, Washington DC has been seeking India's participation and cooperation in denuclearizing North Korea.

India's response to the North Korean nuclear weapons program is also an indication that New Delhi has a desire to more actively participate in international affairs and solve issues which are beyond its territories and neighbourhood. Nuclear proliferation is a global problem as leakage of these technologies to non-state actors and terrorist organizations would be catastrophic. In recent years India's position towards the North Korean nuclear weapons program has become more rigid and New Delhi has sharpened its disagreement with North Korean belligerence. In all likelihood North Korea may also never completely surrender its nuclear arsenals, so New Delhi's efforts should be to prevent further proliferation of the North Korean WMD program and spread of WMD technology to other states and non-state actors. However, it would indeed be interesting to observe how India cooperates with the U.S., Japan and South Korea on the North Korean nuclear issue and seeks similar reciprocity from Washington DC, Tokyo and Seoul with regards to Pakistan's nuclear weapons program.

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Joseonhakgyo, Learning under North Korean Leadership: Transitioning from 1970 to Present*

Min Hye Cho**

This paper analyzes English as a Foreign Language (EFL) textbooks used during North Korea's three leaderships: 1970s, 1990s and present. The textbooks have been used at Korean ethnic schools, Joseonhakgyo (朝鮮学校), which are managed by the Chongryon (總聯) organization in Japan. The organization is affiliated with North Korea despite its South Korean origins. Given North Korea's changing influence over Chongryon's education system, this study investigates how Chongryon Koreans' view on themselves has undergone a transition. The textbooks' content that have been used in junior high school classrooms (students aged between thirteen and fifteen years) are analyzed. Selected texts from these textbooks are analyzed critically to delineate the changing views of Chongryon Koreans. The findings demonstrate that Chongryon Koreans have changed their perspective from focusing on their ties to North Korea (1970s) to focusing on surviving as a minority group (1990s) to finally recognising that they reside permanently in Japan (present).

Keywords: EFL textbooks, Korean ethnic school, minority education, North Koreans in Japan, North Korean leadership

* Acknowledgments: The author would like to acknowledge the generous and thoughtful support of the staff at Hagusobang (Chongryon publishing company), including Mr Nam In Ryang, Ms Kyong Suk Kim and Ms Mi Ja Moon; Ms Malryo Jang, an English teacher at Joseonhakgyo; and Mr Seong Bok Kang at Joseon University in Tokyo. They have consistently provided primary resource materials, such as Chongryon EFL textbooks, which made this research project possible. Furthermore, they have significantly contributed to this research through their sharing of life stories and experiences as Chongryon Koreans, which allowed the author to develop a rich understanding of life within the community and of their historical struggles that made them who they are today.

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I. Introduction

Japan is currently the third most common country for Korean expats, accounting for 11.01% of Koreans residing outside of South Korea. Specifically, in 2019, 824,977 Koreans resided in Japan, out of a total of 7,493,587 foreign-residing Koreans.¹ This is not a new trend – large numbers of Korean people have been living in Japan over a period of at least 100 years, such that fourth- and fifth-generation Koreans now make up a significant portion of the Korean community in Japan, making it Japan’s second-largest minority group.² In total, 19.7 % of Japan’s minority communities are Koreans, out of the total of 2,471,458 foreigners registered in Japan.³

Within the Korean minority group in Japan, there exists a division. This separation reflects the present division between the opposing nations, South Korea and North Korea, as seen in much recent media reporting (e.g., the inter-Korean summit on 27 April, 2018). South and North Korea serve as a unique example of a divided country, and highlight the difficulties and need to develop peaceful relations. In Japan, the division of the Korean Peninsula is reflected in two distinct groups, the Mindan organization (民團)⁴ aligning with South Korea and the Chongryon organization (總聯)⁵ aligning with

1 This is a biennial report provided by the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

2 Min Hye Cho, “Multilingual ability of Koreans living in Japan: Focusing on Korean and English textbooks,” proceedings of the *Australian Symposium on Korean Language Learning and Teaching*, <ISBN 978-1-922046-21-5> (2017), pp. 135-144.

3 Hawon Jang, “The special permanent residents in Japan: Zainichi Korean,” *The Yale Review of International Studies*, 2019, <<http://yris.yira.org/comments/2873>> (date accessed June 15, 2019).

4 This organization is a Korean Residents’ Union in Japan that was established in 1946 and has ties to South Korea.

5 For this term, this study follows the spelling used by the Chongryon organization. It is sometimes spelled as “Chongryun” or “Ch’ongnyŏn” in Korean (總聯), and “ChōsenSōren” (朝鮮総連) in Japanese. The English translation is “The General Association of Korean Residents.” This term is also applied to individuals of Korean ancestry who support North Korean ideologies.

North Korea.⁶ Considering that the majority of first generation Chongryon Koreans originated from South Korea,⁷ their division is not only political, but also ideological, and these differences in belief can be seen in the two expatriate communities as well.

Ultimately, the importance of analysing textbooks originates from the notion that textbooks act as a tool for implementing education practices from which the values of individuals or groups are expressed to students.⁸ It is from the analysis that one may better understand the dominant ideas and values of such individuals or groups along with their social setting.

This study focuses on the contents of foreign language textbooks from one of these organizations, known as the Chongryon, a pro-North Korean organization in Japan. Chongryon has established its own schools (from pre-school to university), named Joseonhakgyo⁹ and has managed them independently from the Japanese government.¹⁰ Joseonhakgyo were established in 1946 and follow teaching curricula independent of the Japanese education system.¹¹ Younger Chongryon Korean generations have been educated in this school system where, in order to promote a Korean ethnic identity, most lessons are delivered in the Korean language to Japanese-speaking students.

Since many historical events (e.g., World War II and the Korean War) have strongly affected many Koreans in Japan, this study aims to

6 Sonia Ryang, *North Koreans in Japan: Language, ideology and identity* (Colorado: Westview Press, 1997).

7 Cho, *Multilingual ability of Koreans*, pp. 135-144.

8 Eli Hinkel, *Culture in second language teaching and learning* (Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press, 2005), p. 135.

9 Korean ethnic schools (Joseonhakgyo, 朝鮮学校 / Chōsengakkō /), also known as “Minjok (ethnic) hakgyo (school),” meaning “Korean ethnic schools” in Japan.

10 Cho, “A comparative study of the construction of culture and ideology seen in secondary English textbooks published by Chongryon during the 1970s, 1990s and the present day,” (PhD dissertation, The University of Queensland, 2019).

11 Korean International Network, *A story of Chosŏnhakkyo (Chosŏnhakkyo iyagi)* (Seoul: Sunin Press, 2014) <ISBN 978-89-5933-757-6 03300>.

show Chongryon's changing perspective in regards to their own living in context of their Japanese environment over the last sixty years. The findings of this study supports the concept that Chongryon Koreans' sense of belonging has transformed from identifying closely with North Korea to acknowledging their permanent residence in Japan, all the while continuously educating their students to maintain their ethnicity.

II. Theoretical background

1. Chongryon Koreans in Japan

In the last hundred years, the Korean population has grown in Japan, becoming Japan's second-largest minority group as mentioned earlier. While Korean residents once constituted the largest minority group in Japan, now, Chinese residents are Japan's largest minority population since 2007, making up 28.2% of all registered foreign residents.¹² In June 2015, the Ministry of Justice released the Statistics of Foreign Residents, which outlined that 497,707 Koreans were living in Japan, amongst a total of 2.17 million foreign residents.¹³

During the colonial era (1910-1945), many Koreans were relocated to Japan by the Japanese government to boost Japan's shortage of low-wage labour. In addition, as many as 990,000 Korean men and women were sent to serve in the Japanese army during World War II.¹⁴ Many Koreans who were relocated encountered discrimination in the

12 Kazuko Suzuki, "The state, race and immigrant adaption: A comparative analysis of the Korean diaspora in Japan and the United States," *Regions and Cohesion*, vol. 2, no. 1 (2012), pp. 49-74.

13 Haruka Morooka, "Ethnic and National Identity of Third Generation Koreans in Japan," (Master's dissertation, The City University of New York, 2016), p. 2.

14 David Chapman, "Discourses of multicultural coexistence (tabunka kyōsei) and the 'old-comer' Korean residents of Japan," *Asian Ethnicity*, vol. 7, no. 1 (2006), pp. 89-102.

workplace, being exploited in regards to their wages and working hours. The majority of Korean labourers at Japanese companies had unstable work (such as holding temporary minor positions) and earned lower wages than their Japanese colleagues.¹⁵

Although the Koreans' relocation had been involuntary, around 650,000 of the 2.4 million Koreans in Japan remained in Japan after World War II.¹⁶ One reason was due to the conflict between two mutually antagonistic ideologies in Korea, communism and capitalism.¹⁷ According to Jin,¹⁸ Japan's first Korean organization, Joryeon¹⁹ was founded in 1945, aiming to help Koreans to protect themselves against Japanese society. Ryang²⁰ claims that Joryeon did not represent North Korea, but sought only to encourage Koreans to repatriate to what they believed would be a unified Korea. However, Joryeon was disbanded by General Headquarters, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (GHQ) in 1949 because of its aggressive protests and the Japanese Communist Party's influence over the organization's political ideology.²¹

After Joryeon's closure, Minjeon was formed in 1951, and existed until 1955. Minjeon was the first organization to promote North Korean

15 Naoki Mizuno and Gyongsu Mun, *Zainichi Chosenjin: Reskishi to genzai (Zainichi: History and the present day)* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, Publishers, 2015).

16 Ryang, "The North Korean homeland of Koreans in Japan," in *Koreans in Japan: Critical voices from the Margin*, ed. Sonia Ryang (Oxon: Routledge, 2000), p. 33.

17 Kyung Hee Ha, "Between ethnic minority and diaspora: Zainichi Koreans in the era of global war on terror," (PhD dissertation, University of California, 2015).

18 Huigwan Jin, "The study on relations of Chongryun and North Korea," in *The Institute for Peace Affairs* (Seoul: Kyobo Book Centre, 1999).

19 Short form of the name "Jaeil joseonin yeonmaeng" in Korean. They are known in Japanese as "Zainichi chōsenjin renmei," and in English as the "League of Koreans in Japan" (Ryang, 2016).

20 Ryang, "The rise and fall of Chongryun- From Chōsenjin to Zainichi and beyond," *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, vol. 14, no. 15 (2016), pp. 1-16.

21 Dong Bae Lee, "Chongryon identity as represented in Chongryon Korean language textbooks," *Humanity and Social Sciences Studies*, vol. 18, no. 2 (2017), pp. 247-266.

ideology in Japan through rallies, despite conflicts between members. Ryang²² states that Minjeon went through a period of restructuring with the signing of the Korean War truce agreement in 1953. Two years later, Minjeon came to be known as the Chongryon organization, which sought to support North Korea's interests. A loyalist, Han Deok Su, headed the Chongryon organization with the support of Kim Il Sung,²³ demonstrating the country's interests in the organization. Such support from North Korea, coupled with a lack of support from South Korea, explains the apparent paradox – that even though the majority of Chongryon Koreans originated from the southern Korean Peninsula, many affiliated themselves with North Korea. Mindan seemed like Chongryon's rival, due to opposing ideologies. However, many Koreans were unsure whom to support, and some Koreans even paid a membership fee to both organizations. Overall, it can be difficult to distinguish between pro-Chongryon and anti-Chongryon Koreans through legal processes or choice of nationality. Reasons may be because many students attending Joseonhakgyo have parents of South Korean nationality (despite the schools' aligning with North Korean ideals) and some high-ranking Chongryon officers have South Korean nationality due to their parents' official choice.²⁴

The beginning of repatriation to North Korea (in 1959) was a success for Chongryon. Chongryon newspapers reflected the positive impressions of repatriates, with headings such as "Our Glorious Fatherland Calls Compatriots."²⁵ By the early 1980s, over 93,000 individuals (about 87,000 Koreans and 6,500 Japanese) had moved to North Korea.²⁶ Morris-Suzuki²⁷ claims that many groups worked

22 Ryang, *The rise and fall of Chongryun*, pp. 1-16.

23 Lee, *Chongryon identity as represented*, pp. 247-266.

24 Ryang, *North Koreans in Japan*, p. 5.

25 Ryang, *The North Korean homeland*, p. 37.

26 Markus Bell, "Patriotic revolutionaries and imperial sympathizers: Identity and selfhood of Korean-Japanese migrants from Japan to North Korea," *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review*, vol. 7, no. 2 (2018), p. 242.

27 Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Exodus to North Korea* (Lanham: Md. Rowman and

together to initiate the repatriation movement such as the Japanese and North Korean governments, Red Cross Societies (Japan and North Korea), Chongryon, Japanese opposition parties, Japanese media, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the Soviet Union government, and the United States government. In addition, those Koreans who repatriated donated most of their assets to North Korea and Chongryon, believing Kim Il Sung's promise of housing, food, jobs and education. However, the number of repatriates decreased after the 1965 Normalization Treaty was signed. Thanks to this treaty, Chongryon Koreans were able to apply for South Korean nationality where many only chose to take South Korean nationality for convenience.²⁸ Although Koreans in Japan can relocate to North Korea, most Koreans travel there only to visit their repatriated family members.²⁹ According to Kim,³⁰ due to the 1965 Normalization Treaty, Chongryon's influence over its members has decreased, whereas that of the Mindan organization has grown. It is estimated that approximately 500,000 people have registered for Mindan membership, while only between 30,000 and 40,000 members have sought to join Chongryon.

2. Overview of Education at Joseonhakgyo

During the colonial era, Koreans living in Japan founded a number of Korean ethnic schools throughout the country because of their plan to one day return to their homeland. The slogan of the schools was "wisdom, money and power, contribute with what each one has."³¹ Providing Korean-centred autonomous education has always been a top priority for Zainichi Korean communities, especially for Chongryon Koreans.³² Choi³³ claims that, despite their poor standard of living,

Littlefield Publisher, Inc., 2007), p. 248.

28 Han Jo Kim, *Zainich Koreans whom we disregarded* (Seoul: Foxbook Press, 2019), p. 70.

29 Cho, *A comparative study of the construction*, pp. 12-13.

30 H. J. Kim, *Zainich Koreans*, p. 70.

31 Korean International Network, *A story of Chosŏnhakgyo*.

32 Ha, *Between ethnic minority and diaspora*, p. 6.

33 Young Ho Choi, "The past and present of ethnic education managed by Chongryon.

Koreans in Japan were able to educate their younger generations to form a Korean ethnicity and to maintain their Korean identity.

Based on their education goals, Korean ethnic schools, known as Joseonhakgyo, were established in 1946 across Japan (the Chongryon organization had yet to be established). The schools implemented curricula that were independent from the Japanese education system. Considering that most young Chongryon Korean students speak Japanese every day,³⁴ Joseonhakgyo have sought to promote learning about North Korean ideologies and Korean ethnic identity by delivering lessons in Korean. Even before Korea's independence, Koreans in Japan had focused on teaching Korean language and history to their younger generations. After independence, Chongryon came to operate more Joseonhakgyo, owing to the JPY 28 billion of funding (approximately USD 260 million) that came from Kim Il Sung in 1957.³⁵ Surprisingly, North Korea still funds the Chongryon education system, despite having decreased the amount over time. This funding is used to pay teachers' salaries, to purchase teaching materials and to pay tuition on behalf of parents.³⁶

On the other hand, according to Jin,³⁷ the funds that North Korea provided to Chongryon as education funding had potentially originated from Chongryon members' personal donations to North Korea. This exchange of money between the two entities operates under the title "business for loving nation," an indicator of the strong connection between North Korea and Chongryon.

In Hwabghae Report," *Saeul Foundation of Culture*, vol. 47, no. Summer (2005), p. 249.

34 Korean International Network, *A story of Chosŏnhakkyo*.

35 Chan Jung Kim, *One hundred year history of Zainichi* (Trans. Park, Sung Tae and Seo, Tae Soon) (Seoul: J&C Book Publishing Company, 2010) <ISBN 978-89-5668-786-5 93830>.

36 Min Hye Cho and Dong Bae Lee, "Critical analysis of Chongryon secondary English textbooks published between 1968 and 1974," *The review of Korean Studies*, vol. 22, no. 2 (2019), pp. 177-204.

37 Jin, *The study on relations of Chongryun*, pp. 139-141.

While Joseonhakgyo have been sponsored by North Korea, the Japanese government has provided little support. In 2010, the Japanese government began providing free education to high school students as part of the "Tuition Waiver Program." This program covered foreign high schools that were accredited by their respective countries. However, ten high schools in Japan were excluded from the government's funding; all of them were Joseonhakgyo. Due to this program, the Japanese government was sued by five high schools (founded in Osaka, Hiroshima, Tokyo, Aichi and Fukuoka) in January 2013, and the schools achieved different legal outcomes.³⁸ According to Yim³⁹, Joseonhakgyo high schools in Hiroshima and Tokyo lost their case in 2017, contrary to the Osaka school, which won its case.

Today, Joseon University⁴⁰ in Tokyo provides higher education to future teachers for Joseonhakgyo. All Joseonhakgyo use a set of textbooks that are written by Chongryon teachers and printed by the Chongryon publishing company, Hagusobang,⁴¹ which also publishes other school-related materials and study aids.⁴² These textbooks are distributed freely to Chongryon students. Considering that degrees from Joseonhakgyo are not accredited, the Japanese Ministry of Education cannot interfere with the production or use of textbooks or with classroom teaching.⁴³ There are currently 64 separate Joseonhakgyo institutions throughout Japan's prefectures. These institutions vary in the extent of the education provided to students, where some institutions only provide primary schooling while other institutions go up to high school. Up until now, the Joseonhakgyo consist of 54 primary

38 Korean International Network, *A story of Chosŏnhakkyo*.

39 Youngeon Yim, "A study on the Chosun school ethnic education movement and free high school education bill of Japanese-Korean," *The Journal of Localitology*, vol. 19, no. 4 (2018), p. 48, <doi: 10.15299/tjl.2018.04.19.39>.

40 Founded in Tokyo, Japan, in 1956 by the Chongryon, it is called "Korea University in Tokyo" in English, to distinguish it from Korea University in Seoul.

41 Hagusobang (学友書房) is Chongryon's privately-owned publishing company. This study follows the spelling used by the organization.

42 Cho, *Multilingual ability of Koreans*, pp. 135-144.

43 Ryang, *The North Korean homeland*, p. 36.

schools, 33 middle schools, ten high schools and one university, with a total of approximately 8,500 students attending.⁴⁴ While all textbooks are published by Hagusobang, journals and other books are published by Joseonchongnyonsa, another of Chongryon's publishers. The editing process is supervised by Chongryon's Education Department, unlike Japanese school textbooks, which are published under supervision by Japan's Ministry of Education.⁴⁵

3. Overview of EFL education at Joseonhakgyo

In 1946, Joseonhakgyo began to teach English as a Foreign Language (EFL) to their students.⁴⁶ Simple Korean-translated short stories were selected by teachers for secondary classes, as there were no official textbooks at the time.⁴⁷ In the beginning years of providing this EFL education, Joseonhakgyo used the Soviet Union's EFL textbooks in their Tokyo schools.⁴⁸ Chongryon lacked the resources to publish their own English textbooks, and North Korea (considered to be the homeland by Chongryon members) was greatly influenced by the Soviet Union. However, these textbooks were regarded by Joseonhakgyo as being unsuitable for Chongryon students' education. According to Cho,⁴⁹ the learning content and grammar items were not tailored for Korean speakers and this was a problem due to the different linguistic structures between Russian and Korean.

44 Ha, *Between ethnic minority and diaspora*, p. 7.

45 Teruhisa Horio, *Educational thought and ideology in modern Japan* (Trans. Platzer, S.) (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1988), pp. 172-180.

46 Malryo Jang is an English teacher at a secondary Joseonhakgyo located in Yokohama and was granted a Master of Philosophy in Linguistics at Kim Il Sung University, North Korea, in 2017. Due to restricted public access, the thesis was collected via email correspondence on 8 December, 2017 in order to maintain privacy.

47 Nam In Ryang was responsible for publishing the first EFL textbooks at Hagusobang between 1965 and 2003. Because of Chongryon's restricted public access, email correspondence on 9 January, 2019 was used to maintain privacy.

48 Cho, and Lee, *Critical analysis of Chongryon*, pp. 177-204.

49 Cho, *A comparative study of the construction*, p. 27.

Consequently, Chongryon worked on publishing the first of their own EFL textbooks in 1965.

In 1959, when Chongryon Korean repatriation began, parents had begun to develop more interest in EFL education on the assumption that speaking English would benefit their children's futures in North Korea (as foreign language ability would improve one's marketability in the workforce). Therefore, some parents had asked Joseonhakgyo to teach their children English, assuming that English was an important language.⁵⁰ However, at that time, Chongryon Koreans' attitudes toward English was contradictory. During the 1960s, Chongryon students had the option to study either English or Russian and, interestingly, the top-ranking students predominantly chose Russian. This choice was made in line with Chongryon Koreans' belief that English was the language of Korea's enemy, America.⁵¹ However, Cho and Lee⁵² claim that the Chongryon organization had no choice but to submit to the will of the younger Korean generations, who demanded participation in Japanese society (such as by entering Japanese universities rather than Joseon University). Therefore, over the years, Chongryon EFL textbooks have been revised to update itself with Japanese school textbooks. Furthermore, since 2017, Joseonhakgyo have begun to teach English to Grade 5 and 6 primary students using their own materials, such as speaking and listening-focused textbooks so that students would be able to strengthen their communicative skills.⁵³

50 Nam In Ryang was responsible for publishing the first EFL textbooks at Hagusobang between 1965 and 2003. Because of Chongryon's restricted public access, email correspondence on 9 January, 2019 was used to maintain privacy.

51 Kyong Suk Kim was responsible for publishing EFL textbooks at Hagusobang between 1976 and 2004. Due to restricted public access, the information was collected via email correspondence on 12 May, 2018 to maintain privacy.

52 Cho and Lee, *Critical analysis of Chongryon*, p. 181.

53 Mi Ja Moon is currently responsible for EFL teaching publications at Hagusobang. Due to restricted public access, the information was collected via email correspondence on 12 May and 21 December, 2018 to maintain privacy.

The revision process of the Chongryon EFL textbooks indicates Chongryon's changing interest in English – from using English as a tool to promote North Korean ideology, to using English as communicative device in a global economy. This change signifies Chongryon Koreans' increasing hope to better integrate themselves into Japanese society.

III. Approach

1. Data

In this study, nine EFL textbooks are analyzed: three for every grade from one to three (where students are aged between thirteen and fifteen). The textbooks were published in 1970, 1994 and 2014 respectively and have been used at Joseonhakgyo during different North Korean leaderships (Kim Il Sung, Kim Jong Il and Kim Jong Un). These textbooks have been published by and collected from Hagosobang, the name of Chongryon's publishing company, and this is known to be the first official collection.

The lesson titles from each grade textbook published at different time period are displayed below.⁵⁴

54 Any errors found in the Tables are that of the original copies.

<Table 1> Lesson Titles from Grade 1 Publications

Lesson no.	1970	1994	2014
1	This is a pen	My name is Yong Ho	My name is Su Chol
2	Is this a pen?	This is my friend	Are you a soccer fan?
3	What is this?	Cindy's country	This is my school
4	I am a pupil	It's not a classroom	I have a present for you
5	Who is he?	My school uniform	Alice and Humpty Dumpty
6	This is my cap	Are you a soccer fan?	My father makes computer programs
7	I have a ball	What's this?	Can you ski in August?
8	This is my face	A school bazaar	E-mail from Australia
9	What have you in your hand?	You speak Korean	Yong Sil's diary
10	There is a desk in your room	Ted's cousin in England	
11	Where is Korea?	My family's hobbies	
12	We are friends	Alice and Humpty	
13	What flowers are these?	What time is it?	
14	We learn English	The Earth and the Moon	
15	Our family	Macro Polo	
16	What are you doing?		
17	Marshal Kim Il Sung loves us		
18	What time is it?		
19	I get up at seven		
20	How old are you?		
21	I can speak English		
22	There are seven days in a week		
23	The twelve months		
24	What a beautiful place Mangyongdae is!		

<Table 2> Lesson Titles from Grade 2 Publications

Lesson no.	1970	1994	2014
1	The birthday of Marshal Kim Il Sung	The new school term	Spring vacation
2	Ok Sun is a Korean girl	Diary in English	Student activities
3	Next month will be May	Holidays in May	Thailand
4	We shall go to the zoo	Communication	Korean schools in Japan
5	I helped mother	Dolphins	The United Kingdom
6	Unity	Who "Discovered" America?	Homestay in Canada
7	One spring morning	An Australian teacher	My dream
8	Chun Sik and In Ho	The Maori in New Zealand	Cooking is fun
9	He fought to the last	Speech – "My dream"	Black-faced spoonbills
10	The Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Cooking	
11	To study	The United Kingdom	
12	A letter from Pyongyang	City life and Country life	
13	Dong Su and his family		
14	Chun Sik has written his letter		
15	You have once lived in Pyongyang		
16	Uncle's travel		
17	Pyongyang		
18	Mt. Kenmgang		
19	Korean is spoken in Korea		
20	The history of printing		
21	In the classroom		
22	The boyhood of Marshal Kim Il Sung		

<Table 3> Lesson Titles from Grade 3 Publications

Lesson no.	1970	1994	2014
1	Spring	Spring	Power of air
2	On Sunday	Interview	Communication
3	The football match	Learning the Korean language	John's letter from London
4	Our life and nature	School trip to Hiroshima	School trip to Hiroshima
5	The 102 Children's Tomb	Good Health	How can we stay healthy?
6	The ninth of September	Ted's letter from London	The Harvest festival
7	Ok Sun is a girl whom everybody loves	Why did Dodos disappear?	Electronic dictionaries- For or Against
8	Camping	For Civil rights	I have a dream
9	In the bosom of Marshal Kim Il Sung	Southeast Asian countries	
10	How I lived before the Liberation?		
11	Blue is the sky		
12	How to write a diary		
13	Ok Sun's diary		
14	A greedy merchant and a wood-cutter		
15	I must fight to the last		

As recognized from the Tables above, there is no topic of foreign countries in 1970. Instead, the publications focus on North Korea and its leader, Kim Il Sung. However, 1994 publications include content on foreign countries (such as the U.K. and New Zealand) who have their own minority communities, which as a result, is reflective of the status of Koreans in Japan as a minority group. At the same time, content on North Korea and Kim Il Sung is lessened. In addition, topics on foreign countries in 2014 publications appear to be diverse by introducing foreign culture itself (e.g., "Can you ski in August?" in Grade 1). These publications include no topic on North Korea and its leadership at all.

It is necessary to select examples of texts to study, owing to the large number of texts present in the textbooks. Those texts, which cover the most frequently occurring topics of foreign countries (i.e. outside of Japan), are selected and analyzed critically in context of history, politics and culture, as the repetition of specific ideas highlights the particular focal points of Chongryon's dominant ideology and cultural beliefs from which the messages are communicated.

The selected texts, which are italicised in this paper, contain some unintentional grammatical errors and misspellings in their original form, which are reproduced in this investigation.

2. Analysis

a. Under Kim Il Sung's leadership: published in 1970

The 1970 textbooks outline a close relationship between the Chongryon organization and North Korea, where North Korea's description as being Chongryon member's homeland is emphasized. During the 1970s, Chongryon Koreans were most exposed to North Korean ideologies, thereby encouraging strong ties between the two people. Here, the textbooks portray good Chongryon Koreans as being loyal to North Korea.

Lesson 6: The ninth of September (Grade 3)

1. *Under the wise guidance of Marshal Kim Il Sung, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was founded on September 9, 1948.*
2. *The founding of D.P.R.K. was a great event.*
3. *... opened a new era in the history of our country.*
4. *... brought a great change in the life of the Koreans in Japan, too.*
5. *Today the D.P.R.K. is one of the most developed socialist countries.*
6. *... is a powerful socialist country.*
7. *Peoples in the world call it "Heroic Korea" or "Chollima Korea."*

(Excerpt 1)

In Excerpt 1, the adjectives “new” (Line 3) and “powerful” (Line 6) repeat the idea of North Korea’s supremacy. The passive voice (“was founded” in Line 1) reduces the emphasis on Kim Il Sung as the actor of “the founding.” Instead readers are focused more on the merit of Kim Il Sung’s actions than on Kim Il Sung himself. The final paragraph in the excerpt describes the present condition of North Korea as being “one of the most developed socialist countries” (Line 5). This evokes Kim Il Sung’s great leadership, since it was the Marshal’s “wise guidance” that brought this about.

In the last sentence, “people[s] in the world” does not specify any cultural group. The exclusion of words that would categorize race, religion, culture or social class implies a breaking down of social barriers. As such, North Korea’s description as “heroic” and “Chollima”⁵⁵ is evoked as a global agreement that is undisputed.

Overall, Excerpt 1 portrayed North Korea as beautiful and as a highly evolved country that had succeeded in overcoming great hardships (such as the Korean War).

Lesson 17: Pyongyang (Grade 2)

1. *Pyongyang is the capital of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea.*
2. *... one of the oldest cities in the world.*
3. *... has grown along the Daedong River.*
4. *After the War, the city has greatly changed.*
5. *... Korean people have built it up at Chollima speed.*

(Excerpt 2)

The superlative adjective “oldest” and the adverb “greatly” emphasize Pyongyang’s environment in the context of North Korea. The phrase “one of the oldest cities in the world” (Line 2) signifies that Pyongyang has a long and eventful history. As such, the writer encouraged discussion about Pyongyang. The city’s change (Line 4)

55 “Chollima” is the name given to a mythical flying horse that is strong and fast.

leads students to believe that Pyongyang has economically evolved to positively benefit its citizens. Consequently, the readers develop a positive mindset regarding North Korea as a country that has overcome great obstacles. In the text, the present perfect tense expresses the development of Pyongyang, which "...has grown." The present perfect indicates an action that occurred over a period of time, which highlights the continuing development of Pyongyang. Although the writer never mentions South Korea in this passage, there is an implicit suggestion that North Korea has progressed faster than South Korea. According to Kim's study,⁵⁶ the Chollima Movement promoted North Korea's achievement in rebuilding their economy during the 1950s. The magnitude of this achievement was highlighted against the obstacles that impeded North Korea's economic growth. Such obstacles included splits and conflicts inside the North Korean political structures, interference and pressures from older and more powerful socialist countries, and North Korea's contest with South Korea.

In Excerpt 2, the phrase "one of the oldest cities" (Line 2) conveys an indefinite fact, which does not require empirical evidence. Consequently, this may lead some readers to question the accuracy of the information presented in the text. Overall, the producer communicated the success of North Korea's growth in the aftermath of the Korean War by presenting evidence of Pyongyang's growth.

b. Under Kim Jong Il's leadership: published in 1994

In the 1994 textbooks, lessons include discussions pertaining to foreign countries outside of Japan and opinions in regards to Chongryon Koreans' life in Japan. Lessons about foreign countries facilitate discussion about minority culture and language and reflect Chongryon's own situation as a minority group in Japan. As such, the lessons encourage students to recognize a similarity between them and other foreign cultural groups.

56 Jin Hwan Kim, "Chollima Movement: The myth of construction and the politics of reconstruction," *North Korean Studies Bulletin*, vol. 20, no. 2 (2016), pp. 31-62.

Lesson 8: The Maori in New Zealand (Grade 2)

1. ... there are several different ethnic groups.
2. The Maori is one of them.
3. Years ago all the Maori people spoke the Maori language.
4. Today only one fifth of the 350,000 Maori speak it.
5. Why...?
6. Because the majority of the people are not Maori, and the main language is English.

(Excerpt 3)

There was little diplomatic relationship between North Korea and New Zealand until 2001, forty years after New Zealand had established relations with South Korea.⁵⁷ Therefore, the decision to include this lesson highlights Chongryon's desire to use the country's language and cultural issues to encourage Chongryon students to preserve their ethnic language, rather than to teach about foreign cultures.

New Zealand's indigenous population was described in order to be reflective of Chongryon Koreans in Japan. According to de Bres,⁵⁸ who analyzed New Zealand's language ideologies, there exists a hierarchy of minority languages in New Zealand, with the Maori language being the most commonly used. In the excerpt, the writer states that New Zealand has "different ethnic groups" (Line 1), evoking a resemblance between Chongryon Koreans and New Zealand's ethnic groups. The simple past tense verb "spoke" evokes a discontinued action, where readers gather that not all Maori people speak their language now. Additionally, the adverb "only" (Line 4) emphasizes the inadequate number of speakers. The lesson posits that the problem the Maori people faced was their dying language, due to "the main language [being] English" (Line 6).

57 Paul Bellamy, "A gradual de-thawing: Paul Bellamy reviews the establishment of New Zealand-North Korea diplomatic relations," *New Zealand International Review*, vol. 38, no. 4 (2013), pp. 6-9.

58 Julia De Bres, "The hierarchy of minority languages in New Zealand," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, vol. 36, no. 7 (2015), pp. 677-693, <doi: 10.1080/01434632.2015.1009465>.

This situation reflected the Chongryon Koreans' problem. Chongryon Koreans, being a minority in Japan, are immersed more in Japanese than in Korean, and the diminishment of Korean within the Chongryon community is an issue common to many minority groups. Therefore, Excerpts 3 highlighted the importance of acting to preserve a minority language, culture and identity within a dominant society.

Lesson 11: The United Kingdom (Grade 2)

1. ... is made up of four countries: England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland.
2. England is the largest of the four.
3. Which is larger, Scotland or Wales? Scotland is.
4. The differences among the four are not merely in size.
5. Each country has its own culture.
6. ... the Welsh people have their own language: Welsh.

(Excerpt 4)

While Excerpt 4 is about the U.K., the main message communicates the differences in the countries despite their geographical similarities, a reflection of Chongryon's position in Japan. The writer posed a question comparing two countries, "Which is larger, Scotland or Wales?" (Line 3). While stating that "Scotland" is larger, the producer ascribed value to Wales as a country with its "own language," regardless of size. The adverb "merely" (Line 4) points out that the differences between the countries go beyond geographical size. The determiner "each" and the adjective "own" emphasize the individuality of all four countries to outline each country's unique merit, such as Wales's national language, Welsh. Overall, Excerpt 4 underlined the importance of cultural identity by describing some of the distinct cultures within the U.K. Therefore, readers would appreciate the need to maintain Korean, because the language added value to the Chongryon culture.

c. Under Kim Jong Un's leadership: published in 2014

In the 2014 textbooks, the lessons provide a more educational outlook on the world. Unlike 1990s, where lessons encouraged students to self-reflect, 2014 textbooks focus on the geographical and cultural characteristics of foreign countries, without identifying similarities with Chongryon's own environment.

Lesson 3: John's letter from London (Grade 3)

1. ... *Here's a letter from John to Su Chol.*
2. ... *I like my school very much. The teachers and the students are kind and friendly.*
3. ... *London is an exciting city.*
4. ... *many interesting places to visit – museums, theaters, parks and gardens. I've already visited the British Museum.*
5. *It is huge, ... need at least one week to see everything...*
6. *Dad's going to take me to London Eye this weekend.*
7. *I can't wait to go...*
8. *P.S. I'm enclosing a photo of me. ... the largest park in London.*

(Excerpt 5)

Excerpt 5 is presented as a letter written by John to Su Chol. In the letter, John introduces major landmarks to Su Chol, such as "the British Museum" and the "London Eye." Adjectives such as "kind," "friendly" and "exciting" highlight John's positive impression and experience of being in London. The adverb "many" (Line 4) takes into account the multitude and diversity of London's environment, such as its "museums, theaters, parks and gardens." As a result, John enjoys his school life "very much" in this "exciting" city. In Lines 3 to 7, a large number of places to visit in London are presented and evoke readers' desire to travel, such as the "British Museum," "London Eye" and "Hyde Park." In Lines 5 to 7, the writer provides a more emotive description of London, so as to better describe the "many interesting places to visit." John states that "[London] is huge" and that "... need at

least one week to see everything” (Line 5), thereby highlighting the degree of glamour that is often associated with capital cities. The phrase “I can’t wait” (Line 7) evokes a tone of impatience in the speaker.

Prior lesson material about the U.K. highlighted its diversity both culturally and linguistically. In this lesson, the description of the U.K. is extrapolated to discuss its landmark features. Consequently, the writer is expressing interest in both the country and the culture of the U.K. The lack of U.K.’s negative description could reflect the positive relationship between North Korea and the U.K. In 2003, North Korea opened an embassy in London, two years after the U.K. opened their own embassy in Pyongyang. Relations between North Korea and the U.K. are now maintained through the provision of English language and human rights education by the U.K. to North Korean officials.⁵⁹

Lesson 7: Can you ski in August? (Grade 1)

1. *Yong Sil: How beautiful! The leaves are all red and yellow.*
2. *Su Chol: ... the air is so fresh.*
3. *Mr. Kim: John, you are a good hiker.*
4. *John: ... My father often takes me on hikes... walks in summer and skies in winter.*
5. *Su Chol: Can you ski, John?*
6. *John: ... I can. I ski a lot.*
7. *Yong Sil: When do you ski?*
8. *John: I usually ski in August...*

(Excerpt 6)

The theme of nature and life is presented in a discussion between Yong Sil, Su Chol, Mr Kim and John. In Excerpt 6, the four characters are hiking, denoted by Mr Kim stating that John is “a good hiker.” In Lines 1 and 2, Yong Sil and Su Chol make remarks about nature. The leaves’ colors are “red” and “yellow,” which Yong Sil associates with being

59 Adam Cathcart and Steven Denne, “North Korea’s cultural diplomacy in the early Kim Jong-Un era,” *North Korean Review*, vol. 9, no. 2 (2013), pp. 29-42.

“beautiful.” Additionally, Su Chol describes the air as being “fresh,” with the adverb “so” creating additional emphasis. In contrast to the 1970 textbooks, where the image of beauty was associated with Pyongyang in Excerpt 1 and 2, “beautiful” is associated with a natural environment away from urban life.

The discussion shifts to hiking (Line 4). Here, it is Mr Kim and John who are speaking. Mr Kim compliments John’s hiking with the adjective “good” (Line 3). John is then prompted to explain to Mr Kim how he is a good hiker, stating that his father takes him on hikes. The adverb “often” reveals that John has hiked many times in the past, thereby revealing himself as an experienced hiker. John concludes by stating that his father “skies (sic) in winter,” which draws Su Chol and Yong Sil into the conversation.

Lines 5 to 8 are focused on skiing. Su Chol is drawn into the conversation and enquires whether John “can” ski. The modal verb “can” outlines Su Chol’s interest in knowing if John is able to ski. “Can” could also be used to enquire about John’s opportunity to ski. John is an Australian, which gives rise to the question of the possibility of skiing in Australia. However, John points out that he “can” ski and that he skis “a lot” (Line 6). In Line 8, John challenges the stereotype of Australia being hot, when he says that he “usually ski[s] in August.” However, while the misconception is challenged, another stereotype of Australians is evoked. The discussion about skiing and hiking revolves around John and his family. The readers learn that John is fond of sports, a common Australian stereotype, while Australia is one of the most obese nations, with over nine million adults being overweight or obese in 2008.⁶⁰

In this excerpt, Chongryon readers learn to identify nature as a beautiful phenomenon, at the same time as they learn about Australian culture, where one can ski in August, unlike in Japan where December is the more common time to ski. Consequently, readers are exposed to

60 Simon Stewart, Gabriella Tikellis, Melina Carrington, Karen Walker, and Kerin O’Dea, *Australia’s future ‘fat bomb’* (Baker Heart and Diabetes Research Institute: Victoria: Australia, 2008).

global contemporary trends about the preservation of natural resources.

IV. Conclusion

Under Kim Il Sung's leadership (during the 1970s), Chongryon EFL textbooks delivered lessons about North Korean ideology and patriotism to educate students about North Korea. Considering that Chongryon students were immersed in North Korean ideas in many subject areas, the repetition of North Korea as the students' homeland, and of Kim Il Sung as their father figure reduced time for the teaching of practical skills, such as the English language. Furthermore, the repetition of North Korean ideology in multiple subject areas conditioned students to believe in a single system.

The 1994 publications used during Kim Jong Il's era also differed in that students were no longer taught that North Korea was 'home' – the texts now assumed that their readers were living in Japan. The 1994 textbooks aimed to educate Chongryon students to view their culture as important and relevant within modern society, thereby encouraging students to take pride in their unique heritage, despite their residency in Japan.

The latest textbooks (2014) used under Kim Jong Un's leadership lack content on North Korea and Kim Il Sung, in marked contrast with the earlier publications. In the 2014 publications, foreign characters are introduced and form relationships with Chongryon Korean characters. This change in relationships between the Chongryon community and other foreign countries expresses Chongryon's acknowledgement of living in a globalized world.

This study seeks to reveal a side of the Chongryon Koreans who have overcome many obstacles since leaving the Korean Peninsula and settling Japan. The findings show that the learning focus of Joseonhakgyo has evolved to fulfil students' demands, thereby ensuring textbooks remain up-to-date, which has resulted in there being a

reduction in content related to North Korea. Therefore, while Chongryon Koreans are still somewhat connected to North Korea, as evident by the members' transition from North Korean-centric ideas to being more engaged with global issues, this study suggests the following: Joseonhakgyo should be regarded as Korean ethnic schools and be provided with more opportunities to interact with other groups and societies in order to facilitate a peaceful relationship between North and South Korea.

One option for further study is to investigate other language textbooks, such as Korean and Japanese, and how the Joseonhakgyo textbooks changes over time in order to better understand Chongryon's unique learning environment.

■ Article Received: 4/22 ■ Reviewed: 5/27 ■ Revised: 6/4 ■ Accepted: 6/4

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Toward a (Sub)-Regionalization of South Korea's Unification Policy – the Proposal of a Romantic Road for Gangwon Province

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70 years after the start of the Korean War, the Korean Peninsula is still divided, and a peace regime is not in sight. The hopes of 2018, a year full of exciting summit diplomacy starting with the Winter Olympic Games in PyeongChang and culminating in terms of South-North relations in the Panmunjeom declaration of April 2018, have been dashed, and inter-Korean relations slid back to the familiar, but depressing pattern of stalemate and mutual recriminations. All initiatives taken as part of the Panmunjeom declaration, like the modernization and connection of railroad lines, are stalled or have failed. One reason for this might be that the approach taken for inter-Korean relations has always been highly centralized and focused on a few, large projects. These projects were prone to fail or were even, like in the case of the Iron Silk road, non-starters. The current debate to allow individual tourism is a reaction to overcome this centralized approach. Another important way to decentralize unification policies of South Korea is the sub-regionalization, i.e. the active involvement of provinces, counties and cities in unification policies. While there has been some precedent, like the mandarin shipments from Jeju province, the discretion for action by provinces or counties has always been very small. The Romantic road of Gangwon province, founded in 2009 and based on the German model of the Romantic Road (Romantische Straße), currently runs from Samcheok to Goseong, 240 km along the Korean East Coast. A prolongation of the Romantic road towards Wonsan or Munchon would fit into the North Korean tourism planning for the Wonsan-Kumgangsang special tourism zone, could be started with individual tourism from the South and could be a way to get provinces and counties more involved in unification policies, thereby making unification policies more resilient.

Keywords: Unification policy, Regionalization, Gangwon province, Romantic Road, Tourism

* Hanns Seidel Foundation Korea. These authors contributed equally to this work. Comments of three anonymous reviewers are gratefully acknowledged, as well as help with illustrations and references by Tobias Lauterjung.

I. Introduction

In early 2020, the worldwide COVID-19 pandemic and resulting economic turmoil and the shutdown of North Korea are relegating North Korea news to the back rows of international news. And the spike in tensions in May and June 2020, with the destruction of the inter-Korean Exchange office in Kaesong, made any progress in inter-Korean relations or rapprochement seemingly impossible. Even besides these events, North-South relations look bleak. The hopes of 2018 to enter a new area of improved relations were dashed by the failed Hanoi summit, and since then relations have been on an all too familiar, but unwanted downslide. Sunshine policy 2.0 seems to be over before it started, and it is difficult to see a positive swing in inter-Korean relations after the end of the pandemic scare. The North Korean leadership actively prepares the population for further coming hardships, which seems to indicate that no conciliatory policy is expected to take place for the time being.

All the large-scale projects and plans South Korea had for cooperation with the North are not only put on hold, but also have very few hopes to ever be realized: the Kaesong Industrial Complex will not open, nor will there be a renewal of the Kumgangsan tourism project; on the contrary, North Korea plans to remove all signs of South Korean involvement in Kumgangsan. The railway project, the only large-scale project discussed (or started) has stopped right after the initial opening and review, and family reunions, though an urgent issue due to the age of prospective participants, did not take place even once. And this is not only the result of unfortunate circumstances coming together, but it is rather part of a long history of failed large-scale projects. The problem, it seems, is the lack of feasibility of such projects given the absence of mutual trust. And this is even true for the least intrusive form of cooperation, the delivery of aid goods – neither before the pandemic, when the South Korean government repeatedly offered aid, including food aid, nor during the pandemic, when it offered medical aid goods. In both cases, North Korea rejected the South's offers. All cooperation

seems to be difficult. It is time for a new approach.

The situation seems to be a little better for private aid and private contacts, but these are still rare in Korea. Usually, all policy initiatives are initiated by the central government, even if projects are later carried out by private actors like NGOs. This has an important drawback for North Korea: all North-South relations immediately take the highest possible political importance and are officially approved by both sides on the most official level. This takes away the strategic ambiguity, or, more positively expressed, leeway, of the North Korean government. Also, given the highest level of approval on South Korea's side, there is no interest in small projects, but rather in big ones. Therefore, a lot of feasible, but small-scale projects never come to fruition, since the government decides on its prestige projects, like the railway connection. Clearly, these projects are then intensely in the focus of sanctions' deciding entities and governments, reducing the leeway for trying out new forms of cooperation considerably.¹

Inside South Korea, there has been surprisingly little legal chance since 2018 to prepare for a widening of inter-Korean relations, despite all the positive rhetoric. Due to the unclear power relations in the National Assembly, before the National Assembly election of April 2020, and probably (due to) not willing to appear too focused on appeasement, the government did a few things to ease the preconditions for private initiatives or initiatives of the lower echelons of government. While since the advent of the Moon administration there has been generally a positive attitude and encouragement for more activities, like meetings between North and South Koreans, the formal procedures remain highly centralized and have not been eased. Given the overwhelming importance of national security, it is understandable that the hot iron of the National Security Law was not touched, though several improvements are warranted, but it is even more surprising for administrative procedures, which are entirely up to the government and

1 It should be noted here that though sanctions are a legal instrument, they are by no means unambiguous.

do not need Parliamentary approval.² It would be an urgent and feasible task for the government to ease procedures, allow more individual decision-making power and increase the number of potential projects and methods of inter-Korean cooperation. In other words, a decentralization of South Korea's unification policy is urgently needed. This entails two things: first of all, decentralization means here a change of main actors, from the central government level to the local level (localization) and provincial level as well as civil society level. At the same time, this also means an empowerment of the aforementioned new actors, not only a delegation of power which in the case of need can easily be revoked. The form of decentralization here discussed needs to be permanent, and deliberate, not a means of desperation with a current situation, but rather a matter of principle.

However, decentralization still needs viable ideas. It is not enough for empowered provinces and cities or counties to offer economic benefit such as the central government, only on a lower level of government or from the private side (and probably with a lower budget). This is visible in the concept of "independent operators of aid policy," which is how the government designated Seoul, Incheon, Gyeonggi Province and South Chungcheong Province, and, since March 2020, also Goyang and Paju.³ But, in the end, they are not independent, but rather designated to carry out policies of the central government, often funded mainly or entirely with funding from the central unification fund. In this paper we discuss one such new idea, which departs from the mere carrying out of central government projects, namely a regional tourism development project along the Korean East coast of Gangwon/Kangwon province, the "romantic road" of Gangwon/ Kangwon province, from Samcheok to Wonsan. It is based on an existing tourism development concept in the South and compatible with the plans in the North for tourism development. It does not involve the South Korean central government,

2 For example, trip approval for South Koreans to the North still is usually made on the Vice Minister or even Minister level.

3 Yonhap News (Korea), "N. Korea's income from tourism half of that from Kaesong complex," January 11, 2015.

and also not the closely related actors of the South like Hyundai Asan. The second part of this paper looks at decentralized approaches to unification policy under Sunshine Policy, their success and shortcomings. The third section looks into German and international experiences with the romantic road and the foundation of the South Gangwon Romantic Road. The fourth part discusses the development of tourism in North Korea. The fifth part looks into the idea of the romantic road of Gangwon/Kangwon province, followed by a conclusion.

While the idea of decentralization is already a limitation in scope of feasible projects (namely not on the national level), also the discussion in this paper is limited to giving an additional idea for a diversification of inter-Korean relations. This does not devalue national-government level policies per se, but rather tries to supplement them with workable elements of a sub-national level strategy.

II. Decentralized Approaches to Unification Policy under Sunshine Policy – Experiences and Shortcomings

During the time of the sunshine policy, there were attempts to decentralize the unification policy, as part of an unprecedented network of relatively dense relations. The first sector, in which this was most successful, probably, was agricultural cooperation. This reached from direct aid shipments to the North, in particular tangerines from Jeju province, to the building of hothouses (Goseong), sending of farm equipment (North Jeolla), fight against malaria (Gyeonggi) and forest pests (Gangwon).⁴ This was in a time (mostly around 2005) when North Korea was just recovering from its most difficult economic situation, the famine of the 1990s, but had regained at least partially its state capacity regarding control of its population. Also, it was the time of economic experiments, in particular the post-price reform era. Additional aid

4 see the overview at: Yong-Hwan Choi, "The Roles of South Korean Central and Local Governments in Inter-Korean Cooperation," *North Korean Review*, vol. 4, no. 1 (2008), pp. 116-117.

including direct food aid was welcomed, given that the country had barely escaped a complete economic breakdown. And, five years of the Kim Dae-Jung administration had already created a certain amount of trust on the North Korean side to be able to proceed with these projects, which also included regular visits by South Korean experts. However, even in these heydays of cooperation, North Korea clearly tried to minimize contact between South Koreans and their own population. Also, direct cross-border contacts were mostly difficult. For example, model farms which were equipped by Gyeonggi province were not directly adjacent to Gyeonggi province. An exception was projects for Kaesong Industrial Complex, which were, however, not run by local or regional governments in the South, and the area of Kungangsan, where a limited cooperation between North and South Kosong/Goseong took place. Among other, South Goseong provided hothouses to the North. However, even then local government to local government contacts were limited, with one meeting alone taking place between the district chief (*Gunsu*) of South Goseong and his Northern counterpart.

The second group of projects were sports events organized by local communities. These gave local or regional governments the chance to participate in inter-Korean relations. A well-known example is the Asian Games in Incheon, where a high-ranking North Korean delegation took place. However, these events were only “pseudo-local” or “pseudo-regional” since the North Korean side did not send any regional representatives, but national sports groups and functionaries to these events. Nevertheless, they offered a chance for diversification of actors on the South Korean side. This itself is meaningful, as said above, because it depoliticizes inter-Korean relations to some extent, and leads from high politics via sports politics ideally to civilian, non-political exchanges. However, the success was limited.

First, in North Korea, generally counterparts for regional or local action are not easy to be found. While there is a system of local administration, there is no local autonomy, and there is no autonomy in the North at all to engage in cross-border activities with South Korea. This means that from the Northern side, a central involvement is

inevitable. Still, if it involves, for example, the sports sector, this might be still on the Northern side a de-politization of activities. The lack of independent local actors will always be a constraint for policy initiatives, though it is not impossible to involve local actors together with a strong national partner.⁵

Second, those projects were most successful which were in tow with the two great national projects in the border area, namely Kaesong Industrial Complex, and in particular, the Kumgangsán tourism project. In the latter area, the land access alone meant that the local government on the Southern side was involved through construction projects etc., and here the most meaningful local involvement took place. But the close linkage to the national project also meant a limitation; an end to the national project, like in Kumgangsán in 2008 and in Kaesong in 2016, meant also the end of regional or local initiatives. It was not possible to decouple both of them. This paper argues that a lasting decentralization of not only single, delegated projects, but rather power, would allow decentralized projects to outlive at least partly national conflicts.

III. The Romantic Road of Germany and International “Romantic Roads”

When West Germany experienced, after the devastation of the war and the post-war times, an “economic miracle” in the 1950s, the tourism industry began slowly to revive, among Germans themselves, but also with foreign tourists. Not a few of those were U.S. soldiers and their families stationed in post-war Germany, being relatively affluent. In 1950, local communities in the Southwestern part of Germany together opened the so-called “romantic road,” very loosely based on the old

5 For example, in Hanns Seidel Foundation and environmental organizations like World Wildlife Fund in DPRK, projects on wetlands and nature protection carried out together with the Ministry of Land and Environment Protection also involve local wetland managers, locally-based bird reserve managers, and even occasionally access to local classrooms for awareness-raising activities.

Roman road in the area. For 350 kilometers (today all in all up to 413 kilometers) the road reaches from Wuerzburg to Fuessen, along the Bavarian – Baden-Wuerttemberg state border and includes a number of castles like Neuschwanstein in the Alps in the South and small, medieval cities like Rothenburg ob der Tauber, Dinkelsbuehl and Noerdlingen surrounded by old city walls, which were less destroyed than most bigger cities in World War II. The German Romantic Road soon became one of the biggest magnets for tourism in the southern provinces of Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg, featuring what many think of as quintessentially German scenery and culture.⁶ Today, five million guests annually stay overnight in the area, and four to five times as many come as daily tourists to the area, securing around 15,000 jobs. The Romantic Road itself was not a new road, but rather a marketing tool to market various cities, monuments and landscapes, linked by existing roads. With increasing traffic these became bigger and bigger and later three times, in 2009, 2011 and 2016, the road was slightly changed, from the new less romantic three-lane highway to smaller roads in the neighborhood. Also, along the same road a trekking route and a bicycle road (“Romantic Road”) on a slightly less frequented route were added.

The German Romantic Road became an instant success with tourists and became synonymous with German city and cultural tourism. For example, in the mid-1990s, 93 percent of Japanese (in the ages when they could travel, so excluding very young and old people) knew about the German Romantic Road, and indeed signs on the Romantic Road were written not only in German, but also in Japanese. But also, in other countries like Brazil, it became a top German attraction. The business model of the Romantic Road was decentral: it was not devised by states like Bavaria, but by a voluntary initiative of cities, local administrations, and owners or caretakers of monuments.⁷ Since 1985, in Dinkelsbuehl,

6 For an extensive description see the official homepage (English version): <<https://www.romantischestrassen.de/?L=1>>. See also <<https://www.european-traveler.com/germany/top-sights-on-the-romantic-road-germany/>>.

7 For an analysis see Jurczek (1989).

there is an office of the Romantic Road financed by contributions of participating partners. Autonomy of the partners and flexibility is therefore a great advantage of the German model, but at the same time, the Romantic Road has to prove its usefulness to the partners year by year.

<Figure 1> The German Romantic Road



Source: The speedy turtle website

The German Romantic road was so successful that it was copied in other countries, too. Not surprisingly, these were the countries most impressed by the Romantic Road. In Japan, since 1982, there has been a Romantic Road.⁸ In 1998, the Rota Romântica was opened in Brazil.⁹ And in 2009, South Gangwon province opened “Nangmankado,” the South Korean variant of the Romantic Road. The “Romantic Roads” are, however, not the only ways to designate specific routes: scenic routes, tourist roads, tourist drive holiday routes or other touring routes exist in

8 For details of the “Romantic road” in Japan see *japan.travel*, <<https://www.japan.travel/de/travel-directory/romantic%20road%20Japan/>> (date accessed April 6, 2020).

9 For details of the Brazilian “Rota Romântica” see <<https://www.rotaromantica.com.br/en/>> (date accessed April 6, 2020).

many ways. In Germany alone, there are a number of thematic routes, for example, the German Wine Route (Deutsche Weinstraße), the German Fairy Tale Route (Deutsche Märchenstraße), German Porcelain Route (Deutsche Porzellanstraße), Upper Suevoian Baroque Route (Oberschwäbische Barockstraße), German Cheese Route, Mountain Route (Bergstraße) or the Bertha Benz Memorial Route, following the route the first Benz car took in 1888 etc. The names already say something about the main attractions, which are culinary, scenic, historic or architectural. In Russia, the "Golden Ring of Russia" comprises cities in the North and Northeast of Moscow, important in the old state of the ancient Rus, the founders of modern Russia, including Rostov, Yaroslav and Sergiyev Posad. In the United States, there is one officially designated scenic route, the U.S. route 40 scenic in Maryland, but there are a number of "scenic byways" recognized for their archeological, cultural, historic, natural, recreational, and scenic qualities, forest scenic byways and back country scenic byways. The Route 66, though originally a route of enormous economic importance through the U.S., also called the "mother route" or "road of America," became famous in novels and movies ("The Grapes of Wrath") and music ("Get your kicks on Route 66") and today, after the logistic function ceased to be important, is an area living from nostalgic tourism. In Europe, beside the German case, there are routes through the Dutch tulip fields, Scotland's Malt Whiskey, linking Norwegian fjords and Swiss mountains, but also a road to the monuments and places of the Allied victory in World War II (Liberation Route Europe). One difference from the German case of the Romantic Road is that most of these routes are designated by the national Ministry of Transport, not voluntary agreements of local authorities. It is important, once more, to stress that there is not one agreed-upon concept of a Romantic road, but that we speak here of a label for tourism, which can entail various organizational features (central government, provincial government designated, or existing through inter-city/county cooperation), various main attractions (cultural vs natural, modern vs traditionalist, catering to national vs international tourists etc.), and also being of different length and scope and thereby having a very different impact (from a purely local impact

on tourism, to a national one, like the German Romantic road has, due to its international exposure).

Romantic roads and other scenic or thematic roads are a result of the age of mass individual tourism, since they require tourists to have a car and the leisure and money to drive along a route and often stay overnight. Therefore, it is no wonder that these routes first gained importance in relative affluent countries like post-war Germany and Japan. South Korea's tourism even after the long decades of economic miracle developed slowly and more in the form of mass tourism, due to long working weeks and short holidays. This changed after the Asian crisis, when regional tourism initiatives flourished as a way to revive rural areas, for example, through local festivals. From 2005, Hanns Seidel Foundation Korea, a German political foundation working for the peaceful development of the Korean Peninsula, partnered first with Goseong County and from 2006 with Gangwon province for the sustainable development of the inner-Korean border area. One of the partners of this project was Prof. Dr. Peter Jurczek, professor of economic geography at Chemnitz Technical University. He first proposed in 2007 in a special lecture at the Korean Research Institute for Human Settlements (KRIHS) the introduction of a "Romantic road" along the Korean East Coast in Gangwon province. While the focus was South Gangwon province,¹⁰ the prospect of closer inter-Korean relations was at that time very high and explicitly part of the concept. In 2008, the governor of Gangwon province, Kim Jin-Sun, visited the partner region of Gangwon province, Upper Franconia in Bavaria, and also parts of the German Romantic Road. Soon afterwards, research about the possibilities of a Korean Romantic Road in Gangwon-do started in the regional development institute and regional administration.

The German Romantic Road as well as the Australian Great Ocean Road, on the South-eastern coast of Australia between the Victorian

10 Peter Jurczek, *"Raumplanung und Tourismusentwicklung - das Konzept einer 'Romantischen Straße' am Ostmeer (Spatial planning and tourism development - the concept of a 'Romantic road' at the East Sea),"* (Korea Research Institute for Human Settlements, Seoul, 2007).

cities of Torquay and Allansford, listed as national heritage, were taken as benchmarks by the provincial government of Gangwon. Clearly, comparisons easily can border on arbitrariness. However, the reasons Gangwon province chose these two comparisons were the fact that the first German Romantic Road was very established and successful, and the Australian Great Ocean Road was comparable in terms of landscapes (oceanic road). Their main characteristics were compared to the planned East Coast Romantic Road of Korea.

<Table 1> Comparison of the Romantic Road of Germany, the Great Ocean Road of Australia, and the Korean Romantic Road

	German Romantic Road	Australian Great Ocean Road	Korean Romantic Road of Gangwon Province
Location	Inland area	Coast area	Coastal area of Korea in Gangwon province
Total Length	350 (413) km	240 km	240 km
Core Theme	Middle age's cultural heritages	Beautiful nature views	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The theme of the romantic road, around the 7th national road, is the nature views • Maximizing the strong point of clean resources in Gangwon province such as mountains, the sea, lakes, and caves.
Assistant Theme	Beautiful nature (e.g. Alps)	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Natural resources [core]+history/culture/traditional life+leisure+sports+resources[assistant] • Embossed the variety, practical use as an axis of tour-spending, commercializing the touristic resources
Touristic Marketing	Historical cultural resources	History, culture, nature, leisure and so on	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improving the satisfactory through effective collation of accommodation/food/experience/shopping
Center	27 middle or small size cities	6 cities + 17 touristic cities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Samcheok-Donghae-Gangneung-Yangyang-Seokcho-Goseong
Transportation	CarTour busBicyclewalk	Cars	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Road for driving focusing on a private car • Considering local buses/ bicycle/ walk

	German Romantic Road	Australian Great Ocean Road	Korean Romantic Road of Gangwon Province
Type of Tourist	Domestic and foreign	Domestic and foreigners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Main target group is domestic tourists, but marketing some part for foreigners in the future • Solving the problem of East coast tourism by revitalization of the romantic road focusing on domestic tourists
Spending of Tourist	Souvenir,Cultural facility, Accommodation & food,Various touristic commodities	Leisure and sports,Boutique shopping, Accommodation & food,Various touristic commodities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developing a special touristic commodity which can promote tourist consumption
Website	https://www.romantischestrasse.de/	https://www.australia.com/en/places/melbourne-and-surrounds/guide-to-the-great-ocean-road.html	-

Source: Own compilation based on Gangwon Province spatial planning materials

Ultimately, according to the regional planners, the Korean Romantic Road, dubbed “*Nangmankado*” in Korean, should not only be a road with beautiful vistas, but a new brand which inspires tourists to spend on accommodation, food, shopping, cultural experience and so on. The route, although following the large national street no. 7, often takes detours, in particular along the coast, on smaller roads, like the Romantic Road in Germany does. Signboards along the length of the road and specific signboards in Korean, English, German, Japanese and Chinese guide the way. Gangwon province invested 80.6 bn. KRW (that time around 45 mil. Euro) in the Romantic Road for 3 years and celebrated its opening in July 2009. The Korean Romantic Road had a very important difference to the German model: it was implemented top-down, and while originally a joint effort for marketing of the new route was pledged, in the end there never was anything of this

happening after the initial funding from the province was used. The Romantic Road of Korea became one of a multitude of tourism initiatives in Gangwon province, and while there was mass tourism to the coast, including also more use of the coastal route with increasing incomes, better facilities and especially the boom of pensions everywhere, as a precondition for more individual tourism, there was never an explicit argument to use the “Romantic Road” though the road has every right to this title with its spectacular vistas.

And, the Northern dimension of the Romantic Road, as a way to prepare for more cross-border tourism, never materialized. Indeed, already in 2008, the Kumgangsan project was halted after a South Korean tourist was shot there. For ten years a stalemate over the fate of the Kumgangsan project was only interrupted for very occasional family reunions. In 2018, there was short-lived hope for a revival of the project, as President Moon had pledged, but sanctions had become so stringent in the meantime that no opening was possible without a change or stark violation of sanctions. Neither was the path the Moon administration wanted to go. Being frustrated with a lack of progress, North Korea threatened to remove all South Korean facilities in late 2019. At the same time, North Korea’s domestic tourism policy greatly increased in importance, and the Kumgangsan area became a center piece of this strategy. In light of this, a tourism project not related to the central government relations, but rather formulated and initiated by independent actors, i.e. provinces, counties, tour agencies and individual tourists, could still succeed, where central government policies failed.

IV. Tourism Development in North Korea - From Marginal to Centerpiece

For a long time, tourism in North Korea was mostly confined to “ideological tourism,” by the so-called “Juche study groups” which came to worship the heroes of Juche, Kim Il-Sung and later Kim Jong-

II.¹¹ The whole entrance area of the “Juche tower” in Pyongyang is plastered with commemorative plaques of such Juche study groups, which is financed for participants in poorer countries, often developing countries in Africa, by North Korea itself. With the slow rehabilitation of the economy and increased trade, tourism in North Korea developed throughout the 2000s, in particular with China. However, it remained a minuscule industry: at its peak, maybe around 5,000 Western tourists visited North Korea each year, and maybe between 100,000 and 150,000 Chinese tourists, many of them only visiting for a day.¹² Still, these figures were not unimportant for North Korea and resulted in a sizeable revenue.¹³ And, the more other industries were cut off from international trade, the more important the money became which could be earned by tourism, one of the few non-sanctioned industries. Plans for mass tourism were made alongside with the increase of special economic zones. The Kumgangsan special tourism zone was revamped and redesigned and merged with the whole North Kangwon coastal area as the Wonsan-Mt. Kumgang International Tourist zone. Additionally, tourism zones were prepared in Mt. Paektu, where currently a large construction project is undergoing in Samjiyeon, and also along the Yalu (Amnok) river. Tourism invariably went through one of the official tourist agencies, most importantly, the Korea International Tourism Corporation.

By the mid-2000s, Western tourism was a kind of “adventure tourism” to a system and country unlike any other in the world. While in the time of the Cold War, the demand for such tourism was (directed mainly toward the S.U.) mainly by the Soviet Union, now it was

11 Yukang Wang, Van Broeck, Anne Marie and Dominique Vanneste, “International tourism in North Korea: how, where and when does political ideology enter?,” *International Journal of Tourism Cities*, vol. 3, no. 3 (2017), pp. 260-272.

12 In comparison, South Korea saw more than 17 million inbound visitors in 2015, and more than 15 million in 2018. Almost half of them came from China until 2016, when the dispute about THAAD led to a stark decrease in Chinese tourists in South Korea.

13 According to Yonhap News (2015), Yoon in-Joo of the Korean Maritime Institute estimated a revenue of between 30-43 million USD, half of that of Kaesong Industrial Complex.

concentrated on North Korea, the last remaining state with an abundance of socialist realism in rhetoric, architecture, and culture. This was catered to by a few specialized Western travel agencies, with Koryo Tours the most well-known one, and Young Pioneers, the agency which brought Otto Warmbier into the country, the student who later tragically lost his life in a North Korean prison, the second-most well-known, albeit mostly for this tragic incident. This kind of tourism for a long time even seemed to be resisting the cycles of better and worse relations of North Korea with the rest of the world. However, the case of Otto Warmbier dealt it a blow from which it has not yet fully recovered. Tours included tailor-made tours, for example, for railway or airplane enthusiasts, bicycle tourism, etc.¹⁴ It was a crucial way to convey the self-image of North Korea and more than a few journalists were participating, sometimes in disguise, in these tours. They were, however, never intended to become mass tourism.

Mass tourism was rather the concept of tourism for South Koreans in Kumgangsan, where Hyundai Asan built several hotels and all in all almost two million South Koreans and foreigners visited from 1998 to 2008. The 530 km³ large special tourism zone featured restaurants and other facilities, like a branch of the Pyongyang circus and a spa. For the land and operation rights alone, North Korea earned around 500 million USD. Tourism was thought to open up North Korea, since it involved frequent people-to-people contacts.¹⁵ When in July 2008 a South Korean 53-year-old tourist, Wang-ja Park, was shot twice while climbing over a fence, South Korea's demand of a joint inquiry was denied. By that time, inter-Korean relations had soured already, with the coming to power of President Lee Myung-Bak, who was much more skeptical of the

14 If the right amount of money was paid, almost everything seemed possible: tailor-made tours even could include an extravaganza by participants of “Gumball 3000,” an outlawed motor car race for ultra-rich kids in Pyongyang in 2008, which was received by the Vice Culture Minister of the country, or a tour by Slovenian rock band Laibach, which plays with totalitarian symbolism and clearly mocked its counterparts in the North during a concert in 2017; see *New York Times* (2018).

15 Samuel Seongseop Kim, Bruce Prideaux and Jillian Prideaux, “Using tourism to promote peace on the Korean Peninsula,” *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 34 (2007), pp. 291-309.

Sunshine policy than his predecessor and had put all inter-Korean agreements on review. Afterwards, numerous negotiations failed to revive the agreement. In 2018, President Moon Jae-in and Chairman Kim Jong-Un agreed to restart the project, but a year later, North Korea ordered the destruction of all South Korean buildings and planned to reopen the resort on its own. In the case of the Kumgang tourism project, large cash payments to the North as well as constant tensions due to the direct contact of North and South Koreans in the sensitive military border area led to frequent conflicts, growing mutual distrust and finally the breakdown of the project.¹⁶

Finally, tourism with China was also intended from the beginning to be mass tourism, with a number of shorter tours, including one-day tours, and cheaper accommodation.¹⁷ In Pyongyang, in 2019, new tourism agencies like “Pyongyang Kwankwangsang” operated beside the more established agencies, mostly catering to Chinese, and sometimes Vietnamese tourists. In the busiest trading port of China and North Korea, Sinuiju opposite Dandong at the Yalu river, one day tours are possible. Chinese tourists have lower quality expectations regarding accommodation than Western tourists, and also spend less money on average. For Chinese tourist groups, hotel costs in Rason are as low as 100 RMB (less than 15 USD) per night, due to pressure from Chinese tourism agencies and operators. Logistically, culturally and politically, it would be easiest to extend Chinese tourism. But even with Chinese tourists, larger groups bring the potential of more incidents like putting unwanted photos or video clips on social media. In this sense, tourism development between North Korea and the rest of the world is always in a state of tension: while on the one hand North Korea wants to extend tourism, on the other hand too much of an extension can easily result in disasters. This was the case of Kumgangsan tourism, and this was also

16 South Korea under the presidency of Moon Jae-in obviously wanted to restart the project as a first flagship inter-Korean agreement; see JoongAng Daily (2019); however, it remains elusive in the current situation (Kim 2019).

17 Jie Yang, Liyan Han, Guangyu Ren, “China-to-North Korea Tourism: A Leisure Business on a Tense Peninsula,” *North Korean Review*, vol. 10, no. 2 (2014), pp. 57-70.

the case of Western adventure tourism, when Otto Warmbier became a prisoner of North Korea, and ultimately died.

North Korea did a lot in the reign of Kim Jong-Un to increase tourism.¹⁸ Starting with the Mashikryong ski resort project, Kim Jong-Un initiated and personally oversaw several large-scale projects, including the rehabilitation of Samjiyeon at the highest mountain in Korea, Paektusan, the project of a spa resort in Yangdok, the creation of attractions in Pyongyang, and the large-scale tourism area in Kalma beach in Wonsan. Indeed, Yi et al. (2017)¹⁹ speak of a "new paradigm of tourism." Ironically, while increased sanctions make tourism more and more attractive as one of the few non-sanctioned areas, it also became less and less feasible. While a lot of resources and efforts went into these projects, it is important to see that internal and external limitations on mass tourism could not be lifted. Mashikryong ski resort, for example, was opened in early 2014, but never had a single "successful" season: twice the country was closed due to pandemics, several years the geo-political situation was very tense, countries like the U.S. started to restrict travel to the North. To run such a large resort successfully, there should be thousands of visitors every day. In fact, there were mainly a few thousand every season – too few to make such a project pay off in economic terms. Even if visitors, most likely from China, would line up in travel agencies to go to the resort, there would be no way the North Korean government could bring them there. With one or a maximum of two airplanes a day and one train a day, capacities to bring in international tourists are extremely limited. Most importantly, the amount of staff needed to care for these foreigners, including supervising them, would be far too much for the North Korean authorities. There

18 One might speculate that the upbringing of Kim Jong-Un in Switzerland, a country famous as an Alps destination, deeply influenced him in his view of the importance of tourism. Reportedly, he himself oversaw tourism projects like the Mashikryong ski area (more evidence that this was his likely role model); Dean J. Oullette, "The Tourism of North Korea in the Kim Jong-un Era: Propaganda, Profitmaking, and Possibilities for Engagement," *Pacific Focus*, vol. 31, no. 3 (2016), pp. 421-451.

19 Sangchoul Yi, Chang-mo Ma, InJoo Yoon, "A new paradigm for tourism development in North Korea" (paper presented at Advancing Tourism Research Globally 2017 international conference, Quebec City, Canada, June 20-22, 2017)

simply would not be enough loyal guides well-versed enough in foreign languages to welcome every visitor. This last aspect at least would not be necessary for South Korean tourists. However, additional precautions would be necessary to prevent them from understanding too much of what they see and what is going on. Not surprisingly, the North Korean position is very ambiguous, with some open invitations to individual South Korean tourists, and South Korean group activities in the North. In the last months of 2019, it also became clear that while tourism is a priority area, North Korea seems to have no interest in returning to its uneasy partnership with Hyundai Asan and the South Korean government, but at most only in individual South Korean tourists.

What are the reasons for the North Korean shift of attention to tourism projects? Certainly, the fact that tourism is one of the few sectors exempt from sanctions is a great plus in the eyes of North Korean leadership. Also, tourism development is linked to the image of modernization under Kim Jong-Un, with several of his major prestige projects (Mashikryong Ski resort, Kalma beach, Samjiyeon redevelopment, and Yodok hot spring) related to tourism. Finally, in clearly confined areas, tourism seems to be possible without too much interaction with the public of North Korea. This was the case with Kumgangsán tourism resort, and in planning, is the case for the Kalma beach resort. It is not a trivial question for North Korea, but of utmost importance: if a project is intrusive (like Kaesong Industrial Complex with the direct interaction of South Korean technology and people with the North is to some extent), or not (as for example Kalma beach is designed).

V. Towards the Romantic road of Gangwon (Kangwon) Province

The project should be meaningful, but non-pivotal (i.e. not so crucial that a failure of one project would symbolize the failure of rapprochement itself, like it was in the case with the symbolic destruction of the inter-Korean exchange office in Kaesong in June 2020). It should be initiated at the local and/or provincial level and include

independent business and individual actors (tourists). These need to be empowered to make individual decisions, which are - beside a general legal framework - not subject to case-by-case review by a central government body. An extension of the Romantic road in Gangwon province to the Northern part of the province would be such a project. First, such a project should start explicitly as a provincial project, i.e. not a project proposed by the central government. Naturally, in the preparation for such a project, consultation with the central government is inevitable, but design, finances, and proponents should be all clearly and visibly Gangwon people, addressing their fellow countrymen across the border. Here, we talk about the way the project should be presented. Ultimately, a re-financing of the project through the Korean Unification Fund is likely, and ultimately, it is absolutely certain that the North Korean response would be given not by anyone local, but follow a central decision – but it is nevertheless important that such a project should be initiated and implemented on the regional level. As for the addressee in North Korea, it would be advisable to try to connect not with the regional North Kangwon people’s committee, though this is the direct counterpart of the South Gangwon provincial government, but rather with the Committee responsible for the Wonsan-Kumgangsan tourism zone, which has a greater political leeway.

Second, the project proposal could focus on cooperation for developing tourism projects for the Kumgangsan-Wonsan tourism zone, without making it a cross-border project from the beginning. Cross-border projects properly speaking, where North and South Koreans would work together on both sides of the border, are extremely unlikely. Though there might be a time when selected North Korean officials could be invited to travel the South Gangwon Romantic Road to get an idea about tourism development in the South, this will in all probability not be the case in the beginning of the project. Rather, a focus should be on the development of a North Korean tourism road project, along the East Coast, without necessarily a direct reference to linking the South and North Korean road, which would have much bigger policy implications. The two roads could rather develop “in tandem,” without

being linked in the beginning. Later on, a joint designation might be possible. Some examples show that this is not entirely impossible – for example, the joint designation of “*ssireum*” (Korean wrestling) as world cultural heritage, or cooperation, though not yet finally crowned with success, with China and South Korea on designated Yellow Sea tidal flat areas as world natural heritage.

Third, how should the initial contact be made? Time and again, it was shown that “announcement diplomacy,” where South Korea presents big plans in the local media, is the worst way to go forward. Instead, a quieter approach is necessary. For example, a tour of North Korean officials along the German Romantic Road, co-organized with a German partner, could lead to the establishment of relevant contacts, either directly in the zone, or with one of the North Korean tourism organizations, and could then lead to a first meeting of both sides. Such an indirect, trilateral approach to cooperation is much more promising. An initial proposal from the South Gangwon side could focus on the possibility to send visitors to North Kangwon, through the road rather than by airplane. Such an approach would not need to be focusing on Kumgangsan. On the one hand Kumgangsan is logistically the most easy and logical starting point for South Korean tourism to the North. On the other hand, however, focusing on Kumgangsan would invariably bring the question of the involvement and the assets of Hyundai Asan there, and it would immediately catapult any decision to the highest political level. Instead, a focus on other tourism areas in North Kangwon, like Kalma beach after its opening or Mashikryong Ski resort, to name a “summer” and “winter” alternative, could avoid this politicization. Tourism then could happen not as truly individual tourism by individual cars, which North Korea in all likelihood would not accept, but at least as tourism by competing bus companies, without another strong chaebol monopoly partner. An even “softer” approach could be the proposal for joint programs on eco-tourism, like bird watching tourism in the migration period of spring or autumn, for small selected groups, as a kind of trial for a later expansion of tourism. All these proposals could work for promotion of tourism in North Kangwon alone, and later could be integrated into a joint tourism project.

Already the development of two separate, but geographically close tourism roads could have a symbolic meaning – as for example, the current designation of the “Asian Highway No 1,” which also is not truly connected, but still a symbolic designation.

<Figure 2> The Korean Romantic Road



Source: Own compilation using Google Maps

Quite naturally, existing North Korean tourism attractions in the area would be integrated into this “Romantic Road of Kangwon,” starting with Haekumgang and Samil-po, to the beach areas of Wonsan and beyond. Already today, North Korea tries to create advertisement for these areas, like in the Tripadvisor or Google Travel pages. The area is already, as seen in the newest North Korean tourism maps, of great touristic importance. But, a comprehensive advertisement could enhance the value of the area.

Under current international conditions, in particular sanctions, any form of tourism promotion would have to be an encouragement of individual tourism by South Koreans rather than group tours organized

in the old style of Hyundai Asan to a selected resort. While it is not clear if North Korea would agree to such tourism in the short run, definitely the plans for the Kalma beach resort, for example, are plans for South Korean tourists. Interestingly, while there is a certain acknowledgement of the potential benefits of tourism for inter-Korean relations, there have been no steps taken by the South Korean government to change the laws governing inter-Korean relations, in particular the National Security Law, to allow for individual tourism to the North. This does not inspire North Korea a lot in pushing for tourism cooperation. One way would be the change of the regulations governing contacts with North Koreans from a positive list to a negative list, in which just certain forms of contacts (like espionage) are outlawed, and everything else is possible. Another issue which would have to be discussed on the central government level would be the opening of the border for tourists. For example, the transportation of tourists by airplane to Kalma airport would be feasible.

In particular, a direct way through the border, as in previous times with Kumgangsán tourism, would be an important step for a more peaceful border area and for more inter-Korean contacts. A second step then could be the offer to jointly improve the road, which for now is still a dirt track (as are most of the roads south of Wonsán), by paving it and by creating signs for the touristic road, the "Romantic road of Kangwondo." Existing resort areas, like near Sijeungho, could be rehabilitated to cater to more demanding South Korean tourists. Similar to the development of Kumgangsán resort, a lot of different options were possible: model pension villages, seafood restaurants, joint renovation of temple areas, together with Buddhist organizations, etc. All of this, however, would not be possible under the current sanctions regime. Therefore, another political track of negotiating either exemptions on a regional rather than topical basis, or a solution to the nuclear standoff, would be necessary. But it would be a wrong attitude, as it is taken often by South Korean government organizations, simply to defer plans until after sanctions are lifted. A good program would rather show, through small and feasible steps, that sanctions exemptions or

relief would indeed result in bigger change. And it would signal, in conjunction with political initiatives at the center for exemptions or change of sanctions, that South Korean initiatives are serious, not merely window dressing.

As a last step it (the road) could bring closer official ties between the two parts of Gangwon: Meetings on the working level, on issues like tourism, transportation, border issues and so on. Ultimately, a system of sister cities could develop: Gangneung-Wonsan, Goseong-Kosong, etc. The romantic road could then be part of a network of institutions slowly changing the nature of the DMZ on the way toward unification.²⁰

VI. Conclusion: Decentralized Unification Policy as an Additional Iron in the Fire

Regionalization will not be a remedy for all the problems of inter-Korean relations. But it can be a reasonable and meaningful addition to current approaches. The main international and national problems, i.e. the nuclear crisis, the sanctions standoff, the inter-Korean tensions due to systemic competition cannot be resolved by regionalization or localization. But both regional and local initiatives could offer additional ways to approach North Korea. And, a lot of initiatives planned at the local and regional level, which have never made it until now to national level negotiations, would fit well within such a policy. In the case of Gangwon province, localization could, for example, include two more projects to be pitched to the North Korean side: in the realm of sports diplomacy, the long-existing idea of a “peace Marathon” from the old “summerhouse of Kim Il-Sung” at Hwajinpo lake in Goseong county, a former missionary's home that later belonged to the North Korean

20 Peter Jurczek, “Konzeptionelle Überlegungen zur Entwicklung und Gestaltung der Demilitarisierten Zone (DMZ) im Falle eines vereinigten Korea (Conceptual considerations of the development and design of the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) in the case of a unified Korea),” *Kommunal- und regionalwissenschaftliche Arbeiten online*, no. 19 (2009), pp. 1-21.

leader after the Korean war, could be recycled and fit into the proposed regional or local cooperation. And in the field of environmental cooperation, cooperation in nature protection for seabirds along the coast of Goseong/Kosong could be strengthened by a joint application for the designation of the area as an IBA according to the terminology of Birdlife International.²¹

While such initiatives are basically independent from the idea of the Romantic road of Kangwon proposed above, there is a connection: given the isolation of North Korea, it is much more difficult to even propose projects North Korea is interested in if a framework for such a work is not pre-existing, like a meeting of officials, etc. Only to postulate a certain idea in the South Korean media will not lead to its realization; on the contrary, it often is already the death blow for any project.

For a unification policy on the central level, regionalization or localization would not mean to idly wait until something emerges on the regional or local level. On the contrary, important preconditions have to be nationwide: a true decentralization of unification policy would have to vest decision power away from the unification ministry into provinces and cities. Currently, all projects need central approval, with the exception of certain cities along the border which have a greater leeway.²² While giving up decision power in favor of regions and local communities is important, a further step would be the modernization of the National Security Law. This touches upon one of the biggest taboos in contemporary South Korean history. Admittedly, without a solid Parliamentary majority supporting the issue it could not be done. However, it is surprising, how often Korean politicians of different

21 IBAs are places of international significance for the conservation of birds and other biodiversity, recognized world-wide as practical tools for conservation, distinct areas amenable to practical conservation action, identified using robust, standardized criteria, and sites that together form part of a wider integrated approach to the conservation and sustainable use of the natural environment (see Birdlife International 2020). According to joint research by Hanns Seidel Foundation Korea and Birds Korea, both parts of Goseong, North and South, fit these criteria (Moores et al. 2018).

22 To prevent abuse, still a full documentation of such transfers could be required.

parties, from left to right, invoke the example of German unification, and how rarely they see that among the differing preconditions were some which cannot be influenced by South Korea, like the different geo-political environment, but some, which can be influenced, like the much more relaxed German attitude on German-German meetings and cooperation in the civilian realm, from family meetings to academic cooperation and even business cooperation. This would be the change from a positive list of approved contacts to a negative list, allowing all contacts between North and South as long as they are not damaging South Korea's legitimate security interests.

Also, there would be a necessary change to sanctions rules. Currently, it looks very unlikely that the nuclear standoff will be resolved anytime soon. As a beginning, therefore, a kind of *de minimis* rule, which allows projects lower than a certain threshold, could be politically pushed by the central government. This would allow small-scale projects - the maximum size of which would have to be debated within the UN system, but could maybe be as small as 10,000 or 20,000 USD - to take place regardless of sanctions, allowing money to be moved for such projects and items purchased, e.g. for small-scale energy or water projects, tourism support, etc.²³ While not changing geo-political pressure, it could allow regional or local projects to take off. And this might be exactly the kind of trust-building activity now missing, which could then create a greater push also for ever-bigger projects on the national level.

■ Article Received: 4/20 ■ Reviewed: 6/18 ■ Revised: 6/22 ■ Accepted: 6/26

23 Jones, *Track Two Diplomacy in Theory and Practice*, p. 171.

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How will Changes in North Korean Legislation Affect Inter-Korean Exchanges and Cooperation?*

Sunhye Moon**

Changes in North Korean legislation are quite important for inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation. Because the flow of inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation so far has only been done in one direction from South to North Korea, the legal system that supported them was bound to be based on North Korean law. I would like to predict that the legislative volume of the sub-legal codes will increase more and the contents of them will be subdivided in North Korea. Legislation will be further developed in areas that target foreigners, and used to strengthen and protect the power of the ruling class. There will be more legislation related to the tax system. Those changes in North Korean legislation will affect inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation. It is time to grasp in advance the various issues that may arise in that and set up countermeasures to preemptively handle them.

Keywords: North Korean legislation, North Korea's legislative change, the socialist rule of law, inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation, legislative assistance to North Korea

* Acknowledgments: This article is a revised and rewritten part of the report "Research on North Korea's legislative system and recent legislative trends - focused on legislative reform during the transition period" supported by the Ministry of Legislation in 2019. It may differ from official opinions of the Ministry. The author would like to thank anonymous reviewers for helpful comments.

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I. Introduction

Though many people believe that there is no law in North Korea, or even if there is a law it is useless, North Korean legislation has undergone significant changes and developments. The 'rule of law' claimed by North Korea is different from the concept of 'rule of law' that is commonly used, but the importance of it cannot be overlooked. This is because it is based on the necessity of attempting to change policies in accordance with North Korea's internal and external circumstances and legally supporting them. Authoritarian rulers often make use of a legal system to counteract the many dysfunctions that plague their regimes.¹ And North Korea is no exception. North Korean laws and regulations have also been used as a means to secure legal grounds for the succession of power and the protection of the regime.

Meanwhile, South and North Korea have developed exchanges and cooperation in the wake of the inter-Korean Red Cross talks in 1971, and the 2018 inter-Korean summit has become a new turning point. Exchanges and cooperation between the two Koreas can play a role as a driving force in resolving distrust between each other that has persisted since the division and restoring of national homogeneity. Furthermore, the establishment of related laws and policies for a peaceful future is also drawing attention as an important task to accomplish. Inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation should be conducted through legal procedures, so both the recognition of and consensus on the legal system between the two Koreas are essential.

Therefore, it is significant to analyze the impact of North Korea's legislative changes on the progress of inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation. It is not an exaggeration to say that the future changes in inter-Korean relations depend on inter-Korean exchanges and

1 Ginsburg and Moustafa researched how authoritarian rulers use "judicial institutions," and I would like to expand the discussion to "legislation." Quoted from Tom Ginsburg and Tamir Moustafa, "Introduction: The Functions of Courts in Authoritarian Politics," in *Rule by Law: The Politics of Courts in Authoritarian Regimes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 21.

cooperation. It is necessary to understand North Korean laws and systems from a mid- to long-term perspective, and to design exchanges and cooperation between the two Koreas based on this understanding.

This study explains why the changes in North Korean legislation are important for inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation. It also explains what changes are currently taking place in North Korean legislation and the future prospects associated with it. Then, it examines how the future changes in North Korean legislation will affect inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation. Hopefully, the study will be used to draw up countermeasures for changes in North Korean legislation and promote inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation.

II. Why Changes in North Korean Legislation are Important for Inter-Korean Exchanges and Cooperation

1. The pattern of inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation

Exchanges and cooperation between the two Koreas so far can be divided into two main categories: trade and economic cooperation, humanitarian aid projects.²

Inter-Korean trade and private economic cooperation projects began after the so-called "7/7 Declaration" in 1988, when Daewoo Co., Ltd. received approval from the government for 519 North Korean ceramics through Hong Kong brokerage. Since then, economic exchanges between the two Koreas have developed in the order of general trade, consignment processing trade, and direct investment. At the time of the start of inter-Korean trade, only simple product trade was carried out, but afterwards, South Korea began to supply raw materials and

2 The following is a summary of the contents of the website of the Ministry of Unification of the Republic of Korea. See South Korea, the Ministry of Unification, "Inter-Korean Exchanges and cooperation," <<https://www.unikorea.go.kr/unikorea/business/cooperation>> (date accessed April 19, 2020).

equipment, and then began consignment trade to process and import finished products from North Korea.

The first investment in North Korea was made in 1993, when Daewoo Co., Ltd. was approved for cooperation with North Korea and produced shirts, bags, and jackets at Nampo Industrial Complex. Thereafter, a total of 100 cooperative projects were approved until 2013, but seven projects were canceled due to North Korean factors and company circumstances, resulting in a total of 93 approved projects.³ South Korean private companies' direct investment in the North has been carried out in various areas, including Gaeseong, Pyongyang, Nampo and Goseong, while most of their direct investment has been made in special zone areas such as the Gaeseong Industrial Complex and Mt. Geumgang. The representative examples of inter-Korean economic cooperation projects are the Gaeseong Industrial Complex and the Mt. Geumgang Tourism Project.

The Gaeseong Industrial Complex began on August 22, 2000, when Hyundai Asan Co. of South Korea signed an agreement with the North's Korea Asia-Pacific Peace Committee and the National Economic Cooperation Federation on the construction and operation of industrial zones in Kaesong for the purpose of building industrial zones and back-to-back cities. About 54,000 North Korean workers and 800 South Korean workers were employed by 124 companies operating in the complex. But in response to North Korea's fourth nuclear test and long-range missile launch on February 10, 2016, the South Korean government suspended the operation of the Gaeseong Industrial Complex altogether, and the North also shut down the complex. By industry, there were 73 textile companies, 24 machine metals, and 13 electrical and electronic companies. It is known that the accumulated output of the Gaeseong Industrial Complex before closing was \$ 3.14 billion.

3 They include Mt. Geumgang tourism, and exclude Gaeseong Industrial Complex. See South Korea, the Ministry of Unification, "Inter-Korean Exchanges and cooperation," <<https://www.unikorea.go.kr/unikorea/business/cooperation>> (date accessed April 19, 2020).

The Mt. Geumgang Tourism Project prepared a breakthrough in inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation before the Gaeseong Industrial Complex. On April 20, 1998, South Korean entrepreneurs were allowed to visit North Korea in accordance with the “measures to revitalize inter-Korean economic cooperation” announced by the South Korean government. In June of that year, Ju-yung Chung of Hyundai Group visited North Korea and agreed specifically with the Korea Asia-Pacific Peace Committee on tourism and development projects at Mt. Geumgang. The historic Mt. Geumgang tourism project began on November 18, when the Geumgang ship departed from Donghae Port for the first time. Since then, 934,662 cumulative tourists have been to Mt. Geumgang. However, the so-called “Park Wang-ja incident”⁴ occurred on July 11, 2008, and the project has been suspended since the South Korean government temporarily suspended the tour program the following day.

On the other hand, in the 1990s, the South Korean government played a major role in organizing the framework of inter-Korean economic cooperation at the private level. In August 1990, the Inter-Korean Exchanges and Cooperation Act and the Inter-Korean Cooperation Fund Act were enacted. With the announcement of the “Measures to Revitalize Inter-Korean Economic Cooperation” on two occasions in 1994 and 1998, a legal environment was provided for the expansion of private economic cooperation. In the 2000s, full-scale dialogue began between the inter-Korean authorities, and the government-level economic cooperation project was promoted. As the first inter-Korean inter-governmental project, the Imjin River flood prevention project was discussed, and afterwards, the Gyeongui Line and Donghae Line railroad/road connection projects, agricultural

4 On the morning of July 11, 2008, a female tourist from South Korea died of a North Korean military shooting at a North Korean military control zone near a beach in the Mt. Geumgang Tourist Area. For details of the incident, see Herskovitz Jon and Junghyun Kim, “South Korean tourist shot dead by North soldier,” *Reuters*, July 11, 2008, <<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-korea-north-shooting/south-korean-tourist-shot-dead-by-north-soldier-idUSSEO14908720080711>> (date accessed May 28, 2020).

cooperation projects, raw materials for light industry, and underground resource development cooperation projects were promoted.

In 2010, when the so-called “Cheonanham incident”⁵ occurred, the South Korean government implemented “5 · 24 measure,” which includes North Korean vessels not fully permitted to operate in the South Korean waters, cessation of inter-Korean trade, South Koreans not allowed to visit North Korea, no new investment in North Korea, and suspension of humanitarian aid projects. Humanitarian aid to North Korea for infants and other vulnerable people and the Gaeseong Industrial Complex were an exception to this measure, but currently only humanitarian aid remains possible for the projects, with the closure of the complex in 2016.

2. *One-sided dependence on North Korean legislation*

When analyzing the history of the inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation project, above all, I would like to point out that the flow of inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation has only been conducted in one direction from South to North Korea.

First of all, inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation have been done only in areas located in North Korea, such as Gaeseong and Mt. Geumgang. No project has been attempted in South Korea. Any investment was carried out only by the flow of South Korean capital into North Korea as well. Even considering that North Korea's economic level has been significantly lower than that of South Korea, it has been more of a unilateral aid initiative to North Korea rather than South-North cooperation. Regarding the legal system applied to the implementation of inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation, macro-contents were defined by signing an inter-Korean agreement, but

5 On March 26, 2010, the South Korean navy's patrol ship, the PCC 772 Cheonanham, was sunk by a torpedo from a North Korean navy submarine. For details of the incident, see “Report: South Korean navy ship sinks,” *CNN*, March 27, 2010, <<http://edition.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/asiapcf/03/26/south.korea.ship.sinking/index.html>> (date accessed May 28, 2020).

specific details were governed only by North Korean legislation. Because all the projects were carried out in North Korea, the legal system that supported them was bound to be based on North Korean law.

If inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation continue to proceed only one-way as they have in the past, it will inevitably raise the issue of equity based on the principle of mutual benefit as well as the legal instability supporting the exchanges and cooperation. It is because whenever an unexpected change in the North Korean legislation governing inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation projects occurs, it affects the entire business related to the legislation. It can be a serious problem considering the structure of the North Korean legislative system, which can very easily enact or amend laws. The socialist system does not allow for the division of powers, especially the executive and legislative branches, which are independent of each other. This means that the legal system applied to inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation can be changed as soon as the North Korean authorities decide.

Therefore, if the inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation project is to be resumed, efforts should be made in a way that the inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation project can be conducted bilaterally between the two Koreas rather than one way. It needs to find a way to create exchanges and cooperation projects from North to South. And before the projects will be restarted, changes in North Korea's legislation should be steadily observed and reviewed. Based on the understanding of North Korean legislation, the two Koreas can develop together through exchanges and cooperation as partners in equal relations.

III. The Background and the Changes of North Korean Legislation

1. The background of North Korean legislation

North Korea calls itself "the socialist rule of law," and its main

contents are explained in three dimensions.⁶ First, it is to improve legislation to complete the socialist legal system. This means legalizing all social relations in their entirety. Second, it is to strengthen compliance in society and increase awareness of it. Through collective and comprehensive school education and social education, all members of society are provided with legal knowledge of current legal norms. Third, it is to strengthen legal control in society to establish a thorough legal order. Strict legal control is emphasized, especially emphasizing the enhancement of the functions and roles of legal institutions and thorough elimination of power abuses and extraterritorial acts by workers working with state power.

The reason why North Korea emphasizes “the socialist rule of law” is to authorize and establish the national order.⁷ The purpose of it is not to limit the power of government and defend the freedom of the people, but to regulate and control the lives of the people. North Korea's ruling class may have chosen the legal system as a means of control. The legislation has been active according to their needs, which means that laws and regulations work as effective norms in North Korea. If laws and regulations are meaningless in North Korea, there is no need to emphasize the importance of “the socialist rule of law” or to enforce legislation. In other words, the changes in North Korean legislation specifically suggest what the North Korean regime wants and needs. This is why we need to pay attention to them.

2. The changes in North Korean legislation

In North Korea, the revision of legislation began widely from the time of Kim Jong-il, the former leader.⁸ Since Kim Jong-un took power,

6 Yoo-Hyun Jin, “The Principal's Theory of the Construction of a Socialist Rule-Based State,” *Kim Il-Sung University Journal: History and Law*, vol. 51, no. 1 (2005), pp. 45-49.

7 Tae-Wook Jeong, “North Korea's Theory of Legalism and Its Direction of Development,” *Asian Women's Law*, vol. 9 (2006), p. 147.

8 Peace Research Institute, “North Korea Transforming from Teaching to Legal,” *Unified Korea*, no. 262 (2005), p. 92.

legislation and revision of laws and regulations have occurred more frequently, and there have been developments in the judicial field, such as the expansion of the special trial system. The main characteristics of the changes in North Korean legislation since Kim Jong-un officially became a leader in December 2011 are as follows.

First, the amount of legislation has increased significantly. North Korea enacted 31 new laws and amended 81 of the existing 187 laws from 2012 to 2015.⁹ This amounted to 43.3% of all published laws, and a significant proportion of the legislation was reorganized. This means that the North Korean government has begun to recognize the importance of legislation. In particular, the constitution was amended and economic legislation was reorganized frequently.

The North Korean Constitution has been amended five times since December 2011: April 2012, April 2013, June 2016, and April and August 2019. In the April 2012 revision, in the preamble to the Constitution, the achievements of former leader Kim Jong-il were emphasized and the Constitution itself was named “Kim Il-sung-Kim Jong-il Constitution.” In the April 2013 revision, the ‘Party’s 10 Principles of Ideology’ was revised to justify Kim Jong-un’s powers and strengthen the new system. In the June 2016 revision, as the National Defense Commission was abolished and the State Council was newly established as a national agency, Kim Jong-un was appointed chairman of the State Council, and accordingly, there were changes in terms in many provisions. The April 2019 revision was evaluated to create the “Kim Jong-un Constitution.” Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il were designated as historical figures, and the contents related to the ‘military-first’¹⁰ idea were deleted while the policies and institutions of the Kim Jong-un era were largely reflected. The August 2019 revision

9 Jeong-won Park, “Analysis and Prospect of North Korea’s Legal Enactment System,” *Legal Research*, vol. 53 (2017), p. 13.

10 ‘Military-first’ idea is the ruling ideology of Kim Jong Il, the former leader, who built a power system centered on the military. This concept is called “Songun” in Korean. For more information, see Cheol-woo Kim, *General Kim Jong Il’s Songun Politics: Military Politics, Politics with the Military as the Main Force* (Pyongyang: Pyongyang Publishing House, 2000).

was also for constitutional approval of Kim Jong-un's powers.

Legislation in the economic sector was also actively carried out in North Korea, especially on attracting foreign capital. The laws related to attracting foreign capital in North Korea, revised after December 2011, are as follows:¹¹ the Joint Venture Act, the Joint Venture Act, the Foreign Investment Banking Act, the Foreign Investment Business Registration Act, the Foreign Investment Business Finance Management Act, the Foreign Investment Enterprise Accounting Act, and the Foreign Investment Enterprise Act, Foreign-Invested Companies Bankruptcy Act, and Foreign Economic Arbitration Act. This indicates that the North Korean authorities have been making rapid and quantitative abundant legislative activities with the will to open up the economy.

Second, in terms of formality, North Korean legislation has been systematized. The most notable turning point in the change in North Korea's legislative system is the enactment of the Legislation Act in 2012. The Legislation Act is a law that regulates North Korea's legislative process, defines its purpose and principles, subject matter, the role and authority of the legislative authority, the order and relationship between each agency, and the method of writing the law. It was enacted in order to complete the socialist legal system by strictly establishing the system and order in the legislative project.¹² The Legislation Act stipulates divisional laws, regulations and bylaws in the form of North Korean laws. As a result, the relationship and order of effect between North Korean statutes, which had been unclear before, were defined.¹³ Among the types of North Korean legal norms, it is the highest in the order of sectoral law, regulation, and bylaws, and the lower norms should not

11 It is based on laws in *The North Korean Statutes* published by the National Intelligence Service of the Republic of Korea in 2017. See South Korea, The National Intelligence Service, *The North Korean Statutes 2017* (Seoul, 2017).

12 Article 11 of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (hereinafter, DPRK) Legislation Act.

13 Kyung-il Heo, "Effectiveness Rankings and Effectiveness of the Laws in the Legislation Act," *Political Law Research*, no. 43 (2013), p. 35.

conflict with the higher norms.¹⁴ The Legislation Act also provides for legislative institutions and legislative procedures in North Korea. In addition to the principles of formal and procedural matters related to the enactment of the law, it stipulates matters such as listening to opinions in the process of preparing a legal document, establishing a legal enactment plan, and compiling regulations.

Since the enactment of the Legislation Act, the scope of understanding of the overall legislative system of North Korea, which was indirectly guessed, has expanded and deepened to a considerable extent.¹⁵ It is seen as a great help in a clearer understanding of the ranking of the North's *de facto* normative system.¹⁶ And after that, the conflicts between the upper and lower norms began to be resolved. In particular, as the provisions of laws that conflict with the Constitution have been revised, the consistency of the North Korean legal system has improved. Objectively speaking, however, the quantity and quality of North Korean legislation are still insufficient and there is a limit to calling it a country under the rule of law.

3. The future changes in North Korean legislation

Taking into account the changes in legislation as described above and the social and economic aspects in North Korea, I would like to predict how North Korean legislation will change. Here are four avenues of future change in North Korean legislation:

First, the legislative volume of the sub-legal codes such as regulations and bylaws will increase and the contents of them will be further subdivided. In fact, the regulations and bylaws stipulated in the Legislation Act as sub-legal forms already existed before the adoption of the Act. Since North Korea adopted the Lason Economic and Trade Zone

14 Article 62 (2) of the DPRK Legislation Act.

15 Byungki Kim, "North Korea's legislative system focusing on the Legislation Act," *Administrative Law Research*, no. 60 (2020), p. 109.

16 In-Ho Song and Kwi-il Choi, "A Review of North Korea's Legal System-Focusing on North Korea's Law on Legislation," *Legal Research*, Vol. 27, no. 1 (2019), p. 244.

Act as the 28th decision of the permanent session of the Supreme People's Assembly on January 31, 1993, it has enacted a total of nine regulations, including the adoption of the Statistics Regulations of the Lason Economic and Trade Zone Act as the 19th Cabinet decision on March 6, 1999.¹⁷ In addition, 17 regulations were enacted, including the Regulations on Development of the Gaeseong Industrial District Act, which was enacted on April 24, 2003, and 18 bylaws including the Enforcement Rules of the Automobile Management Regulations of the Gaeseong Industrial District Act, which was enacted on August 7, 2008, since North Korea adopted the Gaeseong Industrial District Act on November 30, 2002.¹⁸

In the North Korean legal system, regulations and bylaws have been enacted since the early 2000s, but there was no basis for legislative institutions and rankings of them. The institutions which establish regulations and bylaws, and rankings of them were officially prescribed when the Legislation Act was enacted. This is because the North Korean authorities have expressed their willingness to strengthen the rule of law, and it seems to be with the intention to actively utilize the legislation of subordinate legal norms such as regulations and bylaws in the future.

It is very meaningful to enforce legislative powers while delegating certain parts to lower institutions without controlling all laws and regulations by the upper institution, in the process of transitioning from a planned economic system to a market economic system. This means that

17 The DPRK Lason Economic and Trade Zone Act was completely amended in 2011, and based on this, the number of sub-regulations is eight. It is not clear whether the sub-regulations that were enforced before the amendments made in 2011 are currently in effect or have lost effect with the amendments made in 2011. See Myung-sub Han, *Special Lecture on Unification Law* (revised edition, Paju: Han-UI M-Plus, 2019), p. 583.

18 The DPRK Gaeseong Industrial District Act stipulates that the business regulations can be enacted as a sub-regulation of the bylaws, and the Gaeseong Industrial District Management Committee, which consists of South Korean personnel, has the authority to legislate. The Gaeseong Industrial District Management Committee is known to have enacted a total of 51 business regulations so far.

it supports the policy of increasing the autonomy of each economic agent while decentralizing the powers concentrated in the central government. In the course of promoting economic reform, China took steps to decentralize the central government and expand management autonomy for state-owned enterprises. It is significantly related to the enactment of a number of sub-legal codes, including administrative and local laws, after the Legislation Act was enacted in China. In terms of legislative powers, China has a decentralized system which is different from North Korea which has a centralized system,¹⁹ but the commonality can be found in terms of expanding the autonomy of sub-organizations.

Second, legislation will be further developed in areas that target foreign countries and foreigners. This is because it is the first priority to attract investment from them. Currently, the most systematic and legislative areas in North Korea's legislation are laws targeting foreign countries and foreigners, especially those related to special economic zones. The Economic Development Zone Act, adopted on May 29, 2013, calls for expanding special economic zones across North Korea, which is considered similar to the trend of special economic zones in China, called dot-line-side proliferation.²⁰ Furthermore, unlike most North Korean laws that do not have sub-legal codes, regulations and bylaws related to special economic zones such as the Lason Economic and Trade Zone Act have been steadily established and amended, so this trend is expected to continue.

Third, North Korean legislation will be used to strengthen and protect the power of the ruling class, and this trend will be particularly prominent in areas where 'rents'²¹ are generated. In China, one of North

19 Jeong-won Park, "Analysis and Prospect of North Korea's Legal Enactment System," p. 49.

20 Uk Yoo, "Background and Significance of the Enactment of the North Korean Economic Development Zone Act," *Unification Economy*, winter edition (2013), p. 71.

21 The 'rent' means "an export or earned income from natural gifts" like oil or "a politically created opportunity to obtain wealth through unproductive economic activity." See Hyung-joong Park, "Why didn't North Korea 'collapse' or 'reform

Korea's role models, officials' involvement in the economic growth process has also emerged as a political and social issue. The legislation on trade rights, one of the exclusive business rights in North Korea shows the above trend. In North Korea, the details of trade rights are regulated by the Trade Act. Trade transactions may be conducted by institutions, enterprises, or organizations that have obtained permission for business from the central trade guidance agency,²² and trade transactions can only be made within the scope of obtaining a business license.²³ When signing an important trade contract, the contract must be deliberated by the central trade guidance agency,²⁴ and the transaction of funds must be made through a designated bank while payment must be made by designated payment method.²⁵ This means that in North Korea, trade activities can only be done by those authorized by political power, and the flow of funds is possible only through the monitoring and control of political power through banks. North Korea's Trade Act functions to ensure that exclusive rights to trade operate under the complete control of the ruling class, and North Korea's legislative overhaul is aimed at supporting them. Legislation is expected to be more active in the future in areas where not only the Trade Act but also the means of creating 'rents' and controlling them are needed.

Fourth, related laws will be overhauled to effectively function as a tax system. North Korea prides itself on being a "tax-free country" because of its socialist system.²⁶ However, due to marketization,²⁷ the

and open up'?, *Modern North Korean Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (2013), pp. 52-53.

22 Article 11 of the DPRK Trade Act.

23 Article 15 (1) of the DPRK Trade Act.

24 Article 16 (2) of the DPRK Trade Act.

25 Article 18 of the DPRK Trade Act.

26 Currently, there is no official tax system for North Koreans, but only the Foreign Investment Companies and Foreign Tax Act for foreigners and the tax regulations in each special economic zone.

27 Marketization is a diverse and comprehensive concept, used as a concept that contrasts with planning, and also refers to the creation and expansion of a marketplace. See Moon-soo Yang, *North Korea's Planned Economy and Marketization* (Seoul: Unification Education Center, 2013), pp. 34-35.

system that drives all the economic surplus of local governments and businesses to the central government has been changing. So the central government needs a legal mechanism to secure finances. China and Vietnam had also reformed the tax system at the stabilization stage in the transition to their current economic system.

North Korea's economic system is in a dilemma where the planned and market economies complement and conflict with each other at the same time. The market economy leaks and steals various facilities, raw materials, parts, and electric power existing in the planned economy, while supplementing the planned economy by providing food and daily necessities that the planned economy cannot provide to residents instead. On the other hand, the planned economy supplements its finances by absorbing various surpluses from the market economy in the form of taxes and quasi-taxes.²⁸ Currently, tax/quasi-tax revenues that the North Korean government takes are officially state corporate earnings from factories and businesses, market fees in general markets, state payments, service companies' national payments, trade company proceeds, land usage fees, real estate usage fees, and unofficially, revolutionary funds, donations, spot payments, patriotism, and extra tax burdens.²⁹ North Korea does not directly name "tax," but there is a system that actually corresponds to the tax system, which is expected to expand more and more in the economic sector. Furthermore, there is a possibility that a tax system will be introduced formally in the future.

IV. The Effect of North Korea's Legislative Change on Inter-Korean Exchanges and Cooperation

How will North Korea's legislative changes affect inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation? We can get the answers according to the

28 Moon-soo Yang, "Topography and Discourse on North Korea's Marketization Discussion" (paper presented at Summer Conference of North Korean Research Association, Seoul, 2014), p. 110.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 112.

four avenues of future change as mentioned above.

First, the increase in the legislative volume of sub-legal codes such as regulations and bylaws, and the further subdivision of the contents of them will have a significant impact on economic cooperation projects. In particular, this should be noted for projects carried out in special zone areas such as the Gaeseong Industrial Complex and Mt. Geumgang. For example, the North-South agreement is basically applied to the Gaeseong Industrial Complex, but the governing laws that are specifically applied while doing business are the North and South Economic Cooperation Act and the Gaeseong Industrial District Act, its sub-regulations, enforcement bylaws, and business rules. The North and South Economic Cooperation Act and the Gaeseong Industrial District Act and its sub-rules can be established/amended only by legislative institutions of North Korea. The enforcement bylaws of the Gaeseong Industrial District Act are established/amended by the central industrial zone guidance organ which is the general affairs of the leadership,³⁰ and business rules are established/amended by the industrial district management agency which is the management committee.³¹ It means that the North Korean authorities can easily control or change specific contents throughout the project by enacting or revising regulations and bylaws, because the relevant legal system is based on the North Korean legislation. While North Korean authorities have the authority to make laws, regulations and bylaws, South Korean officials can engage in business rules only, which are the lowest legal standards.

The circumstances in which only North Korean laws, regulations and bylaws apply to the exchanges and cooperation projects and in which North Korean authorities can unilaterally enact or amend them may lead to disputes. In fact, the South Korean government has refused to enforce the Fines Regulation and 17 implementation bylaws, which are sub-rules of the Gaeseong Industrial District Act. Since such a pattern may occur in the Gaeseong Industrial Complex as well as other

30 Article 22 (3) of the DPRK Gaeseong Industrial District Act.

31 Article 25 (9) of the DPRK Gaeseong Industrial District Act.

special economic zones, it is necessary to consider how to resolve the inequality of the legislative system when the South and the North cooperate to jointly develop special economic zones.

Second, with regard to the prospect that legislation aimed at foreign countries and foreigners will be further developed, it would be a problem if it has little effect on inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation. Many people assume that investment laws targeting foreign countries and foreigners or special economic zone laws will also apply to South Koreans and businesses, but this is not the case. According to the North Korean legal system, foreign countries and South Korea are strictly divided. North Korea's investment legislation is divided into foreign investment legislation aimed at foreigners and North-South economic cooperation legislation aimed at Korean companies and residents. According to a related booklet in North Korea, "The investment relations of South Korean entrepreneurs are not regulated by the Foreign Investment Relations Act, but laws related to North-South Economic Cooperation are regulated separately."³²

North Korea's investment-related laws, which distinguish South Korea from foreign countries, imply North Korea's discrimination against South Korean capital, so it is one of the tasks to be actively resolved to promote inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation. It is necessary to reorganize the current North Korean legislation that limits South Korean capital and make disadvantages over foreign capital.

Third, regarding the increase in legislation to strengthen and protect the powers of the ruling class in North Korea, business rights related to inter-Korean economic cooperation will also be used as a means of creating 'rents' and controlling them. In relation to trade projects between the two Koreas, the case of North Korea's Trade Act mentioned above has implications. The mission of this law, which is mentioned under the Trade Act, is to "expand foreign markets,"³³ and it is stipulated that "the state is intended for trade with several countries and

32 Cheol-won Jeong, *Investment Guide for Chosun Investment: 310 Questions and Answers* (Pyongyang: Legal Publishing House, 2007), p. 60.

33 Article 1 of the DPRK Trade Act.

companies."³⁴ This means that this law applies to trade activities targeting foreign and foreign companies, excluding South Korean residents and businesses. However, if inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation are activated and the trade between the two Koreas increases, it is highly likely that the ruling class will control them in a similar way to the case of the Trade Act.

In North Korea, as marketization progresses, wealth has been concentrated in some classes and monopolies have occurred and the gap between the rich and the poor has widened.³⁵ The collusion between money and power became more pronounced, and a kind of political-business tie-up structure was established and consolidated. This situation will expand if inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation are active and large amounts of South Korean capital are invested, and the ruling class will try to control it. Therefore, it is expected that the impact of North Korea's legislation will be large where the 'rents' are created in the course of inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation.

Fourth, the prospect that the legislative system will be organized to actually function as a tax system has already been reflected when inter-Korean exchanges were made before. The tax regulation was established as a sub-regulation of the Gaesong Industrial District Act. The Mt. Geumgang International Tourism Zone Act, which was newly enacted in lieu of the Mt. Geumgang Tourism Zone Act, also has a tax regulation as a sub-regulation. In particular, South Korea was known to have given a lot of advice to the North in the drafting of the Gaesung tax regulations. Likewise, it is expected that North Korea's tax-related legislation will develop further if inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation are resumed.

V. Conclusion

All laws have changed and developed in response to the times, and

³⁴ Article 3 (2) of the DPRK Trade Act.

³⁵ Moon-soo Yang, *North Korea's Planned Economy and Marketization*, p. 71.

there is no exception even if it is North Korea. North Korean authorities have been actively revising legislation since Kim Jong-un took power. It had amended laws 161 times between when the country was established in 1948 and 2013. In contrast, it has amended laws 107 times since 2013. This indicates how important the current North Korean regime considers the rule of law, even if it is just a formality. Also, North Korean legislation has improved in terms of quality. The North Korean legal system was evaluated for its lack of consistency in the past, but many of those issues have been resolved since the Legislation Act was enacted. The Legislation Act clearly defines the form and effect ranking of North Korean laws such as sectoral laws, regulations, and bylaws. In addition, it systematically stipulates procedural processes such as bill submission, deliberation, and promulgation.

South Korea needs to pay attention to the changes in North Korean legislation mentioned above. Although it is now completely suspended due to international sanctions caused by North Korea's nuclear provocation, inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation should be resumed, and the two Koreas should prepare for them in advance. Because it is not only an important means to settle peace on the Korean Peninsula, but also a cornerstone to prepare for unification. While inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation have been suspended, South and North Korea have undergone many social and economic changes. Understanding each other's legislation could be the first step to bridge the gap between the two Koreas.

Therefore, I would like to suggest one of inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation projects. As a means of reopening tightly closed exchanges and cooperation, South Korea's legislative support project to North Korea can be considered. As a country with advanced legislation, South Korea has successfully participated in the modernization of securities laws in Laos, Belarus and Uzbekistan. In order to provide information such as legal advice and education, the 'Korea Law Center' has been established or promoted in China, Thailand, Cambodia, and Mongolia.³⁶

36 Yu-Hwan Kim and Dae-In Kim, *A Study on the Establishment Plan of the Korean*

If South Korea provides legislative assistance to North Korea as similar to other countries, it will serve as a springboard for inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation. In the process of supporting the legislation, South Korea can expect to gain more information and better understand North Korean society. Additionally, developing a North Korean legal system will result in improving the environment in which South Koreans and South Korean businesses will work in North Korea. Of course, unlike China and Vietnam which had chosen to open up after the transition, North Korea has maintained a closed attitude, so it will be a challenge whether North Korea will accept South Korea's proposal for legislative assistance.

Nevertheless, if the project starts, then it will need to make exchanges of accurate information on the legal system of the two Koreas a priority. And based on that, exchanges of technical knowledge for collecting, legislating, and managing laws and regulations will be promoted.³⁷ Especially, it would be useful in the tax sector, where there has been no precedent in which legislation has been formally enacted or implemented in North Korea. And, through this, South Korea can not only create new inter-Korean exchange fields, but also acquire North Korean legislative information.

North Korea's legislation reflects current economic and social changes in the short-term, and is closely related to prosperity and peace settlement on the Korean Peninsula in the long-run. South Korea needs to find out how to lead and cooperate rather than pursue regime changes in North Korea behind the scenes. It is time to grasp in advance the various issues that may arise in future changes in North Korean legislation and set up countermeasures to preemptively handle them.

■ Article Received: 4/23 ■ Reviewed: 5/22 ■ Revised: 5/29 ■ Accepted: 6/8

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37 Hee-Doo Son, *A Study on the Trend of Internationalization of North Korean Laws* (Sejong: Korea Legal Research Institute, 2010), p. 122.

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Shifting Soviet Attitudes towards Collective Security and Its Impact on the Korean War

David Alenga*

This present study provides a historical grounding for understanding the nexus between the Korean War (1950-1953) and the Soviet Union's complex relationship with the United Nations (UN). Its focus is on the normative foundations of the principle of collective security in the high-stakes politics of the twentieth century. The Korean War marked the first major test of the nascent UN's capacity to act as a military unit in enforcing its Charter. This paper plugs into an ongoing discussion among diplomatic historians regarding the inherent tension between the theory and praxis of Moscow's puritanical allegiance to the principle of collective security. Drawing on an analysis of Marxist doctrines of war and peace and its contending dynamics, it argues against the prevailing assumption that Moscow's allegiance to the principle of collective security was tenuous. Instead it contends that Moscow's shifting attitude towards the UN was the outcome of a poorly conceived strategic realignment from the incapacity of the League of Nations to the institutional challenges posed by the Korea question. It concludes by explaining how the Korean War marked one of the rare moments of the triumph of the principle of collective security in the postwar international order and how it served to reinvigorate Moscow's resolve to engage with the multilateral process.

Keywords: Collective Security, United Nations, Soviet Union, Korean War, League of Nations

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I. Introduction

There is a wealth of work on the Soviet Union's benign and open complicity in the outbreak of the Korean War (1950-53). Some of the commentary has focused on the mercurial personality of Joseph Stalin and the complex dynamics of Kremlin palace intrigues.¹ Another school of thought is inclined to find the sources of the conflict's trigger in the Kremlin's desire not to be outdone by Mao Zedong's brand of revolutionary communism. Others have attributed the outbreak of the hostilities to a varied combination of each of the above factors but principally driven by the incandescent indigenous Korean political landscape.² Yet in the midst of all these details, what makes the Korean War stand out in the general historiography of the 20th Century is how it marked arguably one of the rare moments of the triumph of the principle collective security in the postwar international order. Crucially, it also represented a seminal test of the nascent United Nations (UN) machinery's capacity to act as a military unit to enforce its Charter.³

This rare moment of triumph, however, bellies the dissenting role of the Soviet Union through its actions or lack thereof in this intriguing saga. This paper plugs into an ongoing discussion among diplomatic historians regarding the inherent tension between the theory and praxis of Moscow's puritanical allegiance to the principle of collective security. Getting to the heart of this debate helps illuminate the proximate factors

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- 1 Robert R. Simmons, *The Strained Alliance: Peking, Pyongyang, Moscow and the Politics of the Korean Civil War* (New York: Free Press, 1975), pp. 79-87.
 - 2 Henderson Gregory, *Korea: The Politics of the Vortex* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968) pp. 26-48.
 - 3 Questions about the UN's role in military intervention are rooted in Chapter VII of the Charter. But due to political bottlenecks and the imperative to save lives, there has been a growing acceptance of the doctrine of humanitarian intervention. An immediate example is the conflict in Somalia. An American-led multinational force was authorized in 1992 to deploy force to pave the way for urgently needed humanitarian missions. The doctrine of humanitarian intervention was invoked to justify NATO's military action in 1999 during the Kosovo War. NATO's action was informed by the threat of Russia and China to veto any Security Council Resolution to authorize the use of force in the conflict.

that gave rise to the multilateral intervention in the Korean War. It is argued here that the Soviet Union's place in the broader historiography of the Korean War cannot be treated in isolation to Moscow's general disposition to the UN in the early postwar years. Thus, it asks why did the Soviet Union balk at the United Nations Security Council Resolution 84? To answer the foregoing question, this study will focus on the complex relationship between the Soviet Union and the UN and how that laid the foundation for the spark that ignited the Korean War. Despite not formally being a belligerent, a critical review of the historical records is able to account for the link between Soviet strategic priorities and the geopolitical powder keg that engulfed the Korean Peninsula during this tortured period of 20th Century history.

Thus, the aim of this paper is to provide a historical grounding for understanding the normative foundations of the principle of collective security through the lens of the Korean War. Widely considered one of the most sacrosanct principles undergirding the Charter of the UN, the essence and limits of the principle of collective security were robustly tested by the reckless invasion of South Korea by the Korean People's Army in 1950. It was an ill-conceived act of chauvinism by the Communist North, which was to unleash a snowball of strategic blunders by all the belligerent sides until the inevitable armistice. This paper thus highlights the inherent tensions between the Soviet Union's imperative to be an exporter of socialist revolutions and its commitments to responsible global citizenship within the UN Charter's demands for international peace. By way of structure, this paper is divided into five subsections. The first introduces readers to the dialectical basis of Marxist thought on the question of war and peace. The purpose is to place it within the context of Soviet foreign policy traditions. The second provides a historical overview of the confluence between the theoretical foundations of Soviet foreign policy and the geopolitical realities of the interwar years, through the eyes of Maxim Litvinov, its premier diplomat. Much of the discourse is focused on the complex machinations of collective security at the League of Nations (LoN). It then transitions to Soviet interaction, mostly how it struggles to situate its foreign policy priorities within the grand scheme of

the UN Charter. Soviet conflicts with the UN on the Korea question are discussed in the fourth section and the final follows the evolution of Soviet foreign policy to reflect standard international norms, in large part thanks to the experience of the Korean War.

II. A Marxist Dialectics of the Concepts of War and Peace

The purpose of this section is to provide a grounding for understanding the link between the methodology of Marxist cognition and its impact on the Kremlin's view of the issues it considered objective reality as it grappled with collective security at the LoN and the UN. As a political project built on a value system deeply rooted in a perceived objective reality of historical materialism, much of its foreign policy choices and constraints can best be understood through this framework. Suffice it to start with the lofty idealism of Bolshevism as was conceived within space and time. Notwithstanding being the committed Marxists that they were, it did not take long for the Bolsheviks after the October Revolution to find themselves confronting real world war and peace questions that had no immediate answers in traditional dogma.⁴

Granted, Marxist literature routinely attempted a dialectical inquiry into these concepts, but it was often tinged with a strange degree of conceptual vagueness. As a basic rule of thumb, war has always been conceived in Marxism as a distinct political process of violent struggle occurring between classes within a given state or between states.⁵ For Friedrich Engels, this form of political violence dates back to the early history of the material conditions that shaped social interactions. He talks of a critical juncture of human history when a subjugated group is able to rise above their disorienting consciousness and in doing so work to assert themselves against the structures that momentarily holds their

4 Vasily, Kulikov, *Aktdemiia general'nogo shtatba: Istoriia v Oennoi ordenov, lenina i Sui'oroi'a I stepeni akadovemii general'nogo shtatb* (Moscow: Voennoe Ixdatel'stvo, 1976), pp. 20-22.

5 Gat Azar, "Clausewitz and the Marxists," *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 2, no. 27 (1992), pp. 363-384.

condemned fate.⁶

Vladimir I. Lenin was to also lend himself to this dialectical analysis. He builds on Engel's critique with an emphasis on how to build the mechanism (institutional and rhetorical) by which the crucial transition occurs.⁷ That mechanism is triggered by conflicts arising from when two or more groups have diametrically opposed interests and must be mobilized through armed struggle to force a solution. As an illustration, he references the transition from feudal societies to the capitalist order. It took a bourgeois revolution to facilitate the transition to capitalism from feudalism, and thus Lenin contends it will take the socialist revolution to transition from capitalism to socialism. This process of perpetual conflict will only be halted when society reaches the natural progression to a universal state of communism. The inference here being that war will be an implausible proposition once we reach that yonder of communism.⁸

The Korean question, with all its complex dimensions and high stakes implications, thrusts Joseph Stalin into Marxism's war and peace quandary. By early 1947 the Soviet Union had suffered a string of diplomatic setbacks, which left Stalin confronted with a dilemma not dissimilar to that which Lenin faced during the February Revolution of 1917. Given the precarious conditions of the international order, Lenin had come to the sober conclusion that the only path to a successful socialist revolution would be through the bayonet. Writing to his comrades, the Bolshevik patriarch all but abandoned any pretension about the utility of peaceful uprisings in upending entrenched political systems.⁹

6 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Collected Works* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1975-), pp. 678-690.

7 Jacob, W., Kipp, *Lenin and Clausewitz The Militarization of Marxism, 1914-1921* (Moscow: Soviet Army Studies Office 1985), pp. 76-88.

8 Andriy S. Milovidov and V. G. Kozlov, *Filosofovskoe nasledie V. I. Lenina i problemy sovremennoi voiny*, (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1972), pp. 95-96.

9 B. Byely, G. Fyodorov, V. Kulakov (eds), *Marxism-Leninism on War and Army* (Moscow: Progress, 1972).

By 1948 it was clear the Soviet Union wasn't just being muzzled on the world's biggest stage for peace and diplomacy but also the signs were increasingly pointing to international socialism being on borrowed time. As things ominously stood, the cadres of Marxism-Leninism asked themselves if it would be in keeping with Marxist doctrines to impose socialism on another state?¹⁰ As alluded to earlier, the main challenge lies in the dearth of canonical basis to provide a consistent guide for adherents. For the zealous internationalist, the main guide they can find is the Marxist advice against rushing to impose socialism in foreign states through armed intervention. They, instead, should be able to have an accurate assessment of prevailing conditions. In other words, there was no definitive proscription against that. The key barometer for determining whether or not to resort to armed intervention is predicated on deference to specific local conditions. For better or worse, this amounted to nothing short of clinging to the whimsical if the subjective cannot be readily excused.¹¹ Hence, failing this test could unwittingly unleash a blowback, which could ultimately engender a crude distortion of socialism. Premature armed revolutionary action, it is warned, would achieve nothing but sullen socialist ideals in the eyes of the world rather than the aspirational model it purports to represent.¹² That the threshold for such an intervention was met in Korea will be taken up later in this paper.

With that said, Marxist commentary has been far more generous on the question of peace than it does for war. Peace is conceived as a quintessential virtue that is naturally at home with the working class. By their very nature, the working class has a singular desire of living peaceably and in friendly coexistence.¹³ As the purported natural

10 Walter Bryce Gallie, *Philosophers of Peace and War: Kant, Clausewitz, Marx, Engels and Tolstoy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 129-204.

11 *Ibid.* and Bernard Semmel, *Marxism and the Science of War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 69-109.

12 Julian Lider, *The Political and Military Laws of War: An Analysis of Marxist-Leninist Concepts* (Stockholm: Gower Pub Co, 1980), pp. 78-80.

13 Vladimir I. Lenin, *The Collapse of the Second International (May-June 1915)*, *Collected Works* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1974), pp. 205-212.

custodians of this virtue, the global working class and the socialist states to which they owe their allegiance reflexively gravitate towards the peaceful settlement of all disagreements on the negotiation table.¹⁴ For Marxists, the condition of peace is never an abstract construct. The condition of peace has to be delineated between when peace is constructed towards the progression of human development or when peace is a veneer for when a lethargic consciousness is programmed into accepting the unacceptable.¹⁵ Which is why Marxists were in the habit of describing the real test of peace as being whether it is a condition constructed on freedom or in slavery. There is, however, an important caveat on the actual dialectics of the objective reality of the condition of peace. It is worth highlighting that for all their analytical rigor, both Engels and Marx would say sporadically that it was very plausible that the transition to socialism would be peaceful. They reckoned that such an outcome would necessarily be determined by conditions in individual countries, as mentioned earlier.¹⁶

In line with this, when it ultimately mattered, the Korea question appears to have fallen on both sides of Marxism's allure. By the time minor skirmishes had escalated into full scale conflict, peaceful coexistence had ceased to be an ideal as both belligerent sides aimed to shape the social order in their own image.¹⁷ It was unmistakably clear that Marxism's adherents North of the 38th Parallel had a far greater belief in the potency of armed revolution than a peaceful coexistence as far as determining the future social order was concerned. As we will see later, Moscow's failure to achieve a peaceful outcome at the UN, rather than reflect a dearth in diplomatic dexterity, served to confirm the imperative of armed revolution. Revisionist historians would however

14 For more details, see Alexander Prokhorov, *Bol'shaya sovetskaya entsiklopediya* (Moscow: State Publishing House, 1969).

15 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Collected Works* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1975-), pp. 678-690.

16 Walter Bryce Gallie, *Philosophers of Peace and War: Kant, Clausewitz, Marx, Engels and Tolstoy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 129-204.

17 Robert R. Simmons, *The Strained Alliance: Peking, Pyongyang, Moscow and the Politics of the Korean Civil War* (New York: The Free Press, 1975), p. 234.

have us believe that, instead of an indictment, the crunch days leading up to June 25, 1950 was when a deft Kremlin was able to up the diplomatic ante to get socialism's foes marching along its tunes.¹⁸ To be sure, Marxist scholars have never shied away from emphasizing that violence has always been an indispensable facet of every revolution, peaceful or otherwise.¹⁹ The only issue up for debate has always been the severity of the violence in question. Just like with nearly all facets of its canonical structures, the Soviet Union has on occasion found reason to make this issue a moving target.

III. Litvinov's Travails with European Collective Security

This section discusses the evolution of the principle of collective security and the challenges of institutionalizing its norms during the postwar and interwar years. It provides a basis for understanding the contending dynamics that shaped the resulting geopolitical stakes, especially as the Soviet Union saw it. Arguably, one of the Soviet Union's foreign policy priority goals, collective security was vigorously tested through the crucible of the interwar and postwar years. Mainstream diplomatic historians routinely agree that had the LoN been equipped to live up to its ideals and the mandate it was charged with delivering by the Paris Peace Conference, then the history of the 20th Century would have been less bloody than it turned out. Beginning with the Second Italo-Ethiopian War (1935-37), when the Fascist government of Italy defied the entreaties of the LoN to invade fellow Charter Member Ethiopia, thus exposing the impotence of the international body, it raised questions about the principle of collective security.²⁰ Needless to say, this failure not only doomed the LoN to oblivion but crucially set the stage for the outbreak of World War II.

18 *Ibid.*

19 Julian Lider, *The Political and Military Laws of War; An Analysis of Marxist-Leninist Concepts* (Stockholm: Gower Pub Co, 1980), p. 78.

20 Sbachi Alberto, "The Italians and the Italo-Ethiopian War, 1935-1936," *Transafrican Journal of History*, vol. 5, no. 2 (1976), pp. 123-138.

Collective security is premised on “regulated, institutionalized balancing predicated on the notion of all against one provides more stability than unregulated, self-help....under collective security, states agree to abide by certain norms and rules to maintain stability and, when necessary, band together to stop aggression.”²¹ Maxim Litvinov, the astute Soviet diplomat once derisively described the LoN as “not a friendly assimilation of peoples working for the common benefit, but as a masked union of the so-called Great Powers who have arrogated to themselves the right of dictating the fate of weaker peoples.”²² Litvinov’s curt remark quite rightly sums up the Soviet Union’s early interaction with the realities of the inadequacies of Marxism in the increasingly combustible international order. Hard to fault the good old diplomat’s insight nor the rigor of his analysis. In the apparent absence of the convenience of a Marxist-centered way out of the gathering storm, Kremlin top ideologues like Viacheslav Molotov demurred. Call it a modest strategic recalibration intended for a high stakes game of chicken, Moscow demonstrated a remarkable degree of pragmatism as they sought accommodation with a perceived implacably hostile West.²³

Moscow’s effusive collective security gambit particularly did not sit well with Great Britain. It is worth highlighting that Britain up until this point hardly looked kindly on the Bolshevik government since their consolidation of power in 1921.²⁴ A fact hardly lost on the Soviets. Despite recognizing the Soviet state in 1924,²⁵ British diplomats

21 Charles A. Kupchan and Clifford Kupchan, “The Promise of Collective Security,” *International Security*, vol. 20, no. 1 (1995), pp. 52-53.

22 Nikolai Ivanov, “Liga Natsii,” *Mezhdunarodnaia zhizn*, no.1 (1930), p. 16.

23 Roberts Geoffrey, *The Soviet Union and the Origins of the Second World War: Russo-German Relations and the Road to War, 1933-1941* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1995), p. 87.

24 Following the withdrawal of the Russian Empire from World War I, Britain engaged in a massive campaign of military sabotage, often backing the sides fighting Lenin’s Bolshevik movement in the ensuing bloody war for power. See Keith, Neilson, *Britain, Soviet Russia and the Collapse of the Versailles Order, 1919-1939* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 76-89.

25 The diplomatic recognition was rescinded in 1927, triggered by an alleged Soviet

routinely accused the Kremlin of speaking with a forked tongue. On the one hand was the Foreign Commissariat's polished statements about collective security, but then it granted a free hand to the Communist International (COMINTERN), a quintessential Marxist front organization, to export international socialist revolutions.²⁶ Besides, Moscow further undermined its credibility by its intervention in the Spanish Civil War against its expressed commitment to the LoN. Through its proxies, the Soviet Union conveniently chose to ignore the arms shipment ban imposed by the LoN to any of the factions in the Spanish Civil War.²⁷ To call this a schizophrenic policy would be missing the larger picture of Moscow's strategic ambitions. For the most part, there was no love lost between Britain and the Bolsheviks and their COMINTERN acolytes.

Similarly, Stalin's secret pact with Hitler regularly comes in for intense commentary—so much that it is cited by critics of Moscow's flirtation with collective security as definite proof of the primordial orientation of Marxism's implacability.²⁸ A fair critique of this posture cannot be made without appreciating the context of the strategic peremptory impositions the Western states dealt Stalin.²⁹ To that, Alan J.

espionage conspiracy that turned out to have been a hyperbolic reaction to the prevailing extremely anti-communist landscape of Great Britain. British police raided the All-Russian Co-operative Society (ARCOS) on suspicion of being a conduit for Soviet covert activities. See British White Paper, *Russia no. 2 (1927): Documents Illustrating the Hostile Activities of the Soviet Government and the Third International against Great Britain* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1927). In 1929, the new Labor government keen on maximizing the economic benefits of trading with Russia restored full diplomatic relations once again.

26 Robert Tucker, "The Emergence of Stalin's Foreign Policy," *Slavic Review*, vol. 36, no.4 (1977), pp. 35-45.

27 Allan J. Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961), pp. 66-89.

28 Aleksandr Nekrich, *Pariahs, Partners, Predators: German-Soviet Relations, 1922-1941* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 36-67.

29 Zara Steiner, "The Soviet Commissariat of Foreign Affairs and the Czechoslovakian Crisis in 1938: New Material from the Soviet Archives," *The Historical Journal*, vol. 42, no. 3 (1999), pp. 751-779.

Taylor's seminal work "The Origins of the Second World War" provides an unequivocal critique of the context shaped outcomes. Stalin, he contends, facing a legion of domestic challenges to his power base, would rather avoid any foreign entanglements that could just as well bring that about. Stalin in essence, rather than picking and choosing whom to align with, was out there seeking peace with every major European power, Nazi Germany's Hitler included. What is often less said is that Nazi Germany took umbrage at the 1935 Franco-Soviet Treaty of Mutual Assistance ostensibly with an eye on the mercurial Hitler.³⁰ Unnerved by Nazi Germany's withdrawal from the LoN, the French proposal in 1934 was naturally welcomed by an all too eager Soviet Union; both incidentally having been spurned by Hitler.³¹ Sensing Moscow's increasing desperation for a multilateral security system, Hitler would only come to realize the pact was wholly France's initiative, perhaps scaling down his resentment of the Bolsheviks one notch. In that context, Stalin is made out to be the victim of history, as nearly every major European power spurned his overtures at one point or another. He thus deviates from the dominant narrative that vilifies in some cases those that blatantly indict Stalin.³²

Alan J. Taylor cemented his place among those who were inclined to see Soviet collective security posturing as benign. Far from the rabid revolutionaries who sought to upend the international order, Taylor and his cohort reckon a surprising degree of conservatism to Moscow's policy positions. It was in Moscow's best interest to advance the European *status quo* instead of risk a future of indeterminate outcomes according to this school of thought.³³ This line of argument appears

30 V. Semyonov, "The Leninist Principles of Soviet Diplomacy," *International Affairs*, vol. 4 (1969), pp. 3-8.

31 Roberts Geoffrey, "Stalin, the Pact with Nazi Germany, and the Origins of Postwar Soviet Historiography," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, vol. 4, no. 4 (2002), pp. 93-103.

32 Roberts Geoffrey, *The Unholy Alliance: Stalin's Pact with Hitler* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), p. 287.

33 Richard K. Debo (1994), "G.V. Chicherin: A Historical Perspective," in *Soviet Foreign Policy, 1917-1991, A Retrospective*, ed. Gabriel Gorodetsky (London: Frank

convincing on face value, until it comes up against other incongruent Kremlin moves, critics charge. How can benign attributions be ascribed to either the Soviet invasion of Finland or the division of Poland in 1939? Could it just be the actions of a cynically driven opportunism? We wouldn't have to travel far back to find plausible answers. Maxim Litvinov was among the first to call upon the then feckless LoN to levy sanctions on Nazi Germany for its 1935 violation of the Treaty of Versailles by reinstating general conscription. Nazi Germany rightfully surmised that, bogged down by their own domestic travails, neither Britain nor France would bat an eye. Safe for the Soviet Union, Hitler's reaction barely registered across Western Europe.

Despite assuring the LoN's members of Moscow's "aspirations to collaborate in the creation of an international order under which the infringement of peace...would be hampered to the utmost possible extent,"³⁴ he would be overtaken by the forces of cynicism. Moreover, in the lead up to the Munich Crisis, he once again delivered an impassioned speech warning about the threats to peace thus:

"This attitude of the Soviet Union...is predetermined by its general policy of struggling for peace, for the collective organization of security and for the maintenance of one of the instruments of peace—the existing League of Nations. We consider that one cannot struggle for peace without at the same time defending the integrity of international obligations...One cannot struggle for the collective organization of security without adopting collective measures against breaches of international obligations."³⁵

Litvinov was to learn, to his grief, that not only did the Western powers downplay the threat posed by Nazi Germany, but that his faith

Cass, 1994).

34 Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, *Documents and Materials on the Eve of the Second World War*. 2 vols. (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1948).

35 Vladimir M. Falin, A.A. Gromyko, A.N. Grylev, M.A. Kharlamov, V.M. Khvostov, S.P. Kozyrev, V. Ya. Siplos, I.N. Zemskov, *Soviet Peace Efforts on the Eve of World War Two* (Moscow: Institute for Political Literature, 1973), pp. 65-98.

in the LoN was misguided. This notwithstanding, Moscow made a habit of repeatedly imploring Europe to rise to the occasion by empowering the LoN to become more than an entity that issued worthless resolutions but develop into a legitimate guarantor of peace. The impotence of the LoN, observed a Soviet analyst, was “in particular, from the fact that the Covenant required unanimity of all its members for the adoption of all political decisions taken by its Council and Assembly.....vitiated the role and responsibility of the several states in the cause of supporting international peace and practically rendered impossible the effective operation of an organization for the maintenance of peace and the prevention of aggression.”³⁶

In the end, whether prophetic or not, Litvinov’s warning against the raging storm of fascism did gain significant currency in the postwar era. Informed by the patent weaknesses of the LoN and the cocktail of chauvinism that lethally condemned it, the Allies were inspired to ensure the UN would be different. Old scores and differences aside, the architects of the UN were keen to ensure that its normative and institutional structure was adequately robust enough to undermine international peace and security.³⁷ In the end, a hapless and helpless Stalin and his desire to find hope in a legitimate global authority to save it from the anguish of superior forces was sealed in the trenches of World War II.

IV. The UN as a Reactionary Bloc

According to historian Paul Kennedy, the creation of the UN from the ashes of World War II benefited significantly from the lessons of the LoN’s failures. Unlike the LoN, the UN was created on this premise of

36 Grigorii Morozov, *United Nations: The main international legal aspects of the structure and activities* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1962), pp. 22-26.

37 Paul Kennedy, *The Parliament of Man: The Past, Present, and Future of the United Nations* (New York: Vintage Books, 2007), pp. 120-200.

the capacity to imagine a better world in which peace and security was underwritten by universally accepted norms. Most importantly, the UN's most significant difference with the LoN was having the Permanent Five members be the guarantors of the principle of collective security.³⁸ But what its architects never envisaged was how the UN would respond to one of the Permanent Members standing in the way. Some early commentators warned that the Soviet Union's brand of international communism represented a unique strand of chauvinism whose interest was inimical to the interest of international peace.

Alexander Dallin's seminal work on the Soviet Union's relationship with the UN was the leading voice of this school of thought. Moscow's relationship with the UN is described as one in which the Soviet Union with its "two-camp worldview" struggled to operate in a "one-world" organization.³⁹ To understand Moscow's relationship with the world body, Dallin reckons that one had to come to terms with the complex roots of the Soviet Union's deeply engrained Marxist orientation, the crux of which was discussed earlier. For it to operate as fully paid up member of the UN, it had to be able to cross this inherently rigid two "camp theory," if it was to live up to the ideals and principles of the Charter.

As a corollary of the Zhdanov Doctrine, Dallin's two camp theory draws from the same well as the legion of confrontation theorists that thrived in Cold War scholarship. As the poster child of international communism, Dallin, like his intellectual ilk, projects an image of the Soviet Union as a dissenting and distinct international project.⁴⁰ In other words, the USSR was resolute to international revolution on the political front and commitment to economic autarky at home. Bolshevism, he argued, lacked the institutional dynamism and capacity to conceive of

38 *Ibid.*

39 Alexander Dallin, *The Soviet Union at the United Nations: An Inquiry into Soviet Motives and Objectives*, (New York: Praeger, 1962), pp. 23-65.

40 Vladimir Pechatnov, "The Soviet Union and the World, 1944-1953," in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol. 1. eds. Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 86.

an alternative worldview, thus concluding Moscow's ambivalent attitude towards multilateralism. This attitude, he contends, has its antecedents in the early postwar attempts by the Allies to resurrect the failed interwar multilateral architecture. Going to the 1945 United Nations Conference on International Organizations in San Francisco, Dallin tells his readers the Soviet representatives were under strict instructions not to be drawn into making commitments outside the putative peace and security questions of the day. They were to stick to a dogmatic interpretation of the geopolitical issues at the heart of Soviet foreign policy interests. As it stands, the core interest of Soviet foreign policy was premised on getting agreements on collective security. The Soviet Union's appraisal of the framework of the new multilateral organization reflected a peculiar understanding of the urgency of the peace and security questions that animated the post-war milieu.⁴¹

Just like it did with the LoN, Moscow's participation in the new UN was to be entirely premised on using it as a medium for collective security. This was the puzzling conservatism of the Stalin era that this meant safeguarding the Soviet Union's security without equivocation. Moscow's failure to impress upon its Western interlocutors to have a narrowly construed mandate for the UN would be indirectly playing to Stalin's skepticism and commitment to the UN. Dallin thus asserts that Joseph Stalin consequently took a very ambivalent posture towards the UN, short of working away with his marbles.⁴² Moreover, a beaming sense of self-assurance took hold in the Kremlin, as the Soviet Union was making significant achievements in weapons technology coupled with a buoyant economy, thus making the autocrat in the Kremlin less inclined to see any real value in the UN. Just to be sure, the UN is barely ever mentioned in any of the most important domestic policy documents during much of the Stalin days. For example, important global issues such as the Korean War are discussed in the handbook of the

41 This thesis remained the core of Dallin's work on the Soviet relationship with international organizations.

42 Alexander Dallin, *The Soviet Union at the United Nations: An Inquiry into Soviet Motives and Objectives* (New York: Praeger, 1962), pp. 23-65.

Communist Party of the Soviet Union but virtually has no mention of the UN. The UN is also omitted as a factor of world affairs in the final Declaration put out by over 4 dozen communist parties convened in the Winter of 1960.⁴³

Among some of the changes that occasioned Stalin's demise was a somewhat benign change in Soviet attitude towards the UN. Nikita Khrushchev demurred from Stalin's broader inward-looking foreign policy orientation. In particular, he took issue with the Stalinist intransigence that ordered the UN boycotts of the 1950s which did nothing but exact a heavy price through the UN intervention in Korea.⁴⁴ The boycotts in other words ceded crucial grounds to the band of reactionary monopoly forces of imperialism, according to Soviet commentators. This sentiment aside, one can hardly ignore both the scope and impact of the strategic bind the Soviet bloc collectively were confronted with during the early days of the UN. A distinct minority, they regularly came up against an insurmountable group of Western-leaning states that fed at the trough of the anti-communist milieu of the 1950s.⁴⁵ It gave rise to further resentment not just against the Western bloc but fed a suspicion that the world body was far from acting as a disinterested entity in the unfolding ideological fault lines.

In breaking with the conservatism of the Stalinist era, a Communist Party of the Soviet Union propaganda described the UN thus "the historic struggle taking place on the world stage in our days find expression within the walls of that Organization, where the world is represented in all its manifold and of course contradictory complexity."⁴⁶

43 Otto Kuusinen, *Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1960), p. 88.

44 Nikita, Khrushchev, *Khrushchev Remembers* (Little Brown and Company: 1974), pp. 230-280.

45 Nikolai, Inozemtsev, "Razvitie mirovogo sotsializma i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia i novyi etap mezhdunarodnykh otnoshenii," *kommunists*, no. 9 (1961), pp. 93-100.

46 See Editorial, "Za mir, za razoruzhenie, za svobodu narodov," *Kommunist*, no.14 (1960), p. 5.

Khrushchev's departure from Stalin's posture was significant to the extent that it no longer subscribed to a very narrow view of the UN's authority, as described in the foregoing remarks. Think of it as signaling the era of the coming age for Soviet diplomacy. Despite being chastened by the unexpected outcome of the Korean War, Khrushchev's policies differed from Stalin before him. Where Stalin chose to walk away with his marbles from the UN when the going was tough, Khrushchev was convinced a positive outcome could still be derived from engaging the world body. At the core of this policy was a conviction that the UN in and of itself remained an instrument of value except that it remained in the hands of so-called reactionary forces. To realize the UN's fullest potential therefore meant wresting control away from the Western reactionary axis. The 1960s was certainly pointing towards just that direction with the admission of new member states from the developing world and the Kremlin's posturing to the Third World.

V. Soviet Intransigence and the Looming Korea Question at the United Nations

The Korea question, for better or worse, has a prominent place in the early birth pains of the UN. Coming as it did, it thrust the UN into a somewhat precarious high stakes situation its architects had not anticipated or prepared for. The resulting tensions laid the foundation for what was to become the Soviet Union's charges of the world body holding the line for the Western side on the Superpower two camps conflict.⁴⁷ To its supporters, the Korea question represented a credible testament of the UN's capacity to institutionalize the principle of collective security. To buttress this point, a credible link can be drawn between how Imperial Japan's disdain of the LoN was in many ways a vital teachable moment in the UN's response to North Korea's invasion of the South in 1950. Much like Nazi Germany, Japan's chauvinistic

⁴⁷ See Alexander Dallin, *The Soviet Union at the United Nations: An Inquiry into Soviet Motives and Objectives*, (New York: Praeger, 1962), pp. 23-65.

orientation was a crucial factor in exposing the flaws of the LoN. Imperial Japan withdrew in March 27, 1933 in protest for being called out as an aggressor in Manchuria.⁴⁸ Having proven the LoN to be a feckless entity following its unilateral takeover of Manchuria, Tokyo's militaristic driven imperial ambitions would go out on a limb.

To understand Moscow's consternation with the outcome of the Korea question, it is worth placing it within the context of the postwar negotiations between the Allies. As a territory under occupation, the Korea question was on the agenda of the Interim Meeting of Foreign Ministers held in Moscow on December 27, 1945. A communique was issued at the said meeting laying out the framework to inform the mechanics for future independence.⁴⁹ Towards that end, a Joint Commission representing the Soviet and American military commands on both sides of the 38th Parallel was to be set up to provide relevant recommendation.⁵⁰ The Moscow Conference did also have a cursory review of Franklin D. Roosevelt's earlier proposal to place Korea under a joint Soviet-American trusteeship, in keeping with the practices of the defunct LoN.⁵¹ To the chagrin of nationalist Korean activists, impatient for national self-determination, the Soviet-leaning Korean Communist Party appeared amenable to the trusteeship proposal.⁵²

Beset by mutual distrust, local representatives of the Joint Commission barely got off the ground, a process exacerbated by the early drifting apart of their respective Super-Power patrons. After a couple of years of unproductive negotiation by the Joint Commission, it was

48 Frederick V. Field, "American Far Eastern Policy, 1931-1937," *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 10, no. 4 (1937), pp. 377-392.

49 Interim Meeting of Foreign Ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

50 Robert Leckie, *Conflict: The History of the Korean War 1950-1953* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1962), pp. 56-88.

51 Adrian Buzo, *The Making of Modern Korea* (London: Routledge, 2002) pp. 59-60.

52 Fyodor Tertitskiy, "Why Soviet plans for Austria-style unification in Korea did not become a reality," *NK News*, August 7, 2018, <<https://www.nknews.org/2018/08/why-russian-plans-for-austria-style-unification-in-korea-did-not-become-a-reality/>> (date accessed March 22, 2020).

apparent that the polarization of the Korea question, complicated by the American-Soviet differences, was further ensconced by latent indigenous political strife.⁵³ Determined to achieve a neutral resolution, the United States took the liberty in 1947 of laying the Korea problem before the UN. Washington was building on the precedence created by the UN during the 1946 Iran Crisis⁵⁴ on the same question of occupied territories. Reeling from the UN's stern rebuke the previous year, Moscow saw the UN's involvement as an intervention not of a disinterested party but the beginning of a hostile takeover. Recall that Moscow and the Soviet bloc constituted a minority against a UN majority that was overly deferential to the United States in this so-called two camp conflict.

Besides, Moscow saw an interesting opportunity to fall back on a critical concession it had elicited out of the Allies at the San Francisco Conference. And that was raising both the place and role of sovereignty as a sacrosanct condition undergirding the commitment of states to the UN. It warned that by having the UN involved in the Korea question, the world body would be unduly interfering in the domestic political process of Korea, which would amount to a breach of the UN Charter's Articles 107 and 32. Besides, the Kremlin insisted, proceeding would

53 William Stueck, *Rethinking the Korean War: A New Diplomatic and Strategic History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), pp. 87-96.

54 As part of the Allied Joint Occupation force of Iran, the Soviet Union was required to immediately withdraw its forces from Iran's territory. However, a bellicose Moscow failed to make good on the agreement triggering the Cold War's first major diplomatic crisis. Backed by a protesting Iran, the United States raised the Soviet illegal occupation before the UN in 1946 resulting in the passing of Security Council Resolution 2 which stated: *The Security Council, Having heard the statements by the representatives of the Soviet Union and Iran in the course of its meeting of 28 and 30 January 1946, Having taken cognizance of the documents presented by the Soviet and Iranian delegations and those referred to in the course of the oral debates, Considering that both parties have affirmed their readiness to seek a solution of the matter at issue by negotiation, and that such negotiations will be resumed in the near future, Requests the parties to inform the Council of any results achieved in such negotiations. The Council in the meanwhile retains the right at any time to request information on the progress of the negotiations.*

also be contravening the Moscow Accords of 1945.⁵⁵ Outnumbered, Moscow's objection to the UN's involvement was easily defeated as the resolution calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the establishment of a United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCOK) was passed.⁵⁶ The UNTCOK was charged with the mission of supervising the conduct of nationwide free elections. Left isolated as the UN's member states zoomed along, the Soviet Union decided on an indefinite boycott campaign in protest. With hearts rapidly hardening on both sides of the 38th Parallel, Moscow's intransigence further increased animosity to the UN, especially in the North.

Under the leadership of the Indian diplomat K.P. Menon, the UNTCOK proceeded with the elections in the South on May 10, 1948.⁵⁷ In what turned out to be a very chaotic electoral process, Rhee Syngman was declared winner, from whence he proclaimed the birth of the Republic of Korea (ROK) on August 15, 1948. With the recognition of the ROK, the UN further called for the withdrawal of all foreign occupation forces as well as the immediate creation of a revamped United Nations Commission Korea (UNCOK). With the exception of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the UNCOK was essentially composed of all the previous representatives of the UNTCOK.⁵⁸ These measures were ostensibly aimed at ending the partition of the Korean Peninsula and to codify its status as a sovereign state.

Having boycotted the UNTCOK, Moscow brought its acolytes

55 Based on the letter of the United Nations Charter, parties with any dispute according to Article 32 are required to be consulted before any decision is made on a dispute. In the particular case cited by Moscow, the UN never granted audience to the competing Korean factions prior to attempting a settlement. Moscow further resorted to putative juridical language to reemphasize why the Charter's Article 107 clearly excluded the UN from getting involved in decisions on postwar settlement conflicts. See Martin Hart-Landsberg, *Korea: Division, Reunification & U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1998), pp. 11-20.

56 See UN Resolution.

57 See Adrian Buzo, *The Making of Modern Korea* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 59-60.

58 UN Doc A/AC.19/SC.1/SR.14, March 7, 1948.

together to form a rival government⁵⁹ with Kim Il-Sung at the helm of what became the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) on September 9, 1948. This notwithstanding, the UN General Assembly, acting on the report of UNTCOK, declared on December 12, 1948 the Republic of Korea as the sole legitimate government of Korea. The General Assembly during its IV Session on December 22, 1949 consented to the Republic of Korea's application for admission. The decision was duly tabled before the tense Security Council for final approval. In keeping with the spirit of Moscow's animus towards the UN, Pyongyang took to denouncing the UNCOK as an extension of American militarist ends.⁶⁰ Even as it denounced the UN, Pyongyang was keen to not only have the world body reverse its decision to legitimize the Seoul-based government but also have it rather bestowed with that coveted international legitimacy. With the UN nowhere near considering such an outcome, the diplomatic wiggle room was largely left to Moscow. Acting as the DPRK's vanguard, Moscow did disregard the UN's recognition of the ROK by vetoing its early 1949 application for UN membership.⁶¹ Thus continued several more years of Soviet intransigence against the ROK, even though its general disposition towards the UN itself was to ebb and flow in the succeeding years.

VI. Learning to Balance Means and Ends

By the Spring of 1950, the limits of Soviet diplomacy were becoming manifestly apparent as it suffered one setback after another at the UN. About the same time the Korea question remained a burning issue, as Seoul sought to consolidate its international legitimacy, and Pyongyang

59 Fyodor Tertitskiy, "How Kim Il Sung became North Korea's Great Leader," *NK News*, November 5, 2018, <<https://www.nknews.org/2018/11/how-kim-il-sung-became-north-koreas-great-leader/>> (date Accessed, April 6, 2020).

60 Kim Il-Sung, *For the Independent Peaceful Reunification of Korea* (New York: International Publishers, 1975), pp. 39-102.

61 United Nations, *Repertory of Practices of United Nations Organs*, Volume 1, New York, 1955.

was increasingly running out of time to make its case to a skeptical international community. Having lost out on the UNCOK, an outcome in the eyes of the Kremlin that wasn't just an ideological slight, but one that portended where the battle lines were being drawn. If there was any place where the repercussions of these battle lines spoke to the larger fate of international communism, it was in Korea. Its extensive mandate notwithstanding, the UNCOK could barely contain the sporadic cross-border guerrilla activities that ostensibly were to claim the lives of nearly 100 thousand lives, the majority of whom were civilians.⁶²

For all its increasingly limited window of opportunity to undo the UN's perceived adversarial posturing, the communist allies still saw an opportunity in the latent indigenous political consternation to act nimbly in order to alter the facts on the ground. The DPRK's invasion of the ROK on June 25, 1950 was immediately denounced by the UN through Security Council Resolution 82 on June 26, 1950. Soviet obfuscation about its role in triggering the June 25 invasion, benign or overt, has come to be conceived as a costly strategic miscalculation that had its deep roots in the corridors of the UN. As it was still in the throes of the ill-fated boycott of the UN, Moscow's response to the invasion was as puzzling as it was an indictment of its diminutive diplomatic capabilities. Firstly, by boycotting the UN, it left an open lane for an American-led initiative to have the UN take countervailing measures against its clients North of the 38th Parallel. Not only did that move forfeit the veto, it also willingly chose not to protest the UN's intervention. When it finally did on July 4, 1950, the Kremlin's statement amounted to a fictionalized false equivalency that ostensibly attributed the conflict to the South's recklessness.⁶³

It didn't take long for the limits of Moscow's intransigence against the UN to be exposed for its hollowness. By the early Autumn of 1952,

62 Robert Scalapino and Chong-sik Lee, *Communism in Korea* (Berkeley: University of California Press 1973), pp. 23-88.

63 Leon Gordenker, *The United Nations and the Peaceful Unification of Korea: The Politics of Field Operations* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1959), pp. 43-67.

when the tide of the battle was rapidly turning against Pyongyang, a chastened Kremlin ordered its diplomats to table an urgent motion before the UN's General Assembly.⁶⁴ The draft resolution, apart from calling for an immediate cessation of hostilities, was replete with language that reinforced Soviet unease with the UN. Moscow's call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops, UN-supervised national legislative elections and the inclusion of Korea's neighboring states as observers was largely a cosmetic attempt to buy time for strategic recalibration.⁶⁵ At this point in the war, Moscow was starting to count the true cost of the hostilities not in terms of the lives and treasure squandered but on how to gain the momentum in the polemical war.

Having spurned the UN's pre-1950 involvement in Korea on legalism, the Kremlin was confronting a reality of somewhat implausible options. Reverting to the UN was in essence an opportunity to circle its wagons, so to speak. This contention is best illustrated by the point in the resolution calling for the admission of the newly constituted government of Korea to the UN.⁶⁶ The dearth of Soviet diplomacy in the lead up to the outbreak of hostilities is further underscored by a catastrophic misreading of the nimble mechanics of the UN. For the most part, the Soviet focus on the then evolving Great Power contest set about expending much of its strategic capital when working with the Security Council.

While the Security Council was indeed where the high stakes contests played out, the General Assembly incidentally presciently reflected the essence of international public opinion. The General Assembly's Uniting for Peace Resolution passed on November 30, 1950, partly in response to Soviet intransigence at the Security Council, is

64 Robert R. Simmons, *The Strained Alliance: Peking, Pyongyang, Moscow and the Politics of the Korean Civil War* (New York: Free Press, 1975), pp. 79-87.

65 Whiting S. Allen, *China Crosses The Yalu: The Decision To Enter The Korean War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), pp. 54-98.

66 Rosalyn Higgins, *The Development of International Law through the Political Organs of the United Nations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 116-124.

illustrative of where public opinion stood.⁶⁷ Granted the vast majority of UN Member states as of 1950 were less inclined to be sympathetic to communism, there was still a critical mass of states who would have been open to Moscow's entreaties, if presented without the sensitive polemics. A good case in point is the Latin America region. In light of their long history of wrestling with American hemispheric hegemony, they were not predisposed to ingratiating with Washington on a broad scope of issues. Yet, in the same breadth (or breath), Latin America remained deeply steeped in Judeo-Christian conservatism, the very sort that Marxism routinely denounced. But they demonstrated through their collective voting records that in the grand scheme of things, they felt far more comfortably hitching their wagons with the Western side. While the colonial territories of Africa and most parts of Asia were not yet a factor in the calculus of postwar international politics, Stalin was nevertheless unreasonably condescending of their relevance to the unfolding international power dynamics.

As stated in the previous section, Khrushchev's break with Stalin's view of the international order was largely informed by this very failure in Korea. Rather than Stalin's narrow-minded view of what became known as the Third World, Khrushchev saw the rapid wave of decolonization across Africa and Asia as being rife with opportunities to launch Soviet diplomacy to a new promising phase through partnerships with these newly independent states.⁶⁸ Khrushchev is quoted as saying "the post-colonialist momentum offered a chance to break into the soft underbelly of imperialism and win sympathies of the millions of people who woke up to the new life."⁶⁹ To buttress this point, Khrushchev embarked on a series of massive charm offensive trips across Afghanistan, Burma, India and Indonesia in 1955. He also had his

67 *Ibid.*: The Uniting for Peace Resolution was first exercised when the Chinese Volunteer forces crossed the Yalu River in direct intervention to repel the UN forces in the tensest moment of the conflict.

68 Lise Namikas, *Battleground Africa: Cold War in the Congo, 1960-65* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013), p. 68.

69 Ted Hopf, *Reconstructing the Cold War: The Early Years, 1945-1958* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012) pp. 302-312.

sights set on Africa, with the establishment of formal diplomatic relations with Guinea, Ghana and Mali. Yet, Congo was to be considered the biggest prize for the Soviet gambit in Africa, both for strategic and propaganda dividends. Unlike any of the other states in the region, Congo was by far the largest in terms of territory, home to the richest mineral deposits and arguably bore the worst brunt of colonial exploitation.⁷⁰ The latter point served as both a rhetorical and propaganda boon for the Soviet bloc.

On the floor of the UN General Assembly, the Soviet Union spearheaded a robust anti-imperialist campaign against the West. Tinged as it was in the rhetorical polemics of Soviet propaganda, Moscow's entreaties nonetheless found a compelling resonance with the growing Third World bloc in the UN. The net result was that the overwhelming Western alliance's numerical dominance of the UN was effectively neutralized by the early 1960s. The implications for the unresolved Korea question was becoming very palpable with each new member state from the Third World. What used to pass for a UN consensus on the Republic of Korea's preeminence on the Korea question was increasingly being dampened by the changing voting patterns of the General Assembly. On this score, the lessons for the Soviet Union was unequivocal. The UN body was greater than the sum of its individual parts and to that extent international peace and security was not limited to the narrow constructs of one single state's security interest.

The so-called two-camp theory, the doctrinal basis of Soviet internationalism, proved to be insufficient for the scale of the challenges of operating in a complex world order. As Nikita Khrushchev so admitted in his memoirs, it was Kim Ill-Sung and his acolytes who were the primary initiators of the war albeit with the tacit approval of Soviet leader Joseph Stalin.⁷¹ Reading Khrushchev's memoir at face value, one comes out with the impression of the North Korean Communist

70 Elizabeth K. Valkenier, *The Soviet Union and the Third World: An Economic Bind* (New York: Praeger, 1983), pp. 145-190.

71 Nikita S. Khrushchev, *Khrushchev Remembers: The Last Testament* (Little Brown and Company: 1974), pp. 230-280.

leadership wittingly turning their invasion plan as a test case for the Soviet Union to uphold the core of Marxist commitment to international revolutions. With respect to this strategy, Robert Simmons describes how the Communist Party of Korea was able to “use the stronger power’s ideology as a bargaining counter in seeking aid...”⁷²

In obliging the North, Soviet strategic capacity was exposed in its myriad inconsistencies throughout the Korean War. Yet in the setbacks was a remarkable ability to both adapt and transform to the realities of a complex global security architecture whose ethos could not be found in puritanical doctrinal allegiances. Moscow thus came out of the experience of the Korean War a chastened, albeit, a firm believer in the principle of collective security in addition to becoming far more enthusiastic about the notion of intersectional diplomacy. This we see personified in Nikita Khrushchev’s touting of “peaceful coexistence.”

For better or worse, the post-Korean War would chasten Moscow’s uncritical international revolutionary streak. By the time Khrushchev would tout the Soviet Union’s reversal of policy from the two-camp confrontation worldview to the putative peaceful coexistence, Korea had reinforced not just the utility of the UN as a facilitator of collective security but enabled Moscow to hone its diplomatic dexterity on the back of strategic failures.

VII. Conclusion

This present paper’s goal has been to explore the foundational premise upon which the current United Nations-centered multilateral order of international peace and security evolved within the context of the fractious 20th century by exploring the normative foundations of this era through one of its most sacrosanct tenets, the principle of collective security. For all its diverse historical incarnations and interpretations, the

⁷² Robert Scalapino and Chong-sik Lee, *Communism in Korea* (Berkeley: University of California Press 1973), pp. 23-88.

Korean War (1950-53) was the first and indeed most important crucible through which the exercise of this principle was to be enshrined in the public imagination. The approach in this current study has been to analyze the consternation that gave rise to the Korean War and its legacy on both the theory and praxis of collective security from the vantage point of the Soviet Union. It is precisely because none of the 20th century's Great Powers sought solace in the principle of collective security more than the Soviet Union. Ensnared by the limits of the LoNs to make good this commitment in the interwar years, Soviet diplomacy entered a new and trying phase at the UN on this question. The proximate triggers of the Korean War in this paper have been attributed to the complex relationship between the Soviet Union and the UN. We see the inherent tensions between the Soviet Union's imperative to be an exporter of socialist revolutions and its commitments to responsible global citizenship within the UN Charter's demands for international peace.

On the one side, an attempt is made to find answers to the Soviet attitude towards the UN in the dialectical basis of Marxism and its conception of objective historical materialism. This then is juxtaposed with the constraints and realities imposed on the Soviet interaction with the rest of the world.

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"Za mir, za razoruzhenie, za svobodu narodov," *Kommunist* (Moscow), 1960.

Bridging the Divide Between Armistice and Peace Treaty: Using Just War Theory to End the Korean War

David S. Lee*

In international law, an armistice agreement provides for a cessation of hostilities in order for the combatants to pursue a permanent peace, usually via a peace treaty. This process remains incomplete for the two Koreas. This article focuses on bridging the divide between the current armistice agreement and a future peace treaty by utilizing just war theory. Specifically, a prong of just war theory that has more recently emerged, *jus post bellum* (justice after war), provides a beneficial lens by which to achieve a better peace by focusing on both addressing past issues as well as accounting for prospective opportunities for future engagement. This paper argues that a peace treaty influenced by elements of *jus post bellum* informs the framework necessary for meaningful rapprochement on the Korean Peninsula and a much needed denouement to the Korean War.

Keywords: Armistice Agreement, *jus post bellum*, just war theory, Korean War, peace treaty

We must be patient—making peace is harder than making war.

Adlai E. Stevenson II

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I. Introduction

On March 21, 1946, a few months following the conclusion of World War II, Adlai E. Stevenson II gave a speech at the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations. A journalist and a lawyer as a civilian, Stevenson had spent the latter months of World War II as a member of the American contingent helping to establish the United Nations. A gifted speaker and communicator, Stevenson was on the cusp of commencing a distinguished career in public service¹ that would include a term as governor of Illinois, two unsuccessful bids to become president of the United States, and appointment as Ambassador to the United Nations where he achieved notoriety for confronting the Soviet Union's Valerian A. Zorin during the Cuban Missile Crisis.²

Before his future as a statesman unfolded, Stevenson stood before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, where he had served as president prior to World War II. As he considered a post-war world that was still trying to lay the foundation of peace in both Europe and Asia, Stevenson likely contemplated the purpose and role of the United Nations, an organization he had helped create, in the context of a soon to be dubbed Cold War.

Just a few weeks prior, on March 5, 1946, an already prominent statesman, Winston Churchill, had delivered a speech at Westminster College in neighboring Fulton, Missouri. Churchill's speech, titled "The

1 Stevenson served as governor of Illinois from 1949 to 1953. In 1952 and 1956, Stevenson was the Democratic Party's candidate for president, however, he was defeated by Dwight D. Eisenhower both times.

2 Awaiting Valerian A. Zorin's reply to his question of whether the Soviet Union had placed missiles in Cuba, Stevenson famously stated, "I am prepared to wait for an answer until Hell freezes over, if that is your decision. I am also prepared to present the evidence in this room."

"Records of Adlai Stevenson, Ambassador to the United Nations, Now Available to View Online," Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library Blog: News from the Princeton University Archives & Public Policy Papers Collection, <<https://blogs.princeton.edu/mudd/2013/06/records-of-adlai-stevenson-ambassador-to-the-united-nations-now-available-to-view-online/>> (date accessed April 15, 2020).

Sinews of Peace,” reverberated around the world as he outlined his view of the Communist threat, expressed by the imagery that “an iron curtain has descended across the Continent.”³ Given the timing, Churchill’s booming voice and his dire warning of the rising Communist specter must have rumbled through Stevenson’s mind as well.

It is within this milieu that Stevenson delivered his Chicago speech stating, “We must be patient-making peace is harder than making war.” Undoubtedly, Stevenson’s comments were focused on Germany and Japan, enemies that would soon become friends, and the Soviet Union, an ally now turned foe. Korea was far from Stevenson’s mind that day, and despite the dual difficulty of waging war and the patience required for peace in the context of Germany and Japan, Stevenson’s words were most prophetic when applied to the Korean Peninsula. A conflict extending beyond 70 years with no denouement in sight continues to testify to Stevenson’s prescience about the difficulty of making peace.

This paper explores how to overcome the difficulty of making peace by applying aspects of just war theory to constructing a permanent peace regime on the Korean Peninsula. Using just war theory, important insights can be gained into the key role a peace treaty plays in transitioning to a stable peace regime after weapons are formally laid down. Specifically, a newer prong of just war theory, *jus post bellum*, or justice after war, provides insights that are relevant for a peace treaty that not only ends the Korean War, but also provides avenues for further rapprochement between the two Koreas.

To consider how just war theory, and in particular *jus post bellum*, might be applied in the Korean context, this paper will begin by providing background on the genesis and the current state of the Korean War through the lens of international law before focusing on understanding the relationship between an armistice agreement and a

3 Winston Churchill, “The Sinews of Peace” (speech, Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri, March 5, 1946), International Churchill Society, <<https://winstonchurchill.org/resources/speeches/1946-1963-elder-statesman/the-sinews-of-peace/>> (date accessed April 13, 2020).

peace treaty. With this backdrop in place, the paper will then turn to unpacking three tenets of just war theory, *jus ad bellum* (the justification for war), *jus in bello* (conduct during war), and *jus post bellum* (justice after war). The following section will then apply concepts of *jus post bellum* to the current state of the Korean conflict. Recommendations will then be offered that focus on how *jus post bellum* principles applied through a robust peace treaty to end the Korean War can make significant contributions to laying the foundation for a permanent peace regime on the Korean Peninsula.

II. Traversing Between Armistice and Peace Treaty

1. Setting the Stage of the Korean War and Its Elusive Peace

The Korean War is unique in many ways. With North Korean forces surging southward on June 25, 1950, the United Nations was propelled into the midst of a burgeoning Cold War. As events dramatically unfolded in Korea, the initial salvos of another front opened in the chambers of the United Nations Security Council. Due to the Soviet Union's ongoing absence to protest Communist China's exclusion from the Council, two critical resolutions were passed in quick succession without the risk of Soviet veto.

The first resolution, Security Council Resolution 82, which passed on the same day that North Korea breached the border en masse, unequivocally described the events of that fateful day as an "armed attack on the Republic of Korea by forces from North Korea," and "that this action constitutes a breach of the peace..."⁴ The explicit use of the phrase *breach of the peace* is important to note since it triggers a series of possible actions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Specifically, Article 39 in Chapter VII gives the Security Council the authority to "determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach

4 S.C. Res. 82, U.N.Doc.S/RES/1501 (June 25, 1950).

of the peace, or act of aggression..."⁵ Once such a breach of peace has been determined, then the Security Council can avail itself of Article 41, which allows for the use of diplomatic, economic, and other non-military measures to remedy the situation.⁶ Additionally, the Security Council can also reference Article 42 to call on member states to use military force to "restore international peace and security."⁷

With an awareness of Chapter VII's provisions⁸ and North Korean forces on the verge of overrunning Seoul, the Security Council passed Resolution 83 to recommend "that the Members of the United Nations furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area."⁹ The resolution's brevity belies its historical significance. This was the first time that the United Nations would invoke the concept of collective security.

The actions of that summer would also lead to a series of other unexpected outcomes. It would be the first time that the principal Cold War combatants would face each other as Chinese and Soviet forces engaged their American counterparts on the cratered canvas of the Korean Peninsula and in aerial combat overhead. The grinding conflict would also lead to no clear victor and consequently no surrender by a defeated party, thus muddling a clear path to signing a peace treaty.

Consequently, pursuing the Armistice Agreement would result in the longest cease-fire negotiation in history, a process that lasted over two years and spanned hundreds of meetings, all to return the respective Korean forces to essentially their original starting positions.¹⁰

5 U.N. Charter art. 39.

6 U.N. Charter art. 41.

7 U.N. Charter art. 42.

8 Nigel D. White, "From Korea to Kuwait: The Legal Basis of United Nations' Military Action," *The International History Review*, vol. 20, no.3 (1998), p.597, 613.

9 S.C. Res. 83, U.N.Doc.S/RES/1511 (June 27, 1950).

10 Rosemary Foot, *A Substitute for Victory: The Politics of Peacemaking at the Korean Armistice Talks* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1990), pp. ix.

In retrospect, the length and difficulty of the Armistice negotiations also portended the Armistice's current dubious honor as the world's longest running cease-fire, a symbol of a decades long stalemate that continues unabated today.

2. Armistice

The Armistice Agreement was signed on July 27, 1953.¹¹ Its signing brought a cessation to brutal, fratricidal warfare, while also ending the tedious and laborious negotiation process mentioned above. The Agreement's completion also heralded a focus on a heretofore intractable process to answer the political questions that remained about the status of the two Koreas. This fact was not lost on the negotiating parties. Near the end of the Armistice Agreement, in Article IV, the delineation between military and political matters is clearly expressed:

"In order to ensure the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the military Commanders of both sides hereby recommend to the governments of the countries concerned on both sides that, within three (3) months after the Armistice Agreement is signed and becomes effective, a political conference of a higher level of both sides be held by representatives appointed respectively to settle through negotiations the questions of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, etc."¹²

Historically, the substance of armistice agreements have taken different forms depending on the conflict and context. Accordingly, armistice agreements themselves can embody various levels of complexity subject to the disposition of combatant forces at the time of negotiation, the number of parties involved in the negotiation process, and if the status of prisoners of war pose a sensitive issue. For instance, one key reason that the Korean Armistice Agreement required so much

11 Korean War Armistice Agreement, July 27, 1953.

12 Korean War Armistice Agreement, Article IV: Recommendation to the Governments Concern on Both Sides, July 27, 1953.

time to negotiate centered around the repatriation of prisoners of war, some of whom did not wish to return to their home countries.¹³

Despite whatever idiosyncrasies an armistice agreement may have, its core purpose is to halt hostilities to allow political negotiations to occur so hopefully a path towards peace can be found by political leaders. This connection between armistice agreements and peace treaties has a history in international law. And this particular legacy of armistice agreements would not have been lost on the military and political leaders of the parties involved in the Korean War nor the United Nations or other relevant stakeholders.

The end of World War I perhaps best exemplifies this relationship between cease-fire and peace agreement. When the Armistice of Compiègne was signed on November 11, 1918, this caused a cessation of hostilities.¹⁴ Subsequently, the Treaty of Versailles was signed on June 28, 1919, which then formally ended World War I. Unfortunately, the conditions of the Treaty of Versailles laid the foundation for the turbulent interwar years, and the hope of a lasting peace was short-lived.

A more contemporary example of armistice agreements that likely lingered in the minds of at least some of the Armistice Agreement interlocutors were the series of armistice agreements signed by Israel and a number of Arab countries following the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. With the British withdrawal from managing the Mandate for Palestine, Israel declared itself a sovereign state and came under attack from a coalition of its neighbors, including Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, and Transjordan (present-day Jordan).

After a period of combat from roughly May 1948 to March 1949, Israel signed individual armistice agreements starting with Egypt

13 Sydney D. Bailey, *The Korean Armistice* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992), pp. 85-112.

14 Armistice with Germany, November 11, 1918.

(February 24, 1949),¹⁵ Lebanon (March 23, 1949),¹⁶ Transjordan (April 3, 1949),¹⁷ and finally Syria (July 20, 1949).¹⁸ A byproduct of these agreements was the use of United Nations sponsored Mixed Armistice Commissions, which were responsible for observing if the conditions of the various armistice agreements were being fulfilled. The concept of similar commissions would find itself represented in the Korean Armistice Agreement through the Military Armistice Commission¹⁹ and the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission²⁰.

Though Israel and its neighbors would engage in combat multiple times again, namely the Six-Day War in 1967 and the Yom Kippur War in 1973, Israel eventually signed a peace treaty with Egypt in 1979²¹ on the back of the Camp David Accords and with Jordan in 1994.²² A lull in hostilities ultimately provided the necessary space for the pursuit of a peace treaty, which is the normative function of an armistice.

3. Peace Treaty

Broadly, there are two paths to negotiating a peace treaty. The first is through surrender. Once a combatant surrenders, then the terms of peace are largely dictated by the victors and reflected in the peace treaty. For instance, Japanese forces in World War II officially surrendered on September 2, 1945,²³ but it was not until September 8, 1951 that the Treaty of San Francisco was signed, formally bringing a close to the

15 Israel-Egypt Armistice Agreement, February 24, 1949.

16 Israel-Lebanon Armistice Agreement, March 23, 1949.

17 Israel-Jordan Armistice Agreement, April 3, 1949.

18 Israel-Syria Armistice Agreement, July 20, 1949.

19 Korean War Armistice Agreement, Article II, B: Military Armistice Commission, July 27, 1953.

20 Korean War Armistice Agreement, Article II, C: Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, July 27, 1953.

21 Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty, March 26, 1979.

22 Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty, October 26, 1994.

23 United Nations, Treaty Series, "Treaty of Peace with Japan. Signed at San Francisco," September 8, 1951. No. 1832.

Pacific theatre of World War II. The Treaty of San Francisco addressed relevant reparations and similar post-war matters. The Treaty of San Francisco also served to end the formal occupation of Japan by the Allied Powers and restore its sovereign status. Consequently, the United States signed a security agreement with Japan that would allow its forces to remain based in Japan following the signing of the Treaty of San Francisco.²⁴ Interestingly, an unfortunate effect of Korea's division was that neither Korea was a signatory to the Treaty of San Francisco since it was clearly in dispute which of the Koreas should sign on behalf of the Korean nation.

The second path to negotiating a peace treaty is through an armistice or in some situations, its cognate, a cease-fire. When compared to a surrender, however, it is not always clear how to navigate from stopping bullets on a battlefield to signing a treaty. On one hand, an armistice may in substance represent a surrender. As discussed earlier, the Treaty of Versailles was preceded by the Armistice of Compiègne, which brought a pause and then, eventually, an end to World War I. Though an armistice was used to stop fighting between Germany and the Allied nations, the terms of the Armistice of Compiègne were akin to a surrender as Germany was no longer in an effective position militarily or politically to continue the war. Though disputes existed amongst the Allies regarding specific demands and negotiating points, the terms of the Armistice of Compiègne were essentially dictated by the Allied powers to Germany as was the Treaty of Versailles.

Conversely, there are conflicts, like the Korean War, where an armistice is a result of a stalemate on the battlefield. This was the stark reality that former general and now president-elect of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, faced when he visited Korea at the end of November 1952. After winning the presidential election, Eisenhower kept his campaign promise to visit Korea to figure out an end to the war. Flying over the stagnated battlefield in a spotter aircraft, he received a

24 Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan, September 8, 1951.

bird's-eye view of the difficulty of the task ahead.²⁵

It was clear that a military solution could only be achieved at severe cost of life and only by broadening the scope of the war, including the possible use of nuclear weapons. Though the threat of nuclear attack had been raised before, the reality is that this was an untenable outcome for a variety of reasons. The United States faced opposition amongst its Unified Command allies to the use of nuclear arms.²⁶ Additionally, expanding the first hot war of the Cold War into a global, nuclear conflagration raised the peril of a possible third World War, which was ultimately unpalatable to many, including Eisenhower. Consequently, the Korean question moved away from an outcome decided by military force and became relegated to a political question, which still awaits a final answer.

Though the long-awaited transition from armistice to peace regime in Korea faces a number of stumbling blocks, the cornerstone issue was that there was never a surrender in any form. Unlike a humbled Japan, which rendered a formal surrender in WWII, or a weakened Germany that abandoned its aggression via armistice in WWI, the Korean combatants entered their truce in a state of sustained impasse as relative equals. This parity reduced any negotiating leverage a party might have had to pursue a peace treaty to address the "peaceful settlement of the Korean question."²⁷ Despite South Korea's economic advantage over the North, the relative strategic equivalence between the two Koreas will continue to remain a key obstacle in any peace treaty negotiation.

A peace treaty is the principal gateway to transition to a meaningful and sustainable peace regime. Unlike an armistice agreement, a peace treaty substantively serves to lay the foundation for peace and future engagement between the parties. If executed successfully, a peace treaty

25 Edward C. Keefer, "President Dwight D. Eisenhower and the End of the Korean War," *Diplomatic History*, vol. 10, no.3 (1986), pp.267–289.

26 Sydney D. Bailey, *The Korean Armistice* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992), pp. 94, 128.

27 Korean War Armistice Agreement, Article IV: Recommendation to the Governments Concern on Both Sides, July 27, 1953.

can reconcile even seemingly intractable enemies and help them find grounds for dialogue and collaboration.

The case of Israel and Jordan is important to cite here. Though Israel continues to have tensions with its neighbors, particularly Lebanon and Syria, the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan has not only consolidated peace between the two countries but also led to economic exchange as well as the sharing of resources such as energy²⁸ and water.²⁹ In the following sections, the paper will explore how just war theory can be used to show the way a peace treaty can potentially provide a robust architecture to secure a meaningful peace between erstwhile enemies.

III. Just War Theory: A Brief Overview

A brief overview of just war theory is necessary before proceeding further. For some, it might be odd to consider that a war could be just, but jurists, philosophers, and religious scholars have struggled with this question for centuries. Though there are even earlier treatments, many initially point to Christian theologian Augustine of Hippo's work, *City of God*, which was finished in 426 AD, where he employed the phrase 'just war.'³⁰ Augustine expounded that using violence in some situations was not only justified, but in certain circumstances could even be morally

28 Suleiman Al-Khalidi, "Jordan gets first natural gas supplies from Israel," *Reuters*, January 2, 2020, <<https://www.reuters.com/article/jordan-israel-gas/jordan-gets-first-natural-gas-supplies-from-israel-idUSL8N2960Q9>> (date accessed June 2, 2020).

29 Though issues related to water have historically been a difficult issue and continue to remain sensitive for countries in the Jordan River Basin, Israel and Jordan continue to cooperate on water initiatives. Sharon Udasin, "Israeli, Jordanian officials signing historic agreement on water trade," *The Jerusalem Post*, February 26, 2015, <<https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/new-tech/israeli-jordanian-officials-signing-historic-agreement-on-water-trade-392312>> (date accessed June 2, 2020).

30 Augustine of Hippo, *City of God*, Translated by Henry Bettenson (London: Penguin Classics, 2003).

required.³¹ A more formal exposition of just war theory by Thomas Aquinas emerged in the 13th century, which essentially continues to serve as the foundation for many aspects of just war theory today.³²

Traditionally, just war theory is comprised of two separate, sequential strands: *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello*. *Jus ad bellum* refers to the reason or justice for waging war. Typically, *jus ad bellum* is evaluated by reference to six factors: just cause, legitimate authority, right intention, proportionality, reasonable prospect of achieving success, and necessity (last resort).³³ In its purest form, a proposed war should satisfy such requirements to be considered just, and over time, many of these principles from philosophy have been incorporated into relevant aspects of international law.

The second prong of the theory, *jus in bello*, relates to how the war is carried out, justice in fighting the war, and normally focuses on three factors: discrimination (such as not targeting civilians), necessity (minimal force necessary to achieve the objective), and proportionality.³⁴ If actions by combatants consistently violate these principles, then the manner in which the war is being prosecuted could be determined unjust though the original justification for going to war (i.e., *jus ad bellum*) might have initially been legitimate.

As the nature of warfare has changed dramatically since Aquinas opined on the nature of just war, aspects of just war theory have been subject to criticism. For example, Aquinas believed that legitimate authority, one of the principles of *jus ad bellum*, rested only with sovereign states and consequently they alone reserved the power to wage war. Accordingly, traditional aspects of just war theory struggle to account for the rise of non-state actor combatants such as terror groups

31 *Ibid.*

32 Thomas Aquinas, *The Summa Theologica of St. Thomas Aquinas*, Translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province (New York: Christian Classics, 1981).

33 Gary J. Bass, "Jus Post Bellum," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, vol. 32, no. 4 (2004), pp. 384-412.

34 *Ibid.*

or independence movements.³⁵ Similarly, the legal nature of war has changed from the latter half of the 20th century since most modern conflicts have not entailed a formal announcement or declaration of war.³⁶ This would have been inconsistent with Aquinas's view of just war crafted in the Middle Ages. Additionally, modern day arsenals that include nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons can quickly seem out of place in traditional just war theory.

Despite any criticisms, just war theory remains an important philosophical and legal tool, which continues to evolve, especially around *jus post bellum*, justice after war.³⁷ *Jus post bellum* has emerged as a third key strand attached to just war theory. The underlying notion being that "the aftermath of war is crucial to the justice of the war itself."³⁸ It is this pursuit of justice following war that Augustine identified when he stated that "peace is the desired end of war."³⁹ Ultimately, for a war to be deemed just, a lasting, substantive peace should ensue that "vindicates the human rights of all parties to the conflict" otherwise the sacrifice of so many might be rendered meaningless.⁴⁰

Some treatments of *jus post bellum* outline foundational elements, which are not entirely settled yet, but frequently include the following six principles: retribution, reconciliation, rebuilding, restitution,

35 Jennifer Easterday, "Remarks by Jennifer Easterday What is Jus Post Bellum?," *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting (American Society of International Law) Confronting Complexity*, vol. 106 (2012), pp. 336-337.

36 Jann K. Kleffner, "Towards a Functional Conceptualization of the Temporal Scope of Jus Post Bellum," in *Jus Post Bellum: Mapping the Normative Foundations*, eds. Carsten Stahn, Jennifer S. Easterday, and Jens Iverson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 287-288.

37 Carsten Stahn, "Jus Post Bellum: Mapping the Discipline(s)," *American University International Law Review*, vol.23, issue 2 (2007), pp.314-315, 320-321.

38 Bass, "Jus Post Bellum," pp. 384-412.

39 *Ibid.*

40 Robert E. Williams Jr. and Dan Caldwell. "Jus Post Bellum: Just War Theory and the Principles of Just Peace," *International Studies Perspectives*, vol. 7, no. 4 (2006), p. 317.

reparations, and proportionality.⁴¹ Expanding beyond a prescriptive perspective, however, Easterday advocates a more holistic approach that provides for a broader conception of *jus post bellum* that moves beyond a rigid body of law. She advocates that:

“The application of *jus post bellum* norms would be done according to particular policy goals—shaped by an interpretive framework based on *jus post bellum* norms and principles that include, inter alia, fostering sustainable peace. It would play a transformative role in society.”⁴²

This more expansive view of *jus post bellum* utilizes a mosaic perspective to draw a path to peace by engaging, “A comprehensive concept of *jus post bellum* [that] would also include informal arrangements, non-state actors, and other practices and sources of norms and governing power not typically encompassed under traditional understandings of ‘international law.’”⁴³ It is this more expansive perspective of *jus post bellum* that can inform creation of a robust peace treaty to end the Korean War and provide a peace that can vindicate the sacrifice of so many. With *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello* in the distant past, pursuing *jus post bellum*, justice after war, is the onus that falls on those that seek a permanent peace for the Korean Peninsula. How the concept of justice after war might be applied to the Korean War will be considered in the next section.

IV. Janus Approach: Past and Future When Applying *Jus Post Bellum* to the Korean War

In what is generally considered the most influential modern work

41 Larry May, *After War Ends: A Philosophical Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p.1.

42 Jennifer S. Easterday, “Peace Agreements as a Framework for *Jus Post Bellum*,” in *Jus Post Bellum: Mapping the Normative Foundations*, eds. Carsten Stahn, Jennifer S. Easterday, and Jens Iverson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 381.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 382.

on just war theory, *Just and Unjust Wars*, philosopher Michael Walzer does not specifically refer to *jus post bellum*, though his thoughts on the Korean War connect to the broader concept of the importance of justice after war.⁴⁴ Citing British military strategist Lidell Hart, who stated that “The object in war is a better state of peace,” Walzer opines that in many circumstances such a better peace must be qualitatively different than the “status quo ante bellum” to be just.⁴⁵ This raises a foundational question of whether the proto-peace of post-armistice Korea rises to the level of a better peace that Walzer envisioned? Perhaps this question can really only be answered once peace is defined by a formal, substantive peace treaty.

As alluded to earlier, the concept of *jus post bellum* is still a developing area of philosophy, international law, and international relations. A late addition to the just war tradition, it still has roots in traditional notions of warfare and as such struggles on two fronts. Foremost, as Gary J. Bass frames in his work, many view *jus post bellum* through the initial lens of victor and defeated.⁴⁶ Consequently, many of the key variables that are considered in *jus post bellum* are influenced by this path dependency with a focus on war crimes trials, reparations, repatriation of prisoners of war, and the conditions by which economic and political reconstruction of a defeated enemy are warranted and morally acceptable.⁴⁷ Besides the question of prisoners of war, which was a pervasive concern during Armistice Agreement negotiations, the foregoing variables do not provide much guidance if a war ends in a stalemate where there is no clear victor such as the Korean War.

Related to the above, the second thread where *jus post bellum* struggles is not focusing sufficiently on the future. Certainly, the pre-existing conditions of a conflict and its immediate consequences are critical first-order considerations and as reviewed above, just war theory

44 Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations*, 5th edition (New York: Basic Books, 2015), p. 117.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 121.

46 Bass, “Jus Post Bellum,” pp. 384-412.

47 *Ibid.*

does this well due to the traditional victor versus defeated party paradigm. In situations, however, where there is no clear winner or when significant time has passed between cessation of hostilities and formalizing peace, an inordinate focus on the past is not helpful. This is the situation in which the Koreans find themselves. Thus, parties to a peace treaty being concluded under such circumstance should augment *jus post bellum*'s conventional foci with increased consideration for the future, especially for issues that may not directly emanate from the conflict. Implementing such a Janus-like approach allows for a more comprehensive strategy to achieving peace that does not over allocate attention to the past and also creates sufficient chances to consider engagement and partnership opportunities for an oft-elusive better peace, which is a necessary condition for a better future.

When considering peace on the Korean Peninsula, returning Korea to its ante bellum status quo is clearly neither practical nor desirable. Despite intervening periods of hostility, many of the traditional factors of *jus post bellum* may have minimal relevance for a Korean War peace treaty since sustained combat ended when the Armistice Agreement was signed almost seventy years ago. With no clear victor and the ensuing passage of time, many traditional claims that might normally accompany a peace treaty such as reparations or compensation of war victims may be less operative in the context of the two Koreas. Of course, time alone would not necessarily render such claims stale, evidenced by ongoing litigation against Japan related to its World War II era system of military sexual slavery⁴⁸ and forced industrial labor.⁴⁹ But

48 The issue of Japanese military sexual slavery pre-dates the formal start of World War II. Hyun-ju Ock, "First hearing in 'comfort women' case held three years after lawsuit filed," *Korea Herald*, November 13, 2019, <<http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20191113000873>> (date accessed June 4, 2020); "Military Sexual Slavery, 1931-1945," *Columbia Law School Center for Korean Legal Studies*, <<https://kls.law.columbia.edu/content/military-sexual-slavery-1931-1945>> (date accessed June 4, 2020); Yoshiaki Yoshimi (translated by Suzanne O'Brien), *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military During World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

49 Sang-hun Choe and Motoko Rich, "The \$89,000 Verdict Tearing Japan and South

unlike claims against Japan, a clearly defeated aggressor, the viability of any such extant claims connected to the Korean War would be considerably less clear because of the points mentioned earlier.

Given the above, for *jus post bellum* to apply more fully to ending the Korean War, it is necessary to recast its standard retrospective approach and adopt a broader frame. This requires a theoretical expansion to also account for how pursuing justice after war can shape the future with justice serving as the organizing principle to guide the transition from Armistice Agreement to a peace regime. A peace treaty that encompasses Janus-like components of embracing both a tragic history and optimism for the future is necessary. A lasting peace and the nascent framework for the future of the Korean Peninsula can be embodied in such a peace treaty.

V. Recommendations to Achieve a Better Peace

The rhetoric of a peace treaty is not new. Even as early as 1962 and again in 1974, North Korea raised the aspirational goal of a peace treaty, though it may be questionable how sincere or serious any such overtures might have been.⁵⁰ This notwithstanding, short of a collapse and absorption scenario, the two Korean nations will likely eventually find themselves architecting a formal peace at some point. With this possibility in mind, drawing on the foregoing background and discussion, this paper proposes three principal recommendations that utilize *jus post bellum* ideas to facilitate the end of the Korean War and achieve a better, lasting peace on the Korean Peninsula. The recommendations are based on the

Korea Apart," *New York Times*, February 13, 2019, <<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/13/world/asia/south-korea-slave-forced-labor-japan-world-war-two.html>> (date accessed June 3, 2020); Sang-hun Choe, "South Korea Court Orders Mitsubishi of Japan to Pay for Forced Wartime Labor," *New York Times*, November 29, 2018, <<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/29/world/asia/south-korea-wartime-compensation-japan.html>> (date accessed June 3, 2020).

50 Ha-young Choi, "Can a Peace Treaty End the Korean War? It's Complicated," *NK News*, May 24, 2016, <<https://www.nknews.org/2016/05/can-a-peace-treaty-end-the-korean-war-its-complicated/>> (date accessed April 1, 2020).

assumption that North Korea continues to exist in a capacity similar to its current state.

First, maintaining a strategic perspective that also accounts for the past as well as the future during the process of negotiations and crafting of a peace treaty is critical. The issues facing the Korean Peninsula are challenging and include pressing concerns such as the North Korean nuclear weapons program, the human rights situation in North Korea, regional security concerns, and the vitality of the United States and South Korea alliance relationship to enumerate just a few. Many of these issues are interconnected, which increases the complication, thus engaging them on a piecemeal basis can create structural obstacles to progress. This is not to say that all of these issues need to be addressed in order to sign a peace treaty, nor do they all need to be resolved in a peace treaty. There is a very real possibility that some of these issues will continue for a time even after a peace treaty is signed. Despite that, what is key is to maintain a holistic perspective on these concerns and their linked nature to better inform the scope and parameters of a possible peace treaty.

Second, entering into a treaty is one of the greatest expressions of authority for a sovereign nation. Thus, it is important that any such peace treaty includes the proper parties. If the goal for a peace treaty is to create a better peace, then such a treaty should at minimum include the parties most directly responsible for creating and benefitting from such a peace. Despite different ideas that others might have voiced previously, a peace treaty to end the Korean War must at minimum include both Koreas.⁵¹ Though South Korea was not a signatory to the Armistice Agreement, this is no longer Syngman Rhee's South Korea, and Seoul will have significant obligations under any proposed peace treaty. Ultimately, the form and substance of Korea's future must be decided in Korea, by Koreans, and the greatest expression of this reality is that both Koreas are bound together in this project.

Third, a peace treaty also offers an inflection point to create

51 *Ibid.*

meaningful, engaged partnerships across a variety of domains. For example, the peace between Israel and Jordan demonstrates that identifying issue areas that can be mutually explored as part of a better peace is vital. For those two countries, collaboration on water and energy needs have given them opportunities for dialogue and partnership beyond the end of violence.

Similarly, a Korean War peace treaty should incorporate issue areas that can foster collaboration, interaction, and ultimately engender greater trust on the Korean Peninsula. Some areas of cooperation worth considering in the context of constructing a better peace include agriculture, the environment, health and medicine, and of course visits for divided families. Additionally, partnering on infrastructure projects may present a compelling opportunity. For instance, the North Korean transportation network relies heavily on trains with greater than 90% of domestic freight estimated to be transported via rail, yet North Korea's rail system is in dire need of modernization.⁵² Following the May 2018 summit between South Korean President Moon Jae-in and North Korean leader Kim Jong-un, both sides collaborated on efforts, including an initial survey, to facilitate the eventual reconnection of railways between the two Koreas.⁵³ There are significant opportunities to expand such initiatives under the aegis of a peace treaty.

The above recommendations are certainly not exhaustive but do represent a starting point to incorporate aspects of *jus post bellum* with the hope of creating a better peace for Korea. They also do not answer some of the pressing questions that will undoubtedly arise, such as the

52 Vincent Koan and Jinwoan Beom, "North Korea: The Last Transition Economy?" (OECD Economics Department Working Papers no. 1607, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris 2020), <<https://www.oecd.org/economy/north-korea-the-last-transition-economy-82dee315-en.htm>> (date accessed May 15, 2020).

53 Hyonhee Shin, "Two Koreas study possible rail link as ties get back on track," *Reuters*, November 28, 2018, <<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-southkorea-northkorea-railway/two-koreas-study-possible-rail-link-as-ties-get-back-on-track-idUSKCN1NX0SD>> (date accessed June 5, 2020).

status of United States forces in South Korea following a peace treaty or the competing narrative that both Koreas employ to lay claim as the only legitimate government on the Korean Peninsula. These questions, and others like them, are undoubtedly important but also can be better addressed through a lens that incorporates *jus post bellum*.

VI. Conclusion

Over the next approximately two years, it is very likely that there will be significant North Korea related activity. With President Moon entering the latter part of his term he will be keen on continuing his administration's engagement with North Korea. Saved from early lame duck status by his party's strong showing in South Korea's April 2020 National Assembly elections, where they secured a considerable majority, Moon may feel he has a mandate to act.⁵⁴ Additionally, there is the possibility that the United State may select a new president near the end of 2020, which could further bolster Moon's plans to engage the North.

Whatever the outcome, hopefully meaningful steps can be taken towards a better peace. For over a century, the Korean Peninsula has been under occupation or endured some state of conflict. Though both Koreas lay claim as the rightful and legal government of the Korean people, pursuing a peace treaty on their terms that considers what a future Korea will look like, allows the Korean people to express a sovereignty over their affairs that has eluded them multiple times during the 20th century. Paradoxically, the process of acknowledging and further formalizing that there are two Koreas is perhaps the first necessary step towards the long road to unification.

54 Sang-Hun Choe, "In South Korea Vote, Virus Delivers Landslide Win to Governing Party," *New York Times*, April 15, 2020, <<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/15/world/asia/south-korea-election.html>> (date accessed April 16, 2020).

A peace treaty is a significant step on this long journey. By using just war principles that incorporate *jus post bellum*, a better peace can be imagined and created. French theologian, François Fenelon is quoted as stating that “All wars are civil wars, because all men are brothers.” The reality of this statement is tragically applicable to Korea, and by pursuing justice after war, the frayed threads of this fraternity can be mended to construct a permanent peace regime.

■ Article Received: 4/22 ■ Reviewed: 5/28 ■ Revised: 6/10 ■ Accepted: 6/17

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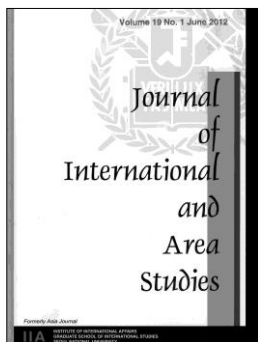
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