



Royal University of Law and Economics

Final Report on

Korean Reunification Success or Failure

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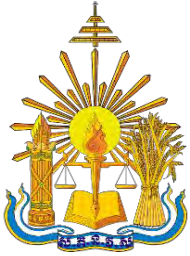
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International Program

Bachelor's Degree of International Relations

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ABSTRACT

Korean Reunification: Success or Failure

By

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Royal University of Law and Economics

Bachelor of International Relations

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South Korea and North Korea are separated nations since the end of World War II with tensions. Years to years, individual government of South Korea is trying to take a knot with North Korea even if North Korea conducts illegal actions which international community do not recognize or conducting right actions through international diplomatic relations via economic cooperation or trade. Therefore, South Korea is being kind to North Korea in a way of brotherhood. The briefly about both Koreas withdraw their forces from DMZ is the view of reducing tension and leads to Korean federation also discussed in this thesis. This thesis sought to answer the question “Will economic relations between the two Koreas change political order and eventually reunited?” which addressed on how the South Korea and North Korea share their national interest to reunite themselves and create what the entire of Korean citizens need. More importantly, this final report also questioned and emphasized the impact on Korean unification to the rest of the region in Northeast Asia. Regarding the previous point, this thesis aimed to investigate each Korean role of unification. In conclusion, this thesis analyzed the benefits of unification, challenges, opportunity, and future cooperation scenario of the Korean unification.

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LIST OF APPREVIATIONS

DMZ	: Demilitarized Zone
DPROK	: Democratic People Republic of Korea
GDP	: Gross Domestic Product
GNI	: Gross National Income
KIC	: Kaesong Industrial Complex
NGOs	: Non-Governmental Organizations
OECD	: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PRC	: People Republic of China
ROK	: Republic of Korea
SEZ	: Special Economic Zone
UN	: United Nations
UNSC	: United Nations Security Council
US	: United States
USSR	: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WB	: World Bank

DEFINITION OF TERMS

UNIFICATION AND REUNIFICATION

The terms “unification” and “reunification” are used interchangeably in this study. The Korean term “Korean federation” means Korean unification or Korean reunification. Although “re” in reunification exists in Korean, Koreans do not use it. Disuse of “re” does not indicate that Koreans do not mean re-merger. Korea had been a unified country for centuries until the division of the last six decades. Therefore, the term “reunification” is also appropriate.

KOREAN NAMES AND SPELLING

Korean names and spellings follow the latest South Korean government convention in this study. For instance, in this research, the former South Korean president’s name is spelled “Park Chung-hee.” Previously “Park Chung Hee” was also used. The use of hyphenation and lower case after the hyphenation in “Chung-hee” is the new convention. If the latter style (Chung Hee) is used, then the person published documents using that style, and that style is usually found in the endnotes or in front of pages or bibliography. Kim is the last name and is placed first, consistent with Korean practice. For instance, Kim Juon-il’s last name is Kim and is placed before Jong-il. Kim Jong-un is also spelled Kim Jong-eun; the latter is based on the South Korean government’s new convention. If the name appears to be Korean, but the last name is placed at the end, then it implies the person is Korean-American using the “American” way of displaying surname after the first name, or has published using the American convention of placing last name at the end.

Additionally, some place-name spellings are different. The old method uses Kaesong, Keumgang, Inchon, and Pusan, for example. The new way uses Gaesong, Geumgang, Incheon, and Busan, respectively.

In this study, the author uses Songun (pronounced Seon-goon) for military first policy, rather than using the latest protocol on corresponding vowels and consonants in Korean to English, because “Songun” has been used more widely. This is not to be confused with Songbun (Seongboon using the Korean government system), which is similar in meaning as the caste system.

VARUOUS WAYS TO EXPRESS “KOREA”

In general, South Korea and North Korea are used. Sometimes, their official names, Republic of Korea (ROK) and Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK), respectively, are employed. Occasionally, depending on the context, “Korea” is used to refer to the formerly unified Korea Prior to the division, or as an identity for both Koreas as a whole.

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Tara O, The collapse of North Korea,
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INTRODUCTION

For half a century, the world has been concerned and feared that WWIII would occur because of the war between the two divided Koreas. More than forty-five years after the end of the Korean conflict, the North and the South remain in a technical state of war, with the military confrontation between the two states the most heavily armed face-off in the world. After World War II both of Koreas were divided into two separated nations till nowadays. Historically, because of the war the two brothers have cut off their blood and continue to live as a neighbor. Korean people have struggled for years to maintain an identity all their own to preserve their heritage, culture, and language. Also, they have abided open warfare, occupation, and foreign rules. They owe many of their struggles to their geographic location. After centuries of intermittent domination by China, Koreans spent much of the first half of the twentieth century under the heel of Japanese occupiers. The Korean War ended with each side anxious to impose unification on the other but even went worse, forcing them into an armistice tension. There was every first time for both Koreas trying on unification when North Korea (officially the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, or DPRK) tried to use military force to invade South Korea first in 1950 but failed because there was an intervention from UN and the United States on South Korea side.¹

Even if North Korea or South Korea (officially the Republic of Korea, or ROK) had military dominance, imposing unification could cause so much damage to both sides that the victor would not have the economic resources to support full unification and probably would not have the military forces to stabilize a unified country. South Korea might exploit a collapse of the DPRK regime to achieve unification, but it is difficult to imagine that North Korean elites would accept such a path to unification under current ROK policies.² Of course, a

¹ Gustavus F, Ann M. Swift, *The Korean War* (United States: Modern Library, 2010), chapter 1.

² Bruce W. Bennett, *Alternative Paths to Korean Unification* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2018), page 1

peaceful unification would be preferable, but the societal and political cultures of the two countries are so different that it is difficult to imagine how a full unification could be peacefully achieved. In addition, the Korean unification depends on the both sides of ROK and DPRK to reach an agreement under self-reservations that promote peaceful resolution, according to Kathryn Botto.³

There are various forms of Korean unification scenarios that could occur. If the DPRK and ROK governments could find a clear common ground, unification could mean a single, integrated government for all of Korea. Alternatively, a weaker form of unification could result in a confederation in which separate DPRK and ROK governments are retained for many issues, but some aspects of the unified Korean government would be shared that the shared aspects might include some combination of foreign policy, national defense, and trade policy of the two Koreas.⁴

Moreover, North Korea is a communist state which holds on a strong nuclear power in the region at Northeast Asia. The president of North Korea intends to develop its nuclear weapon and pursued the world to recognize itself as a peaceful nuclear state without threatening to neighboring countries or the world as a whole. North Korea is punished to sanction by United Nations due to its actions on conducting nuclear weapons. Also, the member states of UN have to obligate responsibility as a duty of member cutting out any aids or trading partners with North Korea, including South Korea. In contrast, South Korea do involve with UN sanction on North Korea. Yet, it did not breach any economic cooperation or bilateral agreements with the North.

By the way, in the era of South Korea president Kim Dae-jung used Sunshine policy toward North Korea to engage through cooperation rather than maintaining a conversation

³ Kathryn Botto, "the aftermath of the third inter-Korean summit of 2018: scenario," Carnegie endowment for international peace (ASAN Forum October 16, 2018) date accessed June 25, 2019. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2018/10/16/aftermath-of-third-inter-korean-summit-of-2018-scenarios-pub-77523>

stance.⁵ Its policy aimed at mitigating the gaps in economic power and restoring lost communication between two nations. Six decades after the Korean ceasefire, a state of the war still exists between the two Koreas. And an atmosphere for killing still prevails along Korea's DMZ. Somehow, South Korea is more developed than North Korea and it does not want to see the North dying because of starvation. South Korea government has passion to reunite with North Korea due to the whole interest of Korea's citizens and its policy on the Korean peninsula.

The existing literature on the prospects for Korean unification focuses primarily on the economic consequences of unification. This is perfectly understandable in light of the gaping difference in income levels between the two Koreas and the large economic costs of unification for South Korea. The central objective of our paper is to contribute to the literature on Korean unification by examining Korean unification from a more global perspective that encompasses not only the scenario images but other relevant such as its challenges which included political integration, economic gaps, infrastructures, military integration, education and employment, as well as the cost payment on unification process and the benefits for unification.

⁵ Jesse Min, "The Sunshine Policy of South Korea," Stanford University, 2017. Date accessed June 25, 2019. <http://large.stanford.edu/courses/2017/ph241/min2/>

1. Research Questions

Main Question:

Will economic relations between Republic of Korea and Democratic People's Republic of Korea change political orders and eventually reunited?

Sub Questions:

- Is Korean reunification possible or not, how?
- How Korean governments integrate the two different political systems?
- What benefits will the two Koreas possibly gain from unification?
- Who is going to pay for the unification? South or North? Why or why not?
- How does it effect to the Northeast Asia?

2. Research Objectives

The purpose and aim of this final research to indicate and analyze on how possible of Korean unification would be, challenges, and the Korean unification impact on Northeast Asia region along with the following objectives:

- To acknowledge the economic development gaps between Republic of Korea and Democratic People's Republic of Korea.
- To assume and analyze whom will responsible for the payments on Korean Unification.
- To find out how Korea unification integrated.
- To analyze international political view on Korean unification.
- Too aware of future cooperation between both Koreas

3. Research Problems

The writing of this final report about Korean reunification is being debated and discussed for so long. Many politicians and experts have been written about scenarios of Korean unification and the predictions on how it will be reunited? Additionally, the argument is Korean unification possible? The most concerned about the Korean unification is one of the biggest impact to the whole world that its outcomes will not bring World War III to innocent people, or a peaceful settlement of the two different political systems.

4. Scope and Limitation

This final report is covered on Korean reunification and analyzing the possible outcomes to be successful or failed between Republic of Korea and Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The acknowledgment intents to focus on the interaction of Korean presidents' passion to reunite both nations. However, due to the time limitation so this final report will be more focusing on economic and Korean relations. On the other hand, in Korea unification part will be focusing on future scenario and Korean cooperation.

5. Research Methodology

This final research paper sources relies on the secondary and reliable sources that collected from such as books, reports, international and local news websites, the discussion of experts and other sources that relevant with the possibly Korean reunification and the impact on the unification to the rest of the region, Northeast Asia.

6. Structure of Research

Within this final research paper is divided into four significant bodies such as:

Chapter I: The Causes of Korean War

This part provides the information relating on how Koreans were divide into two separated nations. It also stated the international intervention on Korean war.

CHAPTER II: The Separation Line between Korea

This section addresses on the current situation of North Korea and South Korea. It also provides the information of South Korea and North Korea relations.

CHAPTER III: Korean Unification

This chapter identities on the challenges of Korean unification and confederation scenarios and future cooperation.

CHAPTER IV: Regional Impact on the Reunification

This part focuses on the perspective of international political view in Northeast Asia.

Last certainly but not least, this part is covered all the points of this research paper and provided the recommendation by responding to the question with answers from personal perspective.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Most experts think there three broad alternative outcomes; war, a North Korea collapse, or the continuation of a two-state peninsula. However, one can break down the future of North Korea into five scenarios of change: unification through the military defeat of North Korea, unification through collapse of North Korea, continuation of the status quo, reform without regime change, and reform with regime change.

In fact, some analysts believe that South Korean word try to prevent the collapse of North Korea if the regime appears to be teetering. South Korea's reluctance to absorb North Korea, and Chinese help, may preserve the longevity of the North Korean regime for quite some time. Nevertheless, some analysts believe that North Korea regime will eventually collapse mainly due to three sets of economic problems. Unlike Tara O, there is another scenario examining on unique culture and historical factors that distinguish the two nations. The author claims that the division and previous war created distrusts and cultural desperation which is the barrier of Unification. However, they both are from the same dynasty and share the same history and hominization, so these can not a challenge.⁶

When predicting a collapse, however many observers overlook the unique culture and historical factors that distinguish the two nations. Those experts also have concentrated on how to achieve unification through negotiation rounds, diplomatic openings as well as practical discussions on infrastructure, taxation and property rights. As Virginie Grzelczyk said, there are three factors that should be considered in order for a potential Korean unification to be successful. Those factors, reconciliation, mutual trust and common identity are interdependent.⁷

⁶ Tara O, *The Collapse of North Korea: 1988* (Honolulu, USA: Pacific Forum Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2016), E-book, 25.

⁷ Virginie Grzelczyk, "New approaches to North Korean politics after reunification: the search for a common Korean identity," Department of Politics and International Relations of Aston University 2014, date accessed June 29, 2019. <http://daneshyari.com/article/1046400>

Some experts also argue that North Korea will never surrender its nuclear weapon under any concessions with the US and its allies. According to some observers, the foremost goal of North Korea until the 1990s was reunification of the Korean peninsula on its own terms. Since then, however, regime survival with the military-first policy has replaced reunification as the single most important prerogative of the state. Can North Korea survive as a sovereignty country? Most analysts think that depends on its future economic its future economic conditions and problems. If the north fail, will they reunite with South Korea or attack Seoul?

We assume that this scenario of slowing collapse of North Korea would lead to eventual reunification of the DPRK with the ROK. Control of information coming into North Korea would break down as the power of the central authority to impose order waned, which, coupled with continued decline in living standards, would lead eventually to disillusionment on the part of the majority of the population, internal conflict, civil disorder, and possibly even civil war in the DPRK.

According to Ma Tong Hui, North Korean Senior Researcher, believes that this is the only way to realize unification of the two Korea in a peaceful way and even remain a good relation among North and South as well as regional countries.⁸ He raises up the idea of peaceful reunification path which is the establishment of Mutual Federation government with an equal number of representatives from north and south.

After reviewing various unification scenarios, the authors identified indicators and triggers of collapse because of a million people died from starvation in the mid-1990s. Tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, have left North Korea for China in search of food and a better life. As like Egon Bahr noted, however, “unification would not be a single act but a

⁸ Ma Tong Hui, “Reunification of Korea is a Major Security Issue on the Korean Peninsula,” International for Security and Development Policy, 2010. Date accessed June 29, 2019.
<https://www.google.com/search?q=Reunification+of+Korea+is+a+Major+Security+Issue+on+the+Korean+Peninsula%2C%E2%80%9D&oq=Reunification+of+Korea+is+a+Major+Security+Issue+on+the+Korean+Peninsula%2C%E2%80%9D&aqs=chrome..69i57.936j0j4&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8#>

process with many steps and stops.” Thus despite differences, we draw a very important lesson for South Korea to be ready for the unified Korea.⁹

Coming up with the idea of unification under economic cooperation between the two Koreas, under the lead of Moon Jae-in’s administration and the legacy of Kim Dae-jung has the most realistic and sensible plan for diplomacy to build economic relationship, the repeated interactions arising from such a relationship would gradually lead to a measure of trust between the two countries.

As a result, in the previous lesson most of authors has discuss about primarily on three different possibility of unification scenarios. First, gradual and peaceful unification between North and South, unification as a result of war, and collapse of the North and absorption into South Korea. In contrast, in this lesson we will discuss how and will economic relations between the two Koreas change political orders and eventually reunited?

⁹ Yang Chang-seok, “preview of the previous ROK government policies for unification and future option in view of German reunification,” SAIS, 2016. Date accessed June 30, 2019. 27 www.unkoreainstitute.org

CHAPTER I: Cause of the Korean War

In the late nineteenth century, there was a general race for colonies among the major imperial powers as each nation tried to carve out spheres of influence for trade and pursued colonial ambitions. Korea was one in the conflict among China, Russia, and Japan as each sought to make it a colony. Other powers, like Britain, France, and the United States also were involved.¹⁰ Korea, which was just emerging from its self-imposed isolation, faced the rival ambitions of these countries. Korea peninsular was ruled by Japanese colonization since 1910 until 1945 spending years of war under Japan organization in terrorization and political machinations the whole peninsular would be considered a part of Japan until 1945.¹¹ In order to take control over its new protectorate, the Empire of Japan tended to manage all affairs related to war for Korea and even on Korean culture. At the end of World War II, Korea was freed by the Japanese control, and was split into two areas, North and South. World War II devastated not just Japan, but the Korean Peninsula, and in 1945, the United States and the USSR captured the peninsula and ended Japanese rule there and divided Korea into two occupation zones that were intended to be temporary, but because of ambition unified state was never given back to the newly independent Korean people.¹² After then the war between two brothers broke out which Soviet and Chinese was on the side of northern half of Korea and the United States and United Nations-backed south who converted itself to be a country that rule its nation with liberal democracy and tried to with the rule that remain from Japan colony.¹³ It has been more than 70 years that North and South divided and suffered of being victims of eliminating of cold war between two major powers, the Soviet Union and the United States.¹⁴ The two Korea were

¹⁰ Robert J. Myers, *Korea in the Cross Currents*: (New York: PALGRAVE, 2001), EBook, 28.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 32.

¹² Bruce Cumings, *The Korean War*: (United State: Modern Library, 2010), 10.

¹³ *Ibid.* 12.

¹⁴ Erin Blakemore, "How Japan Took Control of Korea," *History* (2018), accessed April 24th 2019, <https://www.history.com/news/japan-colonization-korea>

occupied by two winners, Soviet Union and America which the North was occupied by Soviet Union while United States took control of the South. The two are now independent and officially split into South Korea as The Republic of Korea (ROK), and The North as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). By July, 1953, all countries that were involved in the war finally agreed to end the bloodshed and signed an Armistice Agreement on July 27. After reached the agreement the two were still at war but without foreign interferences. The prisoners of war were allowed to choose which side they wanted to live on and yet a new border was drawn between South and North Korea with a demilitarized zone (DMZ) in between.

1.1 Korean Peninsula under Japanese Colonization

Japan further established its influence over Korea when it's victory in the Russo-Japanese War In 1905, western powers, like the United States and Britain, also were involved with interference with Japan's efforts to establish its sphere of influence in Korea. However, Korea always resisted attempts to limit their independence from Japan. After Choseon dynasty in 1910, Korea was fall in Japan dominion and was under the organizing both intimidation and political machinations. To control over of its new protectorate, the Japan Empire waged an all-out war on Korean culture. Under Japanese rule from 1910 to 1945, Koreans struggled to maintain their culture.¹⁵ Japan banned all kinds of teaching Korean language and history and even burned many Korean historical documents. Koreans people were not allow to name by their own in Korea way but they were forced were forced to take Japanese names and were taught to speak Japanese. Schools and universities in Korea needed to conduct its study system in Japanese and focus on manual labor along with loyalty for the Emperor. Many Korean farmers were forced to leave off their lands while others had to fulfill grain quotas for Japan's needs, buildings were left to use for Japan government and military purposes, and all kind of

¹⁵ "The Fall of Joseon," Korea Net(Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea), accessed May 6, 2019 <http://www.korea.net/AboutKorea/History/The-Fall-Joseon>

business transactions were handed over to Japanese officials.¹⁶ It's called crime if there are any teachings about Korean history without Japan approval especially the texts and authorities burned over 200,000 Korean historical documents, which essentially clear out the historical memories of Korea.¹⁷ There was an announcement on the Declaration of Independent Protest in March 1919 by Korean leaders joined by students and ordinary people by staging street demonstrations across the country. These protests continually went for 12 months with participants around 2 million people, and were violently defeated by the Japanese, with many thousands killed and wounded.¹⁸ As a result, in the 1920s the Japanese government eases on its restrictive policy in ruling Korea as a respond to criticism of its harsh rule in Korea by allowed the publication of some books, hold meeting and magazines in Korea and began to invest in education, roads, and government buildings then Japan claimed that they were taking care of Korea peninsula through modernizing and shaping ways for Korea to trade.¹⁹ They were also granted religious freedom and more respect was shown to Korean customs. Japan also tried to persuade Korean people to adopt Shinto (the Japanese national religion) but without much success. Many Koreans were forced to intently work in Japan and employed its military efforts.²⁰ Koreans man were forced to choose between enlist into Japanese army and had to work under dangerous like slaves, thousands of Korean girls and women were forced to serve as comfort women who were raped by Japanese soldiers. Japan still refuses to accept responsibility for this policy, creating a bitter historical issue between Korea and Japan.

¹⁶ Linda Karen Miller, "JAPANESE COLONIALISM IN KOREA," Korea Society, accessed May 6, 2019, http://www.koreasociety.org/?option=com_docman&task=doc_view&gid=147

¹⁷ Linda Karen Miller, "JAPANESE COLONIALISM IN KOREA," Korea Society, accessed May 6, 2019, http://www.koreasociety.org/?option=com_docman&task=doc_view&gid=147

¹⁸ "Independent Movement," Korea Net(Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea), accessed May 6, 2019 http://www.mofa.go.kr/eng/wpge/m_19854/contents.do

¹⁹ Misook Lee, "The Japan-Korea Solidarity Movement," The Asia Pacific Journal, accessed June 30, 2019. <https://apjif.org/2014/12/38/Misook-Lee/4187.html>

²⁰ Linda Karen Miller, "JAPANESE COLONIALISM IN KOREA," Korea Society, accessed May 6, 2019, http://www.koreasociety.org/?option=com_docman&task=doc_view&gid=147

However Japanese attempts to turn Korea into part of Japan were ended in 1945 when they surrendered to the allies at the end of World War II.

Again In 1940, the Provisional Government of Korea (PGK) organized the Korean Liberation Army in Chungqing, many volunteers and independence fighters gathered in Manchuria.²¹ The PGK declared war against Japan and sent troops to the front lines in India and Myanmar to fight on the side of the Allied Forces. At the same time a special training was conducted for some young Koreans from a special military unit of the United States in order to guide them to attack Japanese forces in Korea and on August 15, 1945, Korea finally gain back their independent and received what they had looked forward to for so long. Besides of strike rules Japan also built bridges, railways, roads many factories in Korea as its legacy. Japan also brought the beginnings of industrial development and modern industries to Korea such as steel, cement, and chemical plants that were set up in the 1920s and 1930s, especially in the northern part of the peninsula where coal and hydroelectric power resources were abundant.²² By the time Japanese colonial rule ended in August 1945, Korea was the second most industrialized country in Asia after Japan itself.

1.2 The Guardian of Koreas

On August 6, 1945, during World War II, the United States dropped the world's first deployed atomic bomb over Japanese city of Hiroshima and on Nagasaki on the next three days. The explosion damaged 90 percent of the city and immediately killed 80,000 people; tens of thousands more were later died of radiation exposure came out from the bomb. After got

²¹ "Independent Movement," Korea Net(Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea), accessed May 6, 2019 http://www.mofa.go.kr/eng/wpge/m_19854/contents.do

²² Charles K. Armstrong, "Korean History and Political Geography," ASIASOCIETY, accessed May 6, 2019 <https://asiasociety.org/education/korean-history-and-political-geography>.

intense destroyed, Japan's Emperor Hirohito announced his country's unconditional surrender in World War II in a radio address on August 15."²³

After Japan ended WWII by unconditionally surrendered, the Korea peninsular was discharged from Japanese controlling at the end of the Second World War, and it's time for the United States and the Soviet Union to decide and agreed to temporarily divide Korea at the 38th parallel of latitude north of the equator. This division resulted North Korea as a communist state supported by Soviet Union and South as a democratic country who has United States back sided. The occupying powers organized civilian regimes in North and South by organizing a Communist state emerged under Kim Il Sung for North, meanwhile in in the South was quickly dominated by Dr. Syngman Rhee, who became President and leded the government at that time.²⁴ In the process of forming South Korean government, there was a help from The United Nations General Assembly who formed a temporary commission in 1947 to plan for a national election and a government for all of Korea.²⁵ The United States and most South Koreans favored that move but the Soviet Union and the North's leaders rejected it.

1.3 The Invasion of North to South

Soviet and American forces were withdrew from both Korea in 1948. After division, Korean leaders attempted for unification by their own term without any outsider interferences, so North Korea firstly took action by invading South in 1950 without the awareness of United State who baked South Korea .²⁶ The invasion was leded by North Korea's leader Kim Il and using forces invaded the south on 25 June 1950 pushed a crossed the 38th parallel by using their troops with Stalin's foreknowledge and approval and got success which the north occupied

²³ Savada, Andrea Matles and Shaw, William, eds. (1990). ["A Country Study: South Korea, The Japanese Role in Korea's Economic Development"](#).

²⁴ Carter Malkasian, *The Korean War 1950-1953* (Great Britain,2001), Ebook,1.

²⁵ *Ibid*,15.

²⁶ Bruce Cumings, *The Korean War:(United State: Modern Library,2010)*, 16.

the whole of South Korea except for Pusan.²⁷ After fail in to North occupy, South Korea appealed for support to The United Nation, as a respond The United States pushed a resolution through United Nations Security Council but there was a decline statement from USSR who is a VETO power when it came to voting for the resolution. However, President Truman had sent American forces to South to fight back North, acting in the name of the United Nations due to the concern that the spread of communism by preventing the domino effects thinking that it would be a bad modal for others if Korea fell in to communist ideology.²⁸ Within a few months of cooperating between South and US along with the help from UN, South got back their territory and seemed likely that North Korea would be overthrown during the fighting drew near the Manchurian border and there was an intervention from communist China forces since china feared that the fighting would affect its territory.²⁹It could be so dangerous back then and probably make it to a much bigger conflict. China was known as the second largest Communist state in the world with its largest population amount.

1.4 International Interferences

UN intervention

UN interfered into Korean War by approving a resolution and sending troops to help South Korea with the contribution of Twenty-one countries through UN Security Council once it was invaded by North Korea.³⁰ Ninety percent of the military personnel military were provided by UN forces. Beside of military support, UN provided such budget and humanitarian aids to North Korea. U.S. President Harry S. Truman has made the order for U.S. air and naval forces to hold out against communist aggression happing in Korea; at the same day afternoon

²⁷ Ibid,15.

²⁸ Ronda Hauben, "The Role of the UN in the Unending Korean War," Global Research, date accessed May 15, 2019. <https://www.globalresearch.ca/the-role-of-the-un-in-the-unending-korean-war-united-nations-command-as-camouflage/5350876>

²⁹ Supra note 25, 28.

³⁰ Pembroke, Michael (2018). Korea: Where the American Century Began. Hardie Grant Books. 141.

the UN Security Council confirmed Truman's decision to send air and sea aid to Korea, and even calling upon all UN members to contribute with helping mission for Korea in order to maintain peace for the world. On June 30 Truman ordered U.S. ground forces in Japan into Korea; it was the first U.S. troops entered the battlefield on July 4 because Seoul was fail. UN even approved the creation of a unified command in Korea, and appointed Gen. Douglas MacArthur as to be the commission's commander. Sixteen UN member nations also participated in sending armed contingent and the United States furnished the great bulk of the air units, naval forces, supplies, and financing.

China Intervention

On 20 August 1950, the first Premier the People's Republic of China, Zhou Enlai, once said to the UN that they cannot just stay silent and ignore but be concerned about a solution of the Korean question because North Korea is its neighbor³¹. China also warned that he would intervene against UN command in Korea in case there is any invasion to his territory due to neutral-country diplomats, the concern in safeguarding Chinese national security.³² The first China intervention was on October 1950 when its troops went cross Yalu River in order to give assistance to North Korea under the name of Chinese People's Volunteer Army (CPV), and involved in the Korean War in a provocative manner after the U.S. troops fight cross the 38th parallel.³³ North Korea have China as its supporter since the war time after the division of Korea peninsula bake then from 1950, troops aid also flooded at that time. Since the war occurred, China has lent political and economic backing to North Korea's leaders: Kim Il-sung (estimated 1948–1994), and his son, Kim Jong-il and keep until Kim Jong-un's regime as well.³⁴

³¹ Supra note 25, 30.

³² Tokesbury, James L (1990). *A Short History of the Korean War*. New York: Harper Perennial. [ISBN 978-0688095130](#).

³³ Bae-ho Hahn, Jung ,Kwang, "Korea HISTORICAL NATION, ASIA," EncycloPedia Britannica, accessed May 15, 2019. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Korea#ref411643>.

³⁴ Eleanor Albert, "The China–North Korea Relationship," Council on Foreign Relations, March 13, 2019, accessed May 15, 2019, <https://www.cfr.org/backgroundunder/china-north-korea-relationship>.

CHAPTER II: The Separation Line between Korea

Korea was divided by the super power countries which are the United States and Russia after World War II. South Korea is a democracy country which was organized by the United Nations and the U.S. to choose a president to lead an independent South Korea. Beside of the South, North Korea is a communist state which was organized by Russia to appoint a president to control over the country with communist ideology of Russia's style.

After the breakable relationship between the two Koreas, they have been changed from bothers to neighborhoods due to the outsider's hands. Both South Korea and North Korea is offended each other somewhat territory borders and tourism. In contrast, South Korean government did what it is right to make North Korea consider its bad actions through international co-operation by putting sanction on the North. Individually, South Korea did not breach their bilateral agreements on economic co-operation with North Korea yet.³⁵ Thus South Korea still acts like a brother to North Korea through its actions and policies engagement with North Korea. Ironically, South Korea's commitment on Korean unification is still existing on the economic co-operation with North Korea.

2.1 Current Situation of North Korea

North Korea is a democratic people republic state which is located on its northern border with China and Russia in the north and South Korea. With an area of 46,564 square miles (120,538 square kilometers) it occupies 55 percent of the Korean Peninsula. It is a self-contained, closed society of nearly 25,000,000 people, ruled by a dictator and shrouded in secrecy.³⁶ Further, it is an isolated, poverty-stricken nation with a standing army of 1.2 million men, nuclear capability, and hostile intent. For the most part, it got that carried out the man-god

³⁵ McFarland and Company, Inc, "Inter-Korean Economic Cooperation: Semoon Chang and Hwa-Kyung Kim," *The Survival of North Korea*, ed. Suk Hi Kim, Terence Roehrig and Bernhard Seliger (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London), 87.

³⁶ Raum and Elizabeth, "North Korea, Countries of the World Series," North Mankato, (MN: Heinemann-Raintree, 2012), 21.

Kim Il Sung North Korea's Great Leader.³⁷ Its policy is "Military First" which appears to have deftly handled their early years at the top through rearrange party and force compositions and accelerating a strengthen of nuclear and missile capabilities. As North Korea attempts to find to build its economy and begin shooting to the outside world, experts say Kim's relationship with elites could be tested and will be crucial to the regime's survival. Its economic activity on mining and manufacturing, as well as agriculture, forestry, and fishing. While troublesome international sanctions have become North Korea's isolation, the economy still noticeable to be registering modest growth through 2016, according to South Korea's central bank.³⁸ Moreover, its policy has threatened to the world peace order and countries. Today, North Korea is facing the problem food shortage due to their policy "military first" and international sanction. The state tends to survive via secretly supporting from China and Russia's political ideology. It also lengthens to receive sizeable supporting from China. And it also maintains close ties with its socialist East Asian allies in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia. Since the Korean war began in 1950, people have some sensations of why North Korea has changed so little at top levels in recent years, and why it is highly indefinite to collapse before this high society and its consciously nationalist ideology leaves the sense.³⁹ Also, food shortages became persistent and the nation was incapable to feed itself.

The North Korea people's army ranks as fourth largest in the world, after China, the US, and India. With some 9,495,000 active, reserve, and paramilitary forces, North Korea stands as the world's most militarized nation. It is also a nuclear weapons state. As part of its national goals, DPRK is seeking to become recognized state as a nuclear power and is trying to convince the world to "learn to live in peace" with such a nuclear-armed North Korea.

³⁷ Earle Rice Jr., *The evolution of government and politics in North and South Korea, North Korea's Kim Dynasty* (United States of America: Mitchell Lane, 2015), 16.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 23.

³⁹ McFarland and Company, Inc, "China-North Korea Relations: Dick K. Nanto and Mark E. Manyin." *The Survival of North Korea*, ed. Suk Hi Kim, Terence Roehrig and Bernhard Seliger (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London), 116.

2.2 Current Situation of South Korea

The republic of Korea occupies about 45 percent of the Korean peninsula. It borders and adjoins the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the north about 49,000,000 people live in its body of land of 38,522 square miles (99,720 square kilometers) which is about the same size as Indiana.⁴⁰ South Korea is a highly industrialized country with a government patterned largely after the United States. It is a fully functioning modern democracy yet it was not that way.

South Korea has changed dramatically backed by its U.S. ally, and become an advanced industrialized democracy with a strong military. Even the Soviet Union and China, traditional are the countries who pledges to give a certain of money to North Korea, having authorized diplomatic relations with South Korea.⁴¹ South Korea has also demonstrated soft power through Hallyn, the Korea wave of modern K-dramas and K-pop entertainments throughout Asia.

South Korea spread its soft power of their K-pop cultures on the world and makes a lots of benefits of that by selling K-pop staffs around the world. K-pop is helping South Korea country for economic development.⁴² In addition, South Korea builds industries to produce K-pop staffs and trade with the countries around the world which is making the state of South Korea becoming popular and earn a lots of income from tourism field.

⁴⁰ Earle Rice Jr., *The evolution of government and politics in North and South Korea, South Korea's Long Path to Peace and Unity* (United States of America: Mitchell Lane, 2015), 24.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 29.

⁴² Tara O, *The Collapse of North Korea: 1988* (Honolulu, USA: Pacific Forum Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2016), E-book, 66.

2.3 North-South Korea Relations

The Republic of Korea and Democratic People's Republic of Korea at first were a country where it is called Korean peninsula. The two Koreas are now separated independent countries because of war. Even if they are the different independent states but it does not mean the two countries do not have relationships. History has shown the relationship between the two countries since they were break out into two and points out to international stage, and get interesting along with the diplomacy relation.⁴³ Here are the Koreas relation since the breaking point of the countries to presently as following:

Park Chung-hee was elected as the only president of South Korea's third republic. He served to decide with a policy sometimes called "Mentor of democracy" He restricted personal rights, abolished the news and opposition parties, and commanded the legal and educational systems.⁴⁴ In October 1972, in a series of "revitalizing reforms" known as the Yushin order, he made known a new constitution that ushered in the Fourth Republic. He made the National Conference for Unification (NCU) and ready a framework for indirect voting of the president for an unlimited amount of six-year periods.⁴⁵

Kim Dae-jung was the third president of the Sixth Republic of Korea, who negotiated a diplomatic relation in 2000 with North Korea was aware to be the "sunshine policy" and be subject to the Nobel Peace Prize from Gunnar Berge, chairman of the Norwegian Nobel committee, in Oslo on December 18, 2000.⁴⁶ Kim devised methodically and put a decision into effect to the "Sunshine policy" allowing passage to better relations with North Korea.⁴⁷ From June 13 to 15, 2000, the first inter-Korea summit was arranged and took part in Pyongyang

⁴³ David J. Nemeth, "the geography of Koreas," Asia Society, 2019, accessed date: June 18, 2019, <https://asiasociety.org/education/geography-koreas>

⁴⁴ Earle Rice Jr., The evolution of government and politics in North and South Korea, South Korea's Long Path to Peace and Unity (United States of America: Mitchell Lane, 2015), 26.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 27

⁴⁶ MLA style: The Nobel Peace Prize for 2000. NobelPrize.org. Nobel Media AB 2019. Tue. 18 Jun 2019. <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/2000/press-release/>

⁴⁷ Earle Rice Jr., The evolution of government and politics in North and South Korea, South Korea's Long Path to Peace and Unity (United States of America: Mitchell Lane, 2015), 30.

between Kim Dae-jung of South Korea and Kim Jong-il of North Korea. The June 15, joint Declaration created the circumstances to enable sunshine policy to happen without going detail of nuclear weapons. The June 15, 2000, Declaration included an official of plan that would “increase an equitable development of both economies through the enlargement of bilateral economic co-operation.”⁴⁸

In September 2002, the reconnection activities of trans-Korea roads started. Also in September 2002, the connection scheme of inter-Korean railway began.⁴⁹ The following year, an inter-Korean maritime agreement was reached, allowing North Korean merchant ship to pass through the Jeju Strait. On February 2005, North Korea declared that it had nuclear weapons and pulled itself out of the six party talks. The relation between both Koreas kept interval of two years.

It is crucial to remark that the joint economic scheme between the two Koreas continued during this rapidly worsening political environment. From October 2 to 4, 2007, the second inter-Korea summit of Declaration for Development in Inter-Koreas Relations and Peace and Prosperity was arranged and took part between Roh Moo-hyun of south Korea and Kim Jong-Il of North Korea is formally declared to an exceptionally good co-operation zone in the west sea, which were more a confrontational zone that a cooperative zone.⁵⁰

On February 2008, Lee Myun-bak was inaugurated as president of South Korea and he clearly expressed that “unification of the two Korean is a long cherished want of the 70 million Korean people. Inter-Korean relations must become more productive than they are now.”⁵¹ Our

⁴⁸ National Geographic, “June 13, 2000 CE: First Inter-Korea Summit,” National Geographic Society (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Headquarters), 2019 date accessed: June 18, 2019. <https://www.nationalgeographic.org/thisday/jun13/first-inter-korea-summit/>

⁴⁹ Victor Cha, Joseph Bermudez, Marie DuMond, “Making Solid Tracks: North and South Korea Railway Cooperation,” CSIS, December 10, 2018, Date accessed: June 18, 2019 <https://beyondparallel.csis.org/making-solid-tracks-north-and-south-korean-railway-cooperation/>

⁵⁰ Roh Moo-hyun, Kim Jung-il, “2007 Declaration on the advancement of South-North Korean Relations , Peace and Prosperity,” NCKN, October 04, 2007, date accessed: June 18, 2019, <https://www.ncnk.org/resources/publications/North-South%20Declaration.doc>

⁵¹ “President Lee Myung-bak,” Global Security, 2013, date accessed: June 18, 2019. <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/rok/president-lee-myung-bak.htm>

attitude will be pragmatic, not ideological. The core task is to help all Koreans live happily and to arrange the underlying basis for unification.” Unfortunately, North Korea came back to its destructive usages of old.

On May 24, 2010, the South Korea ministry of unification made a public and typically formal declaration about sanction in conceptual contrast to North Korea because of the provocative activities yet none of that made different co-operation relations on economic schemes between South Korea and North Korea. In terms of statistical data, economic collaboration between the two Koreas can be interpreted in two ways. In the broad sense, inter-Korea economic co-operation includes trade of all types between the South Korea and North Korea that the Korea ministry of unification classifies as commercial transaction and non-commercial transaction.⁵²

On December 19, 2012, south Koreans elected Park Geun-hye, the daughter of former president Park Chung-hee, as their first female leader. On February, 2013 Park said, “I urge North Korea to abandon its nuclear ambitions and embark on the path to peace and shared development.” She went on to promise “a new era of hope” for all Koreans.⁵³ Whether a strong woman can transfer peace and unity to Korea remains an open question. It was the first former female president of South Korea who in charge of the country with soft voice but very strong hand to bring a new era of hope for all Koreans. Its relation with North Korea remains strain over the North’s repeated hostile act. Accordingly, South Korea keeps military force at the same rate of some 680,000 troops. All south Korean men are needed to involve in the military for a typical duration of two years.⁵⁴

⁵² Ministry of Unification, “Date and Statistics,” South and North Relation: Inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation, 2018. Date accessed: June 18, 2019, https://www.unikorea.go.kr/eng_unikorea/relations/statistics/exchanges/

⁵³ Earle Rice Jr., The evolution of government and politics in North and South Korea, South Korea’s Long Path to Peace and Unity (United States of America: Mitchell Lane, 2015), 31.

⁵⁴ Earle Rice Jr., The evolution of government and politics in North and South Korea, Hope and Renewal (United States of America: Mitchell Lane, 2015), 36.

On September 06 2018, the meeting of President Moon Jae-in and Kim Jung-un and the Panmunjom Declaration that they both signed on the agreement to show the dialogue and their diplomatic relations as the strongest tools to create peaceful resolutions to the most difficult problem on Korean peninsula.⁵⁵ It also brings the results to the international community with hope which creates the line of bright future on region and Korean unification.

On November 06 2018, North and South Korea have removed troops and other portable guns from 22 front-line guard posts as measure of September's agreement to cut down tensions across the world's most defensive boundaries. In the September military agreement, arrived at the outer point of a summit in Pyongyang between North Korean leader Kim Jong-un and South Korean President Moon Jae-in, the Koreas formally declared to eventually remove all protector posts within the DMZ, in contrast to begin by withdrawing eleven from both sides as a preliminary' measure.⁵⁶

Table 1

Inter-Korean Dialogue for Each Field

(number of meetings)

Category	'71-'01	'02	'03	'04	'05	'06	'07	'08	'09	'10	'11	'12	'13	'14	'15	'16	'17	'18	'19	Total
Politics	197	4	5	2	10	5	13	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	3	-	-	19	-	261
Military	6	9	6	5	3	4	11	2	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	4	-	53
Economy	11	14	17	13	11	8	22	3	4	3	-	-	22	3	1	-	-	4	-	136
Humanitarian Issues	122	3	7	2	4	3	3	-	2	4	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	2	-	155
Society and Culture	34	2	1	1	6	3	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	7	-	62
Total	370	32	36	23	34	23	55	6	6	8	1	-	24	8	5	-	-	36	-	667

Number of meetings from 1971-2019

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⁵⁵ "Inter-Korean Relations: Panmunjom Declaration for Peace, Prosperity and Unification on Korean Peninsula," Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Korea, September 09, 2018. Accessed date June 22, 2019.

http://www.mofa.go.kr/eng/brd/m_5478/view.do?seq=319130&srchFr=&srchTo=&srchWord=&srchTp=&multiitmseq=0&itmseq_1=0&itmseq_2=0&company_cd=&company_nm=&page=1&titleNm=

⁵⁶ Dagyum Ji, "Two Koreas agree to end military exercises near border, withdraw GPs in DMZ," NK News.Org, September 19, 2018, date accessed 15/5/2019 <https://www.nknews.org/2018/09/two-koreas-agree-to-end-military-exercises-near-border-withdraw-gps-in-dmz/>

On December 27 2018, South Korea and North Korea is working and beginning on railways connection but no trains will run crossing the border any times soon during the sanction.⁵⁷ They both are hoping to someday link railways ahead and engaging amid a settlement much further without U.S. involvement, leading sanction against North Korea. According to South Korea's Unification Ministry, North Korea and South Korea are officially signed a concrete railroad tie.⁵⁸ It is one of several gestures peace of the two Koreas which has been made by the leaders of North Korea and South Korea.

CHAPTER III: Korean Unification

⁵⁷ Anthony Kuhn, "South Korea sends 1st train in plan to reconnect with North Korea," Nation Public Radio, December 5, 2018 date access May 5, 2019 (Web) <https://www.npr.org/2018/12/05/672305891/south-korea-sends-first-train-in-plan-to-reconnect-with-north>

⁵⁸ "South-North relations," Ministry of Unification, date accessed: 30/30/2019 (web) https://www.unikorea.go.kr/eng_unikorea/

As noted before, before the German reunification in 1990, very little attention was paid to the mechanics or process of Korean unification. Even now, thinking about unification in South Korea continues to emphasize unification formulas and not evaluating how unification could occur under different scenarios. In other words, there is much attention placed on how unification should be achieved, and not on the process of unification and on major problems that could arise during this process. Depending on the context in which various political, economic, infrastructure, culture, education and employment, and military events occur, unification could occur with little early warning, or it could be postponed for years or decades⁵⁹. Hence, the goal in examining contrasting unification scenarios is to understand how unification could unfold, and the range of issues that could arise. All of the mentioned sectors above are the challenges that could be really hard that obstructs the reunification of the peninsula since the two South and the North have two different systems of country ruling as well as their insider sectors. There is a really huge difference between the Republic of Korea and The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, so there will be so many things that the two government need to deal with especially on finance whether which side need to pay how much for the reunion process.

As with East and West Germany when the Berlin Wall broken down in 1989, it is hard to predict when and how the two Koreas will be united. However, most experts think there three broad alternative outcomes; war, a North Korea collapse, or the continuation of a two-state peninsula. However, the broad alternative outcomes can damage the future of North Korea into five scenarios of change: unification through the military win a victory over North Korea, unification over the fall of North Korea, eternity of the status quo, amendment with no government change, and amendment with government change.⁶⁰ In April 1996, North Korea

⁵⁹ Jonathan D.Pollack, Chungmin Lee, Preparing for Korean Unification(Washinton DC:RAND,1999),45.

⁶⁰ "Gross Domestic Product of North Korea in 2008," Bank of Korea Economic Statistics System, accessed date June 21, 2019.

<http://ecos.bok.or.kr/jsp/use/reportdata/ReportDataSelectCtl.jsp?actionType=registerDetailFileDownload&informSeq=1794&fileSeq=1>

has tried to bypass Seoul through direct negotiations with Washington. South Korea; however, has demanded discussions forcefully of chief important parties on the Korea peninsula.

The first official joint statement both of South Korea and North Korea was came out on July 4, 1972, almost nineteen years after the Korean war terminated on July 27, 1953.⁶¹ The South-North Joint Communiqué states that “Reunification will hold without depend on or interference by foreign countries; it will be accomplished via a peaceful means “That the two sides shall have accessed their nature to finish misleading against the other side, finish force hostile and prevent any violation confrontation forces, and that the two parties shall set in motion of different kind of exchanges in the economic, social and culture areas, co-operate in carry on inter-Korean red cross talks, open a Seoul-Pyongyang hotline, and arrange a south-north mediation committee”⁶²

In recently, Seoul’s stance for unification progressively believe in encouraging Pyongyang escape from international isolation to build peace on the Korean peninsula. That is one of the primary supports behind the previous administration’s engagement policies to improve inter-Korean relations. In addition, Seoul’s stand believe that Pyongyang will never abandon its ambition for un-liberal unification, and supporting assistances from the south will keep the regime alive and not reforming it.⁶³

Ironically, the deliberate and peaceful “soft landing” takes a long-term come close to unification many in South Korea, sobered by the cost of German unification, also do not want the North’s collapse. Seoul’s supporting assistances to Pyongyang has extremely been cut

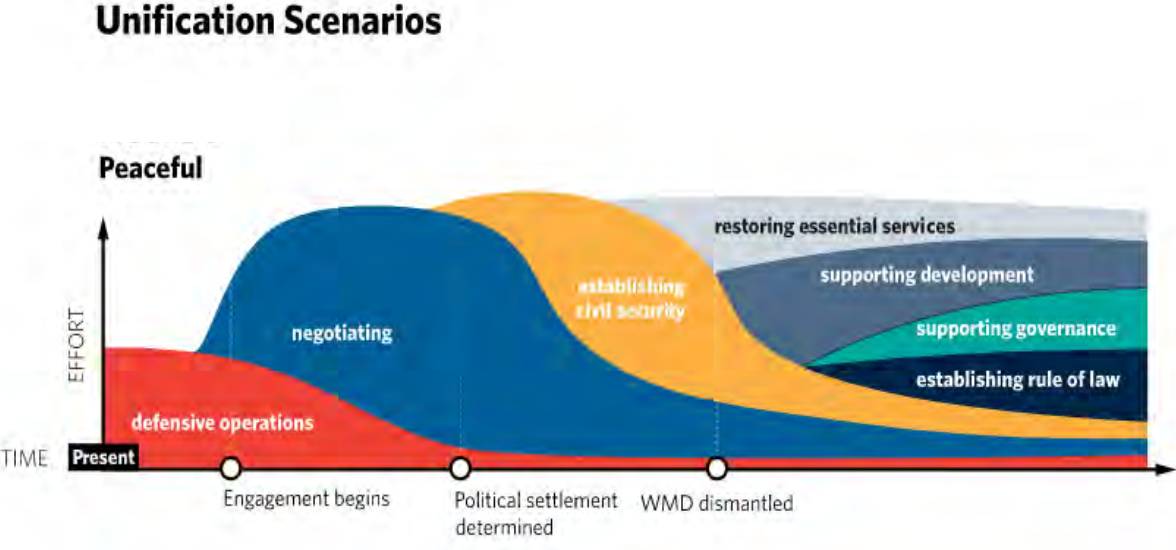
⁶¹ Lee Hu-rak, Kim Young-ju, “The July 4 South-North Joint Communiqué,” Ministry of Unification, accessed date June 21, 2019. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/dprk-perspectives-korean-reunification-after-the-july-4th-joint-communicue>

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ McFarlan & Company, Inc., “Violence from Within: North Korea’s Place in East Asian Community Debates,” The survival of North Korea, ed Suk Hi Kim, T and Bergard Selinger (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London, 2011), 186.

recently, but during the Sunshine policy period, Seoul provided billions of dollars in food, fertilizers, and other helps, crucial for the Kim regime.⁶⁴

Figure 1



3.1 Unification Challenges

A question has been asked, how would the two Koreas unify? It is very hard to make a reasonable point to the question. In contrast, how Korean unification difficult is? The reasons of the question are how passable prediction could writer can state in the thesis. In this level, unification challenges will cover on how the two Koreas work on their political integration, economic gaps, infrastructure, education and employment, and military integration.

⁶⁴ McFarlan & Company, Inc., "North Korea's "Collapse": Pathways and the Role of the Energy Sector," The survival of North Korea, ed Suk Hi Kim, Terence Roehrig and Bergard Selinger (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London, 2011), 150.

3.1.1 Political Integration

Many years of inaccessibility have really ruined North Korea's prosperity, and the local people who settle in the country has long suffered from poverty and food shortage.⁶⁵ The United Nations gives an account for a third of the citizens is malnourished and many people lack access to proper healthcare.

Unlike the East German case, attention should be presented with the fact that North Korea has become increasingly unable to manage without china as its greatest economic benefactor negotiating economic aid, in investment, foreign trade, and political support. Especially now that the six party talks are at a dead stop and escorted by US and UN economic sanctions.⁶⁶

South Korea also flattered itself by comparing its status to West Germany: many Easterners could see in West Germany some about to their socialist ideals, in its democratic policies, its social safety net, its widespread unionization (about 40 percent compared to 12 percent in United States and less than that in the ROK), its early and favorable retirement benefits, and its good public order and strong civil society.⁶⁷

Each government need to start making change for the basic political ideology on how to run government whether communist or democracy, and making policies and rules that both governments will be agreed.⁶⁸ Somehow, each sides need to create governmental confederation system to establish a new mutual government and parliament due to the fact that both South and North Korea have to install new constitution and rule the unified Korea.

⁶⁵ McFarlan & Company, Inc., "North Korea's "Why Did So Many Influential Americans Think North Korea Would Collapse," The survival of North Korea, ed Suk Hi Kim, Terence Roehrig and Bergard Selinger (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London, 2011), 47.

⁶⁶ McFarlan & Company, Inc., "North Korea's "Will North Korea be able to overcome the third wave of its Collapse," The survival of North Korea, ed Suk Hi Kim, Terence Roehrig and Bergard Selinger (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London, 2011), 39.

⁶⁷ Supra note 64, 48.

⁶⁸ Chung Min-lee, and Kathryn Botto, "Reconceptualization U.S.-ROK Cooperation in Korean Unification: A Stabilization Framework," Unification Blue Book, ed Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (USA, Washington, 2019), date accessed June 22, 2019. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2019/04/30/reconceptualizing-u.s.-rok-cooperation-in-korean-unification-stabilization-framework-pub-78737>

3.1.2 Economic Gaps

In spite of the fact that North Korea and South Korea may go halves with border and were once reunited, they are still having a really different standard of living and its economies. North Korea operates under a command economy, while its neighbor to the south is a mixed economy, combining free market principles with central planning by the government.

Commercial trade has three components: commissions based processing, economic co-operation scheme, and general commercial.⁶⁹ The process of commission constructed trade takes place when a south Korean company sending raw materials and semi processed goods to North Korea where the two Koreas are processed by low wage breadwinners. After being made in the factory, the last products will deliver back to South Korea. Economic co-operation projects, which are considered economic collaboration in the narrow sense, refer predominantly to bring in and bring out of good fabricated in the Kaesong Industrial Complex.⁷⁰ General commercial trade makes reference to imports and exports that are not took into consideration in the two categories above. Non-commercial trade is a sign of economic aid to the North development.⁷¹

Economic relations with South Korea on either North Korea may have become too close and complex to be ended by turbulence in political relations between the two. In addition, all these efforts will guide to distribution of greater information in the company of North Korea about the freedom and the high quality of life in the rest of the world, and keep North Korea from depending additionally on china that governors in south Korean should find alarming.⁷² Overall, governors in South Korea have done a good work in excess of the past twenty or so years in continuing inter-Korea economic co-operation without jeopardizing most of these

⁶⁹ McFarlan & Company, Inc., "Inter-Korea Economic Cooperation," *The survival of North Korea*, ed Suk Hi Kim, Terence Roehrig and Bergard Selinger (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London, 2011), 91.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 94.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 91.

⁷² McFarlan & Company, Inc., "North Korea's Collapse Pathways and the Role of the Energy sector," *The survival of North Korea*, ed Suk Hi Kim, Terence Roehrig and Bergard Selinger (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London, 2011), 148.

projects against confrontational approaches by all sides involved. Expanding inter-Korea economic cooperation on the further side of the current state of progression, however, many stand in need of new braveness and understanding insight of future governors in North Korea as well as South Korea.

North Korea settles a plan of action to secure foreign seat of government. North Korea issued a statement about the installation of three more SEZs to set in motion foreign direct investment. The Sinuiju SEZ was installed to set in motion Chinese investment capital, and the Kaesong and Mt. Kumgang SEZs were established to set in motion South Korean investment capital.⁷³ The North Korean government believes that these open SEZs will help the inflow of foreign capital, thereby activation its markets. The way to cut unification's cost is to narrow the gap between the economic system of the favorable outcome of North Korea SEZs if the two Koreas were to come together, production factors of both parties would move immediately ahead the most well-organized production system.⁷⁴ The cooperative SEZs have direct and indirect accomplishes on the prospect of Korean unification. If a business model were to succeed in these SEZs, it could be put in an application with no part left out of Korean peninsula after end most unification.

The nations that would benefit nearly all from the favorable outcome of the cooperative SEZs are the two Koreans; in contrast, the countries which in Northeast Asia can benefit as well. The ground in view of the SEZs not only promote restoration of friendly on the Korean peninsula, but also carry peace to northeast Asia. The logic is that entrepreneurs worried about political instability hurting their business will try to convince politicians and governmental office-holders to take the edge of the threat of dispute. That is how economic collaboration with

⁷³ McFarlan & Company, Inc., "Rethinking Special Economic Zones as a Survival Strategy for North Korea," *The survival of North Korea*, ed Suk Hi Kim, Terence Roehrig and Bergard Selinger (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London, 2011), 174.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 177.

South Korea on either North Korea should run in order for it to work as leverage for unification.⁷⁵

North Economy

North Korea is a communist country led by dynasty politics. It is one of the most isolated economies in the world today. Often labeled an unreformed dictatorial economy, it operates under a tightly controlled command, or planned, economy. Under a command economy, North Korea's leadership controls all aspects of production, with the government making decisions about its economic development.⁷⁶ These economies typically have large surpluses and shortages, as those who make economic decisions don't necessarily have a good grasp on the needs of the general population. North Korean doctrines of Juché (self-reliance) and Songun (military-first) have created a repressive atmosphere in the state. Resources for investment, consumption, and economic growth are hard to come by, as the country concentrates on funding for its military and nuclear programs. The nation places its nuclear ambition over economic development and has also faced sanctions by the U.S. and the European Union. The state receives aid and helps from international bodies like the United Nations, along with a handful of countries. The North Korean economy deeply relies on its ally mainland China for economic and diplomatic support. This dependence makes the North Korean policy of Juché impossible.

The economic growth of the country has been fragile except during a short phase in the 1960s. North Korea faced its worst nightmare in the 1990s as the region was hit by a series of natural disasters that kept its economic growth negative for a decade.⁷⁷ Gradually, as the Sino-DPRK economic alliance strengthened, the nation started to develop Special Economic Zones (SEZs) to promote investment in the region. Despite moves to modernize the economy

⁷⁵ Ibid.178.

⁷⁶ Prableen Bajpai, "North Korean vs. South Korean Economies: What's the Difference," Investopedia, accessed June 25 2019. <https://www.investopedia.com/articles/forex/040515/north-korean-vs-south-korean-economies.asp>

⁷⁷ Paul French, North Korean: (New York: ZED Book,2006),77.

under the leadership of Kim Jong-un, the country still has some way to go.⁷⁸ In 2016, the country tried to spur growth by increasing production and construction projects. But because of the control the government has over the economy, it is unlikely that the country can meet its goals for growth. In addition, the economic data released by North Korea is not reliable, as the country is often accused of inflating its data, and the greatest that is available is often outdated. The most recent data for North Korea's gross domestic product (GDP) are estimates from 2015, according to the CIA, which was reportedly \$40 billion.⁷⁹ However, while North Korea may not be economically advanced, it does have plenty of unexplored natural resources, estimated to be worth trillions of dollars. This is one reason for countries like China and Russia are enthusiastic about investing in North Korea.⁸⁰

Figure Annual growth rates of North Korea's state budget, 2000~2019.



⁷⁸ Ibid,75
⁷⁹ "Koreas Economy" Central Intelligence Agency, June 27 2019. <https://www.cia.gov/redirects/ciaredirect.html>
⁸⁰ Supra note 75.

South Korea Economic

The “miracle of the Han River,” as South Korea’s economic growth is popularly called, has transformed a nation that was once wracked by political chaos and poverty into a “trillion-dollar club” economy. Its economy is characterized as mixed economy, with a combination of private freedom and central planning by the government. South Korea became a part of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 1996, which marked its development into a rich industrialized nation. In 2004, it joined the elite club of trillion-dollar economies and today it ranks as the world’s 11th largest economy in terms of GDP⁸¹.

There has been a renewed sense of consumer confidence in the country, due in part to the election of president Moon Jae-in in 2017. He introduced efforts to increase wages and government spending, leading to a rise in exports. South Korea's economy has surpassed that of its neighbor to the north many times over. North Korea's GDP was estimated to be \$40 billion in 2015, while that of South Korea was \$1.92 trillion for the same period. South Korea's GDP per capital in 2015 was estimated to be \$37,600, while North Korea's was \$1,700. South Korea’s trade volume was a gigantic \$1.07 trillion in 2013. By comparison, North Korea reported a relatively minuscule \$7.3 billion. All figures are from the CIA Factbook.⁸²

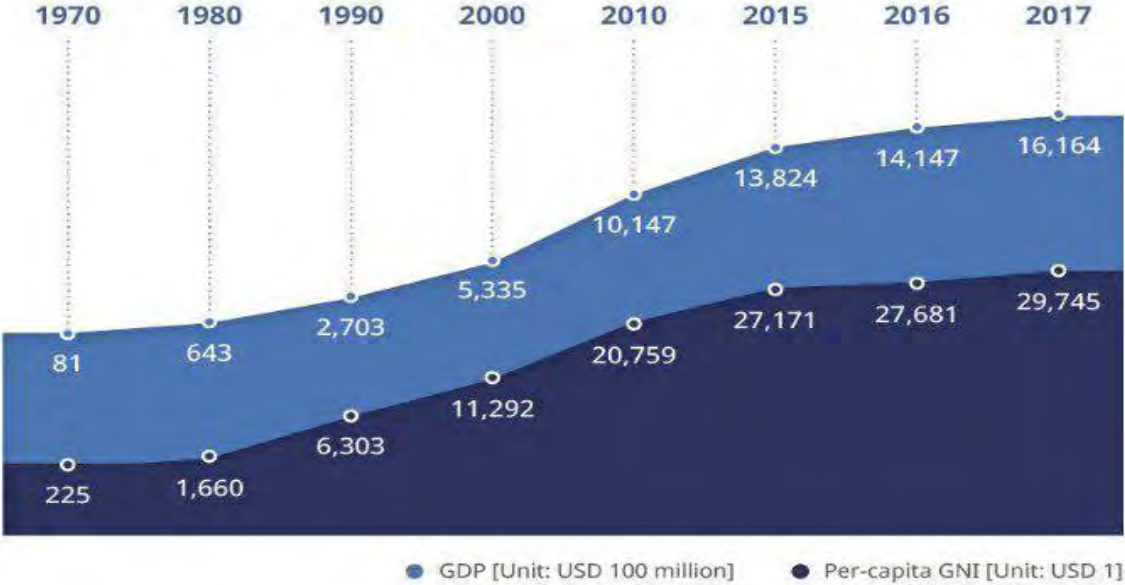
According to World Bank data, exports of goods and services accounted for 43.09 percent of the GDP in 2017. The World Bank had no reported data from North Korea for the same period. The sector-wise contribution to GDP in 2017 by agriculture, industry, and services was estimated at 22.5 percent, 47.6 percent, and 29.9 percent, respectively in North Korea and 2.2 percent, 39.3 percent, and 58.3 percent in South Korea, according to the CIA Factbook. Some well-known South Korean brands are Samsung Electronics, HK Hynix, Samsung Life Insurance, LG Chem, Hyundai Mobis, Kia Motors, POSCO, Hyundai Heavy Industries, Shinham Financial Group, and Hyundai Motors is a huge part for the growth for the country,

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² “South Korea Economy” Central Intelligence Agency, June 27 2019. <https://www.cia.gov/redirec/ciaredirect.html>

though, is expected to slow down something most advanced economies expect. According to the CIA, growth past 2018 is expected to be in the range of 2 percent to 3 percent annually. The country will also have to deal with other socioeconomic issues including youth unemployment, poverty among its aging population, and low productivity.⁸³

Figure 3



GDP and Per-Capital GNI (Bank of Korea, 2017)

3.1.3 Infrastructures

North Korea would be carry out for a foremost infrastructure development in transmission, transportation, energy, and other locations as a precondition for attracting more investments. Additionally, these massive projects would create jobs that could absorb those

⁸³ Ibid.

projected to join the point on the scale of the unemployment after armed demobilization. Employment suitable moments on infrastructure projects would also help mitigate migration.⁸⁴

In the longer term, assuming an eventual gradual or sudden opening of the regime, the ROK/west would need to focus on providing energy infrastructure in areas and populations left underserved by export-oriented infrastructure.⁸⁵

3.1.4 Education and Employment

Last, but certainly not least, this passageway would give both the opportunity and demand to do aggressive capacity building on a vast host of topics, starting as soon as possible. This would signify providing the highest quality of North Korean students to the ROK, United States, and elsewhere for education, and providing North Korean students with incentives to return to labor in North Korea but also just as if not more, importantly building up North Korea educational institution at all levels.⁸⁶

Most of people encourage interaction through sharing educational resource, arranging university visits, and providing training in business, law, and economic fields to promising younger generation of North Koreans (under the age of 40). In addition, South Korea will run few and far between programs in public health, architecture, and other fields. Moreover, they will give program evaluations to North Korean survey results and original analysis relevant to the training scheme. The complet determination of the questionnaire will give publicity to the younger generation of North Korean people to work on their training fields.⁸⁷

A second major priority would be to check which industrial facilities needed to be developed, based in large part on demand for DPRK located facilities as indicated by the

⁸⁴ Tara O, *The Collapse of North Korea: challenges, planning, and geopolitics of unification* (USA: Honolulu, Pacific Forum Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2016), 106.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 108.

⁸⁶ *Supra* note 82, 110.

⁸⁷ McFarlan & Company, Inc., "Channels of Engagement with North Korea: Academic Exchanges," *The survival of North Korea*, ed Suk Hi Kim, Terence Roehrig and Bergard Selinger (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London, 2011), 242.

willingness of private sector actors to invest in order to serve the evolving northern economy. Viable employment along with home and land employment could encourage people to stay. It would take time to generate employment, yet the conditions calculate to produce in fascinating development assistance and foreign investment must be created.⁸⁸

In addition, while cooperating in Korean integration on national developments could help and reduce unemployment because it is creating employment include infrastructure reforestation, and DMZ development for northern people to do.⁸⁹

3.1.5 Military Integration

The military structure provides an uncountable rank of command and would be instrumental for instructing and schooling force service to adapt to new living things in changed surroundings. Lessons could be acquired knowledge of studying the German military integration after its unification, the U.S. military’s ethnological combination, and the U.S. military’s transition assistance program.⁹⁰ Fairly large of the lessons may be helpful in gradually diminishing the military and combination the two militaries.

Table 2

South and North Korean Conventional Military Forces, 2016		
Type of Forces	South Korea	North Korea
Army active-duty personnel	490,000	1,100,000
Total active-duty personnel	625,000	1,270,000
Reserve personnel	3,100,000	7,620,000
Tanks	2,400	4,300
Armored vehicles	2,700	2,500
Artillery, multiple rocket launchers	5,900	14,100
Combat aircraft	410	810
Surface combatants	110	430
Submarines	10	70

SOURCE: ROK Ministry of National Defense, 2016.

⁸⁸ Ibid.38.
⁸⁹ Tara O, The Collapse of North Korea: challenges, planning, and geopolitics of unification (USA: Honolulu, Pacific Forum Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2016), 110.
⁹⁰ George M. Reynolds and Amanda Shendruk, “Demographics of the U.S. military,” Council on Foreign Relations, April 24, 2018. Date accessed June 28, 2019. <https://www.cfr.org/article/demographics-us-military>

A mixture of South Korea's Hanawon program, which is of service to the newly arrived defectors to adjust to life in South Korea and to be useful in assisting the military to transfiguration to the other area of interest of the public.⁹¹ The condition is a systematic and methodical process involving on the further side of the Ministry of Defense to join other government entities and the civil society to keep away from the disruptive consequences of sudden enlargement and integration.⁹²

3.2 Unification Cost

In the term of German model of Korea Reunification, study teams went off to Germany to check its unification after the Honecker regime fell, and came back with worrisome stories about how much the process had cost, and how expensive it would be to bring northern Korea up to level of the rest of the country.⁹³

In the longer term, when the collapse of the state was complete, with or without an interim "fiefdom" era, the types of measures required of the ROK and its partners following reunification by default would be the same as in the "Regime Change by Palace Coup" path, but with a significant difference.⁹⁴ Continued delegation of energy infrastructure, leading (in part) to extreme scarcity and suppressed demand, would be likely to make eventual reconstruction or redevelopment and recovery of North Korea a progressively larger and larger long-term issue for the ROK with growing complexity and expense.

⁹¹ Ji-Min Kang, "what Hanawon doesn't teach North Korea defectors," NK. News.Org, July 15, 2015. Date accessed June 28, 2019. <https://www.nknews.org/2015/07/what-hanawon-doesnt-teach-north-korean-defectors/>

⁹² Tara O, *The Collapse of North Korea: challenges, planning, and geopolitics of unification* (USA: Honolulu, Pacific Forum Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2016), 132.

⁹³ Yang Chang-seok, "Review of Previous ROK government policies for reunification and future policy options in view of German unification," US. Korea institute at SAIS, December 2016. Date accessed June 28, 2019. www.uskoreainstitute.org

⁹⁴ Cha Du-byegon, "Instability Regime Change: Why and How Are Regimes ruined," US. Korea institute at SAIS, December 2016. Date accessed June 28, 2019. www.uskoreainstitute.org

The gross national income (GNI) of north Korea is less than 3 percent of the south Korean GNI, and its domestic product (GDP) is less than 6 percent of the south Korean GDP.⁹⁵ The dollar value of the south Korean annual GDP expansion equals the entire north Korean economy. Experts and institutions has estimated the cost of eventual Korean unification to be between \$50 billion and \$1.7 trillion.⁹⁶ The unification of the two Koreas may lead to great confusion throughout the peninsula without economic and political preparation. Consequently, the cooperative SEZs are more than a simple combination of production factors.⁹⁷

3.3 Confederation Scenarios and Future Cooperation

North Korea will also not likely assault South Korea, because it would inevitably go around into bigger war necessitating the United states and china, leading to the end of North Korea as it is known today. If US compels North Korea as either collapsing or admitting defeat its nuclear weapons through a policy of economic strangulation, the odds of success seem remote.⁹⁸ Realistically, the most likely scenario in any conceivable future appears to be the prolongation of a two-state peninsula with limited reforms, largely seeing as China and South Korea presently hope for keeping in existence North Korea as a practical buffer state. If North Korea opens up its area of land for main roads and rail lines, the feasibility education of this project within the scope of knowledge the Trans-Asian Railway (TAR).⁹⁹ For a long-shot tunnel project between South Korea and Japan may be accelerated, because south Korea and Japan are

⁹⁵ McFarlan & Company, Inc., "Rethinking special economic zones as a survival strategy for North Korea," *The survival of North Korea*, ed Suk Hi Kim, Terence Roehrig and Bergard Selinger (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London, 2011), 175.

⁹⁶ Peter M. Beck, "Contemplating Korean Unification: The North could collapse more quickly than we think," ed Suk Hi Kim, Terence Roehrig and Bergard Selinger (*the wall street Journal*, January 5, 2010), 175.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 178.

⁹⁸ Eleanor Albert, "North Korea Nuclear Negotiations: Second Trump-Kim summit ends early, without deal," CRF, March 5 2019. Date accessed June 28, 2019. <https://www.cfr.org/timeline/north-korean-nuclear-negotiations>

⁹⁹ "Trans-Asian Railways," United Nations ESCAP, date accessed June 28, 2019. <https://www.unescap.org/our-work/transport/trans-asian-railway/about>

trade-oriented financial resources, and the now have to ship and receive all goods in overseas trade via air or sea.¹⁰⁰

Along with quick restoration of order, basic goods and services must be also provided for Korean integration. Lack of food and services could encourage mass migration and cause social problems, so the future co-operation must prepare and provide these provisions initially, with the purpose of installing local efficiency in the long term within Korean peninsula.¹⁰¹ In the long terminology, the interaction between South and North Korea could bring citizens a restore political unity of Korea into one of the top economies in the world. South Korea has the capital and technology while North Korea has a younger, low-cost labor force and a much greater amount of natural resources.¹⁰² The integration would enhance productive capacity and multiply national wealth.

A focus on short-term interests throughout the unification process could damage the region. In spite of the fact that the region is noted by disputes and daydreams, the regional influences could co-ordinate with each other to promote victorious unification, and outcome that will make a donation to geographical protection and economic developments.¹⁰³

Confederation Path

Confederation phase would involve forming a shared between the two governments on political, foreign policies, and in economic and military term. It called cooperative government just like what West and East Germany did to fulfill its unification.

¹⁰⁰ McFarlan & Company, Inc., "the strategic role of North Korea in Northeast Asian Affairs," *The survival of North Korea*, ed Suk Hi Kim, Terence Roehrig and Bergard Selinger (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London, 2011), 5.

¹⁰¹ Tara O, *The Collapse of North Korea: Geopolitical landscape and regional bilateral issues* (USA: Honolulu, Pacific Forum Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2016), 45.

¹⁰² St. Antony's Series, "Industrial development and technology," *The Korean Peninsula In Transition*, ed Dae Hwan Kim and Tat Yan Kong (Incheon, South Korea, and University of London, 1997), 16.

¹⁰³ Jayshree Bajoria, "Security in Northeast Asia," Council on Foreign Relations, January 2010. Date accessed June 28, 2019. <https://www.cfr.org/interview/security-northeast-asia>

Path 1: Failure

After reviewing various unification scenarios from different authors, we have analyzed the Korean unification in negative way which tend to be impossible unification, due to the facts that North Korea is very undeveloped state, lack of human resources, broken infrastructure, low educational system, low healthcare system, and lack of food in comparison to South Korea. Imagine if the two Koreas reunite, who will pay for the cost of rebuilding and upgrading for all those lacking things of North Korea? Also, South Korea will not be ready to pay for all the broken things for North Korea due to the higher payment. South Korea is yet not ready to feed the entire Korean population. Unless, it is supported from the international communities. In political term, related to the decision making on whom will take lead on the establishing of cooperative government. As we know that, North Korea is a communist state with a powerful military and weapon system that could make North Korea arrogant to get along with others included South Korea.¹⁰⁴ There will be a disagreement from North if South wants to take lead on the process and even create more tensions. On the other hand, it is much better for both South Korea and North Korea to stay as separated countries. Yet, the governments would fundamentally need to compromise on a range of societal differences between the South and North to eventually help full unification and open borders for improving economic transaction. Moreover, the two Koreas could not unify because of the outreach agreements but it would be possible that they will open up their border for any kinds of transaction. For the long-term and future unification, free landing of Korean citizens will bring peace and prosperity, and good diplomatic relations between the two Koreas.

¹⁰⁴ "Political System: Character, Tasks and Ultimate Goal of the State," DPR of Korea, date accessed, June 28, 2019. <https://www.korea-dpr.com/political.html>

Path 2: Success

This is one of the issues where we do think that the UN funding should make donation for Korean Unification to stabilize the entire Korean economics, prosperity, nourishment, healthcare, and humanitarian needs. If both Koreas contemplate to reunify, then we predict that it would be totally reasonable for the UN to provide aids and financial support; which does excessively not let the reunification be a heavy economic burden for South Korea to handle alone. In addition, the UN is already funding humanitarian efforts world-wide, and these good faiths could definitely be seen as a humanitarian effort to relieve that North Korean population still can be protected by international organization. UN aids are just part of the plan of what seem to be possible in a long-term for the reunification.

As what we analyzed above in the failure path, there are lots of challenges to make reunification happen because of the contrasting development between the North and South is too huge at the moment. The better course of action would be gradual unification over the long term. From the Path 1 to successful unification, under economic cooperation between the two Koreas, under the lead of Moon Jae-in's administration and the legacy of Kim Dae-jung has the most realistic and sensible plan for diplomacy to build economic relationship, the repeated interactions arising from such a relationship would gradually lead to a measure of trust between the two countries. Also, both sides should give themselves chances to understand each other by open border and let their citizens to travel each other. After opened up border, North and South Korea can go a bit further by reaching some kinds of agreement on trade, economy, education, and else. The industrialist South Korea starts allowing some North Korean as labor force to work in the South. Additionally, South Korea should go for a bigger step by building some industries, school, or training center at North Korea in order to give chances for people who settle in there to get education, training and job opportunities.

CHAPTER IV: Regional Impact on the Reunification

In the ten years earlier to 2008, Under South Korea policy was called the “Sunshine Policy” where Seoul given notably large support and diplomatic contribution for Pyongyang. Since the mid-1900s, North Korea has episodically reached out to the US as an important source of food aid and energy helps. Japan also was moving toward normalizing relations with DPRK and providing North Korea with large cash settlement until the issue of Japanese citizens abducted by the North Korea intelligence act of help obstructed after the expected in 2004 and terminated bilateral aid and trade. Indeed, since late 2008 the degree to which china has emerged as North Korea’s dominant and aid partner is remarkable.

The uncertain future of the Korean peninsula makes it difficult for the Northeast Asian countries to consider long-term strategies for energy security. With or without Korean unification, Korea would certainly face rising demands for energy, and North Korea with an economic recovery under way is already gas a critical energy deficit.

As a result, the future of Korea boils down to a struggle for power between two camps: South Korea, Japan, and the US. States on the other hand, versus North Korea, China, and Russia on the other. Because of its ongoing nuclear weapons program, it has joined in intermittent six party talks with South Korea, China, Japan, and United States.¹⁰⁵ The talks are aimed at finding a peaceful resolution to the growing tension between the two Koreas and among the other parties. The talks have proved less than fruitful. But hope springs eternal, at least in South Korea. “I will usher in a new era of hope,” Accordingly to the South Korean President Park Geun-hye “whereby the happiness of each citizen becomes the bedrock of our

¹⁰⁵ Supra note 105.

nation's strength which in turn is shared by and benefits all Koreans.¹⁰⁶ The world waits to see whether the new leadership in both Koreas can find reconciliation and eventually reunification.

Ironically, it is assumed that the south Korean government would play a significant role, but international institutions and NGOs could also offer support. Authority and order must be established early and maintained in order to provide a useful tool for dealing with the situation that might emerge in Koreas.

4.1 United States

The problem is that the US and North Korea have been key enemies since the Korean war and naturally do not trust each other. Washington demands that North Korea destroy all its nuclear weapons in a complete, verifiable, and irreversible manner before substantial rewards are delivered. If Korean unification is likely to happen under the American teams, so Western experts and policy makers will benefit from studying culture, historical, political, and situation factors in order to see why what happen in East Germany is unlikely to be repeated in North Korea in the conceivable future.

With the cold war over, the only vital American interest on the Korean peninsula is that North Korea should not be allowed to threaten the US and its allies with missiles and weapons of mass destruction. U.S focus on the North Korean military threat generates a hook that keeps US forces tied down on the Korean peninsula and liking north toward the DPRK rather seeking South and displaying more bother over possible armed conflicts across the Taiwan Strait.

Northeast Asia has been strategically and economically important to the U.S. because it would be the interests of the U.S. and South Korea to maintain a transformed version of alliance to preserve the cooperation and influence.¹⁰⁷ It also provides a solid basis for promoting

¹⁰⁶ PeaceWomen, "South Korea: PARK GEUN-HYE BECOMES SOUTH KOREA'S FIRST FEMALE PRESIDENT," CNN, 25 February, 2013, accessed date 8 June, 2019 <https://www.peacewomen.org/content/south-korea-park-geun-hye-becomes-south-koreas-first-female-president>

¹⁰⁷ Tara O, The Collapse of North Korea: Geopolitical landscape and regional bilateral issues (USA: Honolulu, Pacific Forum Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2016), 56.

stability and economic growth in the region while extending its influence. Moreover, U.S. and ROK have each other as the linchpin of peace and security on the Korean peninsula and the rest of the region, and added that both countries would strengthen and adapt the alliance to meet the future security challenges.

4.2 China

How can the US, China, and other countries that do not want a nuclear North Korea maintain the status quo on the Korean peninsula? The above discussion has ruled out predictions of unification through collapse or unification through military defeat. In addition, China will never allow the US to unite the Korean peninsula on American terms.

Chinese objectives toward North Korea are geared toward protecting Chinese national interests. That makes military-strategic environment, border security and stability, and economic development and political stability in bordering North Korea provinces a vital necessity.¹⁰⁸ Although Chinese calculations for intervention are unknown, China will become involved and restore stability and political order in North Korea if circumstances run out of control. Two together with North Korea and China contributed what one analyst has caused for action the disappointment of “divided nation ideologies” the break-up of North Korea from South Korea on the Korean headland, and what Chinese leader’s views as the separation of the PRC on the mainland from Taiwan.

With the cold war over, China’s vital interest on the Korean peninsula is to exercise maximum influence over the process of reunification. The last thing China wants to see is a strong and independent state on its northern frontier. Thus, China prefers the status quo and to keep North Korea as a strategic buffer. China, in its own way, has tries to dissuade North

¹⁰⁸ Supra note 79, 39.

Korea from developing nuclear weapons. In addition, China may be afraid of North Korea nuclear program which could activate a compelling Japanese conventional rearmament.¹⁰⁹

Chinese main interests of resistance of some degree on Korean peninsula is frequent at differences with U.S. attraction in military program that includes peaceful use and supplies of the basic human rights for the North Korea people. As long as the Korean peninsula is divided, North Korea acts as a buffer state against the U.S. and its influence. This buffer is becoming increasingly costly.¹¹⁰

Chinese scholars have been acknowledged to address proudly of the DPRK and how its actions have blackmailed Chinese excitements.¹¹¹ China would come up against a situation of different set of objections should North Korea political major change mirror the collapse of EAs Germany, in which North and South Korea would combine under the latter's terms. Moreover, Beijing though, has to face the fact that Pyongyang regularly has ignored its advice not to proceed with provocative actions, which, once taken, leave China to fend off unfavorable responses by other countries that one may keep up resistance of some degree on the Korean peninsula. During 2010, some continuous publication containing information accounted for a scene has been increasing physical resistance in Beijing that China could approve Korea unification under Seoul's control.¹¹² In addition, unification would most likely leave South Korea, an ally of the U.S., in charge of the whole peninsula. Beijing would want to counter Washington and exert its own influence on the peninsula.

Overall, China prefers a friendly state on its border. Beijing views an unstable North Korea and the likely flood of cross border migrants as a major concern, and continues to

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. 83.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. 117

¹¹¹ Jonathan D. Pollack, "North Korea's Nuclear Adventurism Tests China's Patience," Yale Global online, 2009. Date accessed June 30, 2019.

<https://www.google.com/search?q=North+Korea%E2%80%99s+Nuclear+Adventurism+Tests+China%E2%80%99s+Patience&oeq=North+Korea%E2%80%99s+Nuclear+Adventurism+Tests+China%E2%80%99s+Patience&aqs=chrome..69i57.933j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8>

¹¹² Kim Heung-Kyu, "China's position on Korean unification and ROK-NK relations," KRIS, date accessed June 30, 2019.

<https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Kim-Heung-Kyu-paper.pdf>

provide food and fuel to North Korea, despite its disapproval of Pyongyang's continued development of nuclear weapons.¹¹³ At the same time, it has normalized relations with South Korea and has strong economic trade and investment relations with Seoul.

4.3 Japan

After the past grievances stemming from 35 years of Japanese occupation that ended with Japan's defeat in world war II in 1945, South Korea's relations with Japan are peaceful but strained. If North Korea opens up its territory for highways and rail lines, the feasibility study of this project (TAR UN railway project known as the Trans-Asian Railway (TAR) and a long-shot tunnel project between South Korea and Japan) may be accelerated, because South Korea and Japan are trade-oriented economies, and the currently have to ship and receive all goods in foreign trade via air or sea.¹¹⁴

Japan has been ambivalent about whether to strive to catch up with West Korea or to maintain an Asian identity. However, Japan is tired to Asia not only geographically but also economically, politically, and culturally. Japan's interest in the Korean Peninsula dates back prior to Korea's division. Japan has traditionally seen Korea as a dagger aimed at its heart. Korean unification is a large and looming issue for Japan.¹¹⁵ The initial instability following a collapse of North Korea would affect Japan's stability and economy as well. Instability of the Korean peninsula could also severely affect Japan's close economic ties with South Korea and China, impacting its domestic economy.

As the security environment evolves in Northeast Asia, Japan searches for a national strategy for the region's dynamic and enduring situation. While having friendly relations with U.S. are important, so are relations with its neighbors.

¹¹³ Ibid. 247.

¹¹⁴ McFarlan & Company, Inc., "the strategic role of North Korea in Northeast Asian Affairs," *The survival of North Korea*, ed Suk Hi Kim, Terence Roehrig and Bergard Selinger (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London, 2011), 71.

¹¹⁵ *Supra* note 85, 61.

Last but not least, Japan has unresolved historical and territorial issues with South Korea that prevent the development of stronger ties. Japan's concern over citizens abducted by North Korea is another issue not likely to be resolved soon. It also wants a unified Korea that is nuclear free, friendly, and open to Japan.¹¹⁶

4.4 Russia

The former Soviet Union essentially created North Korea by moving into and occupying the northern half of the peninsula at the end of world war II and installing Stalin-style totalitarian system that exists in North Korea today. In recent year, however, contemporary Russia does not appear to play a greater role in the great power politics on the Korean peninsula compared to the U.S., China, and Japan.¹¹⁷

Russia has lost its influence in Northeast Asia, but would want to restore its lost status in the region and around the globe. Its vast energy reserves and the Trans-Siberian Railway, TSR could become important for developing a unified Korea and linking it to the European market.¹¹⁸

4.5 Northeast Asia

According to some analysts, "Northeast Asia as self-possessed further to international disagreement that intercontinental tranquility, in the fact of evident that the further usual international North-South separated based on the differences among market countries (United States, Japan, South Korea) and socialist or transitional countries (China, Russia, and North Korea) where the interests of the world's major power converge.¹¹⁹ These powers are brought together for geopolitical reasons, and their interests have great influence on Korean affairs.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ Supra note 85, 61.

¹¹⁷ Georgy Torolaya, "Russia and Northeast Asian Security and Cooperation," CSCAP, date accessed June 30, 2019. <http://www.cscap.org/uploads/docs/Related%20Research/9GCRussiaAndNEASec&Coop-GeorgyToloraya.pdf>

¹¹⁸ Supra note 85, 64.

¹¹⁹ McFarlan & Company, Inc., "the strategic role of North Korea in Northeast Asia," The survival of North Korea, ed Suk Hi Kim, Terence Roehrig and Bergard Selinger (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London, 2011), 65.

¹²⁰ Ibid. 54.

Northeast Asia states are probably to engage in activities for their national energy protection, in the fact that this local area is really important to a lot of energy purchasers; for instance, China and Japan and a vital energy manufacturer Russia. The U.S. has an inducement to reinforce local collaboration to prohibit these nations from multiplying their reliance on Middle Eastern oil.¹²¹ Many observers argue Northeast Asia has the potential to become the most important trading bloc in the future because of Japanese capital and technology, Chinese labor and capital, Russian natural resources, and the Korean work ethic.

One focal point in China- US relations is the North Korea nuclear issue. On this question, the US has little choice but to rely on the Six-Party Talks to stop North Korea developing and exporting nuclear weapons and technology.¹²² The US and China have shared interests on the Korean peninsula. Both US and China want neither another Korean War nor a nuclear North Korea. Their long term interests in relation to Korea are no longer incompatible.

¹²¹ Ibid. 70.

¹²² Supra note 85, 82.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Reunification on Korean peninsula is one of the most unpredictable that the whole world is looking forward to see whether it will be happened or not with the sample of German reunification. As like Egon Bahr noted, however, “unification would not be a single act but a process with many steps and stops.” Thus despite differences, we draw a very important lesson for South Korea. The unification policy should remain consistent and hopefully bipartisan despite changes of government. In particular, South Korea and North Korea is primarily dealing with the economic consequences and negotiating with diplomatic relations. The Korean reunification issue is not about the north and south conquering each other, it is about eradicating the distrust and antagonism between them, created by continued territorial partition and national division, so as to achieve national unity and reunification. The realization of Korean reunification is precisely the process of removing misperceptions and distrust between north and south and achieving national harmony and unity. In this way, the Korean reunification issue will be settled only when the problem of recovering national sovereignty and the problem of national reunion are solved at the same time.

This is perfectly understandable in light of the gaping difference in income levels between the two Koreas and the large economic costs of unification for South Korea. It is examining Korean unification from a more global perspective that encompasses not only the scenario images but other relevant such as its challenges which included political integration, economic gaps, infrastructures, military integration, education and employment, as well as the cost payment on unification process, and the benefits for unification. As Kathryn Botto said, Korean unification depends on the both sides of ROK and DPRK to reach an agreement under self-reservations that promote peaceful resolution. Unless, one of Koreas ignores their preservation on unification. Also, it based on the diplomatic relations between the two Koreas

to reach some kinds of agreement and working together to be ready for the upcoming Korean unification on the Korean peninsula. Meanwhile, all of foreign domination and interference should be terminated in view of the essential nature of the Korean reunification issue; Korea should be reunified independently by the efforts of the Korean people, free from any foreign interference and based on the principle of great national unity irrespective of the difference in their ideas and social systems.

Due to the regional cooperation in Northeast Asia and international political perspectives of super power countries, Korean unification will be possibly happened in the future for the long term. Unless, both Koreas would like too. Accordingly, to Suk Hi Kim, Terence Roehrig and Bernhard Seliger, Northeast Asian countries are responsible to work together for their national energy security due to the fact that this region is where major energy consumers such as China and Russia are the major producers. Moreover, this region will be becoming the best trading bloc in the future for the reason that Japan own its capital and technology, China has labor, Russia has natural resources, and the reunited Korea has its work ethic. On the other hand, Korean Unification is likely to happen accordingly to the term of denuclearization. U.S. is the major influencer in the region to promote its economic cooperation, regional security and to maintain a transformed version of alliance to preserve the sustainable cooperation and influence in the view of the fact that U.S. is negotiating with North Korea to eliminate its nuclear program and fully support for the unified Korea under South Korea term. China is also happy with Korean unification under South Korea's control because it has quite strong economic trade and investment relation with the South based on the Chinese publicans reported. Somehow, China already faced the fact that North Korea ignored its advice not to proceed with provocative actions and blackmailed Chinese excitement.

Responding to the questions based on this research paper, we can see that Tara O, he clearly analyzes that it is possible to reach reunification if Kim's regime collapse since he only focuses on his military first policy and nuclear ambition carelessly think about his citizens and how the country economy is going. We assume that, through this scenario path may not possible because of UN existence who's working on providing financial and humanitarian aids to North. In addition, China and Russia will not ignore seeing their communist mates falling. Different from Ma Tong Hui who passionately believe that the only possible solution is forming a mutual government which North and South appoint their representatives in equal amount and organize election for federation's chairman. Depends on what we have studied and researched we would agree with the idea of federation path. The Principles of Establishing the Federal State will be reasonable if a supreme national federal assembly is formed in the federal state, with an equal number of representatives from north and south and an appropriate number of representatives of overseas nationals and if this assembly organizes a federal standing committee to guide the regional governments in north and south and to administer all affairs of the federal state. The position of head of the federal state could be taken alternately by north and south under mutual agreement. Bases on the view of how North and South try to repair their relationship this path has more percentage to get success. Both North and South withdrew troops from DMZ where called the world most sensitive border, and even agreed to build railway connect South and North. We can consider that these are the beginning of unified Korea.

Coming to the end, If Korean reunification is realized, it will promote economic revival and prosperity in Northeast Asia and the rest of Asia. The declaration of the birth of the unified Korea that will pursue a peace-loving policy would leave intact the capital invested by other nations on the Korean Peninsula prior to the reunification of the country. The Korean Peninsula is situated in an important location linking the ocean to the continent and thus a region where

the economic interests of neighboring countries are interlocked. Interestingly, a unified Korea will bring the best version of new Korea for the entire Korean citizens and the becoming the peaceful recognition state in the world. The unified Korean will possibly gain benefits due to the view of the fact that it could become the super power country, world historical record, and a modal of peace loving state. As we know that, South Korea is an industrial state which specialize on modern technology pluses North Korea labor force and natural resources which make the unified Korea becomes regional super power country on economy. Also, federation Korea could break world historical record on its unification due to the fact in time gone by Korean division. Additionally, it will be become a modal state of peace loving because of peaceful cooperation between the two brothers.

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