### KOREAN PENINSULA ON THE MOVE

## Kamerlingh Onnes Building Leiden, the Netherlands

July 17, 2019

#### **International Convention of Asia Scholars 11**

Co-Organizers
The Korea Foundation
Seoul National University Asia Center





#### **PROGRAM**

#### KOREAN PENINSULA ON THE MOVE

Date: Wednesday July 17 2019

Venue: Kamerlingh Onnes Building B0.25, Leiden, the Netherlands

11:15-13:00 Opening Remarks

Sihyung Lee, President of the Korea Foundation Soojin Park, Director of Seoul National University Asia Center Yun Young Lee, Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to the Kingdom of the Netherlands

Session 1. Korean Peninsula on the Move: Lessons from Post-socialist and Reunified Countries 1 (Political and Economic Aspects of Transition, Reunification, Integration and the Korean Peninsula)

- Chair: Byung-Yeon Kim, Seoul National University
- Jens Hölscher, Bournemouth University: Lessons from Germany
- László Csaba, Central European University: Eggs out of Omelette?
- Kyung Hoon Leem, Seoul National University: North Korea's Political System and Its Probable Paths of Transition: A Comparative Perspective
- Jehoon Park, Incheon National University: The Denuclearization Process of North Korea and the New Order in Northeast Asia
- Tat Yan Kong, University of London, SOAS: China's Engagement-Oriented Strategy towards
   North Korea: Achievements and Limitations

#### **Roundtable Discussions**

#### 13:00-14:45 Lunch

## 14:45-16:30 Session 2. Korean Peninsula on the Move: Lessons from Post-socialist and Reunified Countries 2 (Social and Cultural Experiences of Post-socialist Countries and the Korean Peninsula)

- Chair: Suhong Chae, Seoul National University
- Hy V. Luong, University of Toronto: Vietnam: Political Reunirifcation, Global Market Economy, and Major Trends in Sociocultural Transformation
- Di Wu, University of London, SOAS: Eating the Communist Crab: Nostalgia and Food Consumption of Chinese Tourists in Rason, North Korea
- Jaesok Kim, Seoul National University: The Hidden Agency of "Minjian"(民间): The Key Role
  of the Grassroots in Implementing China's "Reform and Openness" and Its Implications to
  North Korea's Post-socialist Transformations
- Philo KIM, Seoul National University: Vision and Division of Korean Reunification
- Hyondo Park, Myongji University: A Lesson from the Yemeni Unification

#### **Roundtable Discussions**

Closing Remarks
Sihyung Lee, President of the Korea Foundation
Hyun-Chin Lim, Seoul National University Emeritus Professor

#### Session 1

# KOREAN PENINSULA ON THE MOVE: LESSONS FROM POST-SOCIALIST AND REUNIFIED COUNTRIES 1 (POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF TRANSITION, REUNIFICATION, INTEGRATION AND THE KOREAN PENINSULA)

## Sihyung Lee (Convenor) The Korea Foundation, Korea

President Lee was appointed to the current position on May 13, 2016. He was Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Korea to the OECD from May 2013 through October 2015. During his term, he was the Chairman of the Audit Committee for 2 years increasing transparency of the OECD work. Since February 2011 for 2 years, he was Deputy Minister for Trade in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, being responsible for directing and coordinating Korea's foreign trade policies and trade negotiations as well as establishing and implementing foreign economic and trade policies. Previously, after serving as Ambassador to Poland from September 2006 until March 2009, he was appointed Chief of Protocol in the Presidential Committee for the G20 Seoul Summit in preparation for the hosting of the G20 Seoul Summit in 2010. He joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1980 and retired in February 2016. President Lee graduated from Seoul National University with a major in International Relations in February 1979. He also spent two years from 1990 to 1992 on Russian studies at the Defense Language Institute in Monterey, CA.

## SooJin Park (Convenor) Seoul National University, Korea

SooJin Park is Director of Seoul National University Asia Center, Seoul, Korea. He is also Professor at Department of Geography, Seoul National University. His main research interests include environmental issues in developing countries, modeling of land use and cover changes employing multi-agent systems, and mapping of natural hazard and social vulnerability. After receiving his doctorate from Oxford University, he has worked as a geographer both in academic and public policy fields. Before joining the Seoul National University, he worked at the Center for Development Research (ZEF, Bonn), International Fertilizer Development Center (IFDC), International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), and Department of Soil Science, Madison, Wisconsin. He has been involved in various scientific activities for international, national, and local government organizations, including UNCCD and CBD.

#### Byung-Yeon Kim (Chair) Seoul National University, Korea

Byung-Yeon Kim is Professor in Department of Economics, Seoul National University (SNU). His research interests lie in the fields of transition economics and applied econometrics, in particular with reference to North Korea as well as former socialist countries. He received B.A. and M.A. from Seoul National University, and D.Phil. from the University of Oxford. He published a number of articles in international journals such as Journal of Comparative Economics, British Journal of Political Science and Journal of Economic History. His new book on North Korean economy was recently published by Cambridge University Press (Unveiling the North Korean Economy, 2017). He has been recently awarded with Academic Award of National Academy of Sciences of Rep. of Korea (2018) and SNU Prize for Distinguished Researcher (2018). He has been serving as a member of various government committees in South Korea including Advisory Committee for the Korean Summit. He is a regular columnist in a major S. Korean newspaper mostly on North Korean issues.

#### **ROUNDTABLE ABSTRACT**

Korean Peninsula is on the move. In a short time period in the last two years, the airs surrounding the peninsula has dramatically shifted from imminent nuke threats to peacemaking dialogues. A series of events tells it: PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games, Inter-Korean summits, US-North Korea summit, Agreement for 'Era of No War', and many others.

Peacemaking is a critical matter not just for the Two Koreas. It is even more crucial for the geopolitics and geoeconomy in Northeast Asia where US, China, Japan, and Russia, having different strategic interests, are competing. The future of the region and beyond is tightly intertwined with the progress of peacemaking of the Two Koreas.

The Two Koreas in the last 70 years have built very different systems in their own lands, tearing them apart from each other and deepening distrust between them. To bring in a new era of co-prosperity of the region, the South and North need to ease out the differences with more exchanges, collaboration and trust building. There, yet, will be many difficulties and hurdles to advance the integration of two different regimes and thus move forward peace in the region.

The world has watched many cases of integration and unification of different regimes in the postwar period: reunification experiences of Germany, Vietnam, and Yemen; transition and integration of former socialist countries into the West; deepened exchanges between China and Taiwan. All of these were gigantic laboratories and historic experiments to have shown the problems and solutions transitional regimes and regime integration went through.

Throughout the two consecutive roundtable sessions, scholars having expertise in each country case will present their takes to offer meaningful lessons for the advancement of regime integration and peacemaking in the Korean Peninsula.

In the first session, experiences of German reunification and transition in Eastern Europe focusing on political and economic aspects will be discussed to draw lessons for the Korean case. In addition, relations between China and North Korea, one of key factors in determining the future of the Korean Peninsula, will be examined together with a possible model of Asian economic integration. Lastly, North Korea's internal dynamics will be investigated to offer insights for appropriate engagements with North Korea.

Scholars, experts, and the general public having interests in inter-Korea relations, Northeast Asia, transitional regime, and regime integrations are all invited to join this important and interactive sessions.

#### Jens Hölscher Bournemouth University, UK

#### Lessons from Germany

Abstract: East and West Germany were highly unequal in economic terms with the West on far higher income levels than the East. The industrial structure in the East was not competitive, partly due to the introduction of the D-Mark at an artificial non-market rate at 1:1, and eroded quickly. This led to high levels of unemployment and disappointment. Productive stock of production was taken over by West Germans (wessis) perceived as 'colonisation' by the East Germans (ossis). Supported be an East to West Brain drain the income discrepancies and psychological antinomies still persist after 30 years although billions of Euros flow from West to East. Korea can learn from these experiences in that a phased and structured unification will be superior to a quick big bang.

Jens Hölscher is an economist. Before coming to Bournemouth he taught at the Universities of Berlin, Swansea, Birmingham, Chemnitz and Brighton. He held Visiting Professorships at the Universities of Halle (Institute of Economic Research IWH), Perugia, East Europe Institute Regensburg, Danube University, Bonn (ZEI), Bolzano-Bozen, Frankfurt (Viadrina), New Brunswick in Cairo, Almaty (KIMEP and KBTU) and the Centre of Economic Research at the Deutsche Bundesbank. He is interested in institutional and transition economics, both areas in which he published widely. He is the co-editor of Palgrave's (Macmillan's Global Publishing) book series "Studies in Economic Transition". His latest completed third party funded project sponsored by the Open Society Foundation was entitled "Wealth, Poverty and Life Satisfaction in Transition societies" and another one was entitled "Variety of institutional settings and socio-economic inequalities in the process of European integration" was funded by the EU's Jean Monnet Programme. The latest award has been granted by the ESRC for a project on 'Access to Finance for SMEs' Poole Borough Council. His inaugural public lecture at Barclay's HQ in Poole on Brexit attracted a large audience and won considerable media interest.

#### László Csaba Central European University, Hungary

#### Eggs out of Omelette?

Abstract: This contribution aims at stimulating academic and policy debate about possibilities and constraints of an eventual post-Communist change in North Korea. We formulate seven theses on if, and how, experiences from central and eastern European transitions over the past three decades may be applicable on the Korean peninsula. We try to incorporate debates, especially on the limits of transition theories to date, and apply new insights, such as recent theorizing on the viability of hybrid regimes, which used to be considered to be non-starters both in the academe and in the policy-making community.

Dr.L.Csaba is distinguished professor of international political economy at Central European University, Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and of Academia Europaea/London. Author of 13 monographs and 370 papers published in 22 countries, on the editorial board of 12 academic journals in Europe

#### Kyung Hoon Leem Seoul National University, Korea

North Korea's Political System and Its Probable Paths of Transition: A Comparative Perspective

Abstract: The presentation revisits the unique characteristics of the North Korean political regime in light of comparative political system studies and examines what has changed and what has not since the coming of Kim Jong Un era. Then it discusses scenarios related with possible political trajectories in North Korea.

Professor Leem earned his Ph.D. in Political Science from The University of Chicago in 1996. He joined the Dept. of Political Science, Seoul National University in 1997, and teaches "Comparative Politics" and "Russian Politics." He served the University as the Associate Dean for Academic Affairs and as the Director of SNU Newspaper. He currently works as the Director of the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies, Seoul National University. His research interests are comparative transitions and reforms in Russia and other post-communist countries. His recent publications include Understanding Political Science (co-authored in Korean, 2019) and "Labor Strike in Communist Society: A Comparison between the Soviet Union and Poland" (2018).

#### Jehoon Park Incheon National University

The Denuclearization Process of North Korea and the New Order in Northeast Asia

Abstract: This paper looks first at the background and intention behind the North's denuclearization negotiations, followed by evaluating the denuclearization negotiations so far and looking at the tasks. It also suggests a denuclearization strategy and measures to establish a new Northeast Asian order. South Korea should actively mediate between the U.S. and China by claiming that it is a victim of the collapse of the negotiations, using denuclearization as a medium. It should propose to form a Northeast Asia Regional Consultative body to prepare for the collapse of the North-U.S. negotiations and begin a multilateral denuclearization process involving the two Koreas, the United States, China, Japan, Russia and the EU.

Jehook Park is presently the Chairman of the Asia Economic Community Foundation and Professor at the School of Northeast Asian Studies, the Incheon National University. His primary areas of interest are Northeast Asian Economy, Korean economy, Comparative Economics, and Asian economic integration.

### Tat Yan Kong University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), UK

China's Engagement-Oriented Strategy towards North Korea: Achievements and Limitations

Abstract: In response to the challenge of unstable North Korea (weak economy, weapons of mass destruction [WMD] development), China has followed an engagement-oriented strategy based on diplomatic persuasion, economic interaction and incremental economic sanctions. Intensified engagement (2009-12) facilitated North Korean convergence with China in respect of economic reform but divergence persisted over WMD development. Despite the widening of divergence since 2013, China refrained from applying crippling sanctions. The approach appears to have paid off in light of North Korea's switch from "parallel advance" (of nuclear defence and economy) to an "economy first" strategy in April 2018 which led to the rapid thawing of frozen diplomatic relations. This article seeks to explain these results and assess their implications for the future of China-North Korea relations. Reviewing recent literature and data, it will argue that Chinese economic input reinforced the trend of economic reform that formed the basis of political consolidation under the new hereditary regime. It will also argue that despite its apparent diplomatic convergence with China brought about by the transition to "economy first", North Korea continues to seek

alternatives to stable dependence on China. This blend of economic dependency and political autonomy on Pyongyang's part reveals the achievements and limitations of China's North Korea strategy.

Tat Yan Kong is Reader (Associate Professor) in Comparative Politics and Development Studies at SOAS, University of London, and Co-Director of the London Asia-Pacific Centre for Social Science (SOAS and King's College). He is interested in issues of comparative and international political economy (varieties of capitalism, socialist to market transition, regional integration) with reference to East Asia (and to the Korean Peninsula in particular), and he is the author *The Politics of Economic Reform in South Korea: A Fragile Miracle* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000). His other publications include articles in journals such as *British Journal of Political Science, Review of International Political Economy, Political Studies, New Political Economy, The Pacific Review, Economy & Society, Politics & Society, Government & Opposition and Modern Asian Studies. Dr Kong obtained his PhD from Oxford University.* 

#### Session 2

# KOREAN PENINSULA ON THE MOVE: LESSONS FROM POST-SOCIALIST AND REUNIFIED COUNTRIES 2 (SOCIAL AND CULTURAL EXPERIENCES OF POST-SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND THE KOREAN PENINSULA)

## Sihyung Lee (Convenor) The Korea Foundation, Korea

President Lee was appointed to the current position on May 13, 2016. He was Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Korea to the OECD from May 2013 through October 2015. During his term, he was the Chairman of the Audit Committee for 2 years increasing transparency of the OECD work. Since February 2011 for 2 years, he was Deputy Minister for Trade in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, being responsible for directing and coordinating Korea's foreign trade policies and trade negotiations as well as establishing and implementing foreign economic and trade policies. Previously, after serving as Ambassador to Poland from September 2006 until March 2009, he was appointed Chief of Protocol in the Presidential Committee for the G20 Seoul Summit in preparation for the hosting of the G20 Seoul Summit in 2010. He joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1980 and retired in February 2016. President Lee graduated from Seoul National University with a major in International Relations in February 1979. He also spent two years from 1990 to 1992 on Russian studies at the Defense Language Institute in Monterey, CA.

## Hyun-Chin Lim (Convenor) Seoul National University, Korea

Hyun-Chin Lim is Professor Emeritus of Sociology at Seoul National University, and Member of the National Academy of Sciences, Republic of Korea. Currently, he is Chairman of Board, the Academy of Korean Studies. He is also an Adjunct Professor of Asian-Pacific Studies Institute at Duke University. He received his B.A. and M.A. in Sociology from Seoul National University, and his Ph.D. in Sociology from Harvard University. He taught and did research at Harvard, Chicago, University of California (San Diego), Duke, Paris Diderot, Free University of Berlin, Jilin, and Vietnam National University (Hanoi). He has received number of honors, including a Harvard-Yenching Fellowship, a Fulbright Fellowship, and a Shim Fellowship. He was an editorial writer for Hankook Daily and a consultant at World Bank. He was previously the dean of Faculty of Liberal Education, the dean of the College of Social Sciences, and the founding director of Asia Center, all at Seoul National University. He worked as a member of the Executive Council, Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics. He also served as the president of professional associations including Korean Association of NGO Studies, Korean Sociological Association, International Development and Cooperation Association, Korean Association for Political Society, and Korean Social Science Research Council. He has had extensive fundraising experience for the benefit of both teaching and research. In addition, he has been active in leading civil society in Korea, working as Co-Chair for Citizens' Coalition for Economic Justice, Co-Chair for Citizens' Coalition for Scientific Society, and Chair for Citizens . He is now chairing the Prime Ministerial Commission on Civil Society. Dr. Lim was registered in in 1991. In 2007, he was nominated as a 'National Distinguished Scholar', the most prestigious award in area of humanity and social science. He is a recipient of Grand Publication Award for Free Economy in 1998, and honorable Sudang Prize in Humanities and Social Sciences in 2018. He has presented papers at many professional conferences, and has given public lectures on crucial development issues. His publications include more than 55 books and over 250 scholarly articles on dependency, development, democracy, and civil society in East Asia and Latin America.

## Suhong Chae (Chair) Seoul National University, Korea

Suhong Chae is a professor in the department of anthropology at Seoul National University, South Korea. He received his Ph.D. in cultural anthropology from the City University of New York Graduate School and University Center, USA. His main research area is Southeast Asia, especially Vietnam, and he has explored labor politics, urban changes, and transnationalism in the area. He is a co-author of books such as Wounded Cities (2003) and Labor in Vietnam (2011). He also published many articles including The Candlelight Protest and the Politics of the Baby Stroller Brigades (Korea Journal, 2010), The transnational life, culture, and politics of an ethnic Korean factory managers in Vietnam (the Southeast Asian Review, 2016), The Political Processes of the Distinctive Multinational Factory Regimes and Recent Strikes in Vietnam (Global Economic Review, 2017).

#### ROUNDTABLE ABSTRACT

Korean Peninsula is on the move. In a short time period in the last two years, the airs surrounding the peninsula has dramatically shifted from imminent nuke threats to peacemaking dialogues. A series of events tells it: PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games, Inter-Korean summits, US-North Korea summit, Agreement for 'Era of No War', and many others.

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The Two Koreas in the last 70 years have built very different systems in their own lands, tearing them apart from each other and deepening distrust between them. To bring in a new era of co-prosperity of the region, the South and North need to ease out the differences with more exchanges, collaboration and trust building. There, yet, will be many difficulties and hurdles to advance the integration of two different regimes and thus move forward peace in the region.

The world has watched many cases of integration and unification of different regimes in the postwar period: reunification experiences of Germany, Vietnam, and Yemen; transition and integration of former socialist countries into the West; deepened exchanges between China and Taiwan. All of these were gigantic laboratories and historic experiments to have shown the problems and solutions transitional regimes and regime integration went through.

Throughout the two consecutive roundtable sessions, scholars having expertise in each country case will present their takes to offer meaningful lessons for the advancement of regime integration and peacemaking in the Korean Peninsula.

The second session examines the social and cultural experiences of reunification and/or reforms mainly in Vietnam, Yemen, and China. More specifically, this session deals with critical issues coming from different historical legacies in these countries. Based upon discussion and exploration during the session, participants will attempt to draw on lessons and implications for the integration and peacemaking progress of the Two Koreas from comparative perspectives.

Scholars, experts, and the general public having interests in inter-Korea relations, Northeast Asia, transitional regime, and regime integrations are all invited to join this important and interactive sessions.

#### Hy V. Luong University of Toronto, Canada

Vietnam: Political Reunirifcation, Global Market Economy, and Major Trends in Sociocultural Transformation

Abstract: This paper examines the major sociocultural trends in Vietnam in the past three decades in relation to globalization, a market economy, and state policy changes. These trends are analyzed with close attention to regional differences in Vietnam.

Hy V. Luong is Professor of Anthropology at the University of Toronto. Regularly conducting fieldwork in Vietnam since the 1980s, he has published extensively on sociocultural transformation, political economy, and discourse in contemporary Vietnam.

#### Di Wu

#### University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), UK

Eating the Communist Crab: Nostalgia and Food Consumption of Chinese Tourists in Rason, North Korea

Abstract: There are about five hundreds Chinese tourists every day crossing the border to visit a seaside town in North Korea called Rason. Even though the Chinese tourists are from different parts of China, one thing which attracts them the most about visiting Rason is the food (including traditional herbal medicine), especially the seafood in North Korea. On average, for a one day tour, Chinese tourists would spend one thousand US dollars per person on buying food. Contrasting with the tour costs (100 USD per person), their food consumption indeed looks 'extravagant'. To them, the attraction of North Korean food is due to its purity; that is to say, the North Korean food is natural and not polluted. This purity, as they explain, is not only due to North Korea's poverty (lack of industrialisation) but also because that people in Rason has not been tainted by the 'market vice of capitalism'. Just like China in the early seventies before the market reform, people were more, and the food tasted better. Based on several tours which I took during 2017 and 2018, this paper is to document the experience of Chinese tourists in Rason, North Korea. By analysing people's explanations of their 'excessive' consumption behaviours, I argue that it is their communist nostalgia that formulates their certain beliefs on North Korean products and it is their mistrust and concern on Chinese market reform that fuels their food consumption in North Korea.

Dr Di Wu received his doctoral degree from the London School of Economics. His PhD research was on the everyday life of Chinese migrants in Zambia, looking into issues of cross-cultural communication and moral interaction. Currently, he is working as a senior teaching fellow at SOAS, University of London and senior research fellow at Sun Yat-Sen University, China. His book manuscript, Affective Encounters, has won the first LSE monograph competition and would be published by Bloomsbury later 2019.

#### Jaesok Kim

#### Seoul National University, Korea

The Hidden Agency of "Minjian"(民间): The Key Role of the Grassroots in Implementing China's "Reform and Openness" and Its Implications to North Korea's Post-socialist Transformations

Abstract: This paper examines the key role of the grassroots in implementing China's post-socialist changes, and how it suggests the future transformation of North Korea. Common explanations of the post-socialist changes in China tend to emphasize the Party-State's leading role, such as Deng Xiaoping's well-known policy of "Reform and Openness" (改革开放). This popular approach to the Chinese post-socialism, however,

ignores the significant role of ordinary people such as rural peasants in actual formation of the policy. Contrary to the common understanding, the peasants implemented a new, capitalist way of farming that emphasizes efficiency, competitiveness, and self-interest. Most of all, the grassroots "capitalist' experiment well preceded the official beginning of the "Reform and Openness." Using historical and ethnographic data, I highlight the grassroots agency in implementing capitalist changes both in agriculture and in manufacturing sectors of China. The leading role of "Minjian" (民间) suggests that, in projecting the future post-socialist changes of North Korea, we should pay due attention to the everyday practices of ordinary people and how they could introduce capitalist practices. For this purpose, I will compare the grassroots experiments of capitalist way of production and exchange in China with the historical development of North Korea's Jangmadang.

Associate Professor Kim earned his Ph.D. in Anthropology from Harvard University. Before joining Anthropology Department at Seoul National University, he worked as Postdoctoral Fellow for Chinese Studies, Center for East Asian Studies at Stanford University, and served as Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania. His first book, *Chinese Labor in a Korean Factory: Class, Ethnicity, and Productivity on the Shop Floor in Globalizing China*, was published by Stanford University Press. His recent publications include "Community Activism and Politics of Memory in China" (in Korean) and "From "Country Bumpkins" to "Tough Workers": The Pursuit of Masculinity among Male Factory Workers in China" (in English).

#### **Philo KIM**

#### Seoul National University, Korea

Vision and Division of Korean Reunification

Abstract: Although reunification may bring great chance and opportunity to the future of the two Koreas, it might cause serious conflict and crises in the process due to the institutional differences and emotional hostility fermented in the past 70 years between them. In this sense, this paper examines the vision that the two Koreas are sharing and the division that they are facing. To this end, it analyses the similarities and differences, perceptions and attitudes, desires and emotions underlying the two Koreas, and explores possible solutions to successfully integrate them.

Philo KIM is associate professor at the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies (IPUS), Seoul National University, Seoul, Korea. He received his Ph.D in Sociology from Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, USA. Professor Kim had formerly served as a senior fellow and director of North Korean Studies Division at a government funded research institute KINU(Korea Institute for National Unification), and also served as president of the Korean Association of North Korean Studies. He is currently serving or served as advisory committee members in Ministry of Unification, Ministry of Defense, National Intelligence Service, etc. He is the author of *Reading North Korea by Joseon Korea* (2016) and *Dreaming Unification Again*(2017).

#### Hyondo Park Myongji University, Korea

#### A Lesson from the Yemeni Unification

Abstract: Divided along the ideological lines, both Korea and Yemen had to go through the Cold War hostilities. Unlike Korea, Yemen had not, however, maintained a unified political entity before the unification in 1990. Its society had also divided for long along tribal and regional lines. Nevertheless, Yemen was the first of the divided Cold War countries that agreed on and completed unification. Yemen's political divide is currently very strong and prominent along geographical (south versus north) rather than ideological lines. Unified Yemen is a failed state, as its internal political strife brought state collapse, with the outbreak of civil war that invited regional and international powers. This paper attempts to discuss what Korea, the last bastion of the Cold War, can learn and unlearn from the Yemeni unification, in the hope that unification of Korea will bring peace on the Korean peninsula and beyond.

Prof. PARK Hyondo is currently HK (Humanities Korea) Research Professor in the Institute of Middle Eastern Affairs at Myongji University in Seoul, Korea. He serves as member for Korea-Iran Forum Executive Committee at the Korea Institute for International Economic Policy, lecturer at the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, and chair of Publication Committee at the Korean Conference of Religions for Peace (KCRP), and editor-in-chief of *Religion & Peace*, an English language journal published by the International Peace Corps of Religions (IPCR). He also worked as policy advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for six years from August 2012 to July 2018. He has written extensively on Islam and the Middle East, including the Korean translation of the Constitutions of Middle Eastern countries. He received his B.A. in Religious Studies from Sogang University (Seoul, Korea), and his M.A. in Islamic Studies from the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill University (Montreal, Canada). He completed his doctoral program (Islamic Studies) at McGill and received his Ph.D. (Islamic Studies) from the University of Tehran in Iran.