# 2024-2025 Annual Report

SNU IPUS

The Institute for Peace and Unification Studies Seoul National University



## IPUS Annual Report 2024-2025

The Institute for Peace and Unification Studies Seoul National University

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Greetings

Seoul National University has been working on various levels, including research, education, and policy development to fulfill its social responsibilities as a national university. It also aims to realize the reunification of North and South Korea and world peace. The Institute for Peace and Unification Studies, which was established in 2006 as the "Unification Research Center" has served as the centerpiece of SNU's efforts and has evolved over the years. In particular, in 2011, the institute was reorganized and renamed to its current name in recognition of the importance of peace research.

Since the late 2000s, the institute has been conducting the Unification Perception Survey, the North Korean Unification Perception Survey, and the

North Korea Social Change Survey, as well as measuring and publishing the Inter-Korean Integration Index every year. This is because we have determined that the most necessary task for research and policy formulation on North Korea and unification is the collection and accumulation of basic data. This data has been utilized in a number of academic studies, and has also contributed to the formation of public opinion in our society and the government's policy toward North Korea.

In addition, since 2010, we have been operating the Peace and Humanities Research Group with the support of the Humanities Korea (HK) project for 10 years to establish peace studies based on the Korean Peninsula issues. Since 2015, we have been conducting the Foundation for Unification and Peace Project by organizing a collaborative network of researchers and research institutes who are interested in unification and peace issues. Through this project, we have accumulated knowledge related to North Korea, unification, peace, security, and human rights every year and have contributed to the cultivation of experts in related fields. In addition, we have established a global network and carried out various cooperative projects for the realization of sustainable peace at the global level.

Education related to North Korea, reunification, and peace are also an important responsibility of the institute. To this end, the institute operates the Unification Academy and the Peace Academy for university students and the general public. Since the institute moved to Siheung Campus in 2020, it has been operating the Citizen Peace School and the Leaders Academy in cooperation with Siheung City. The institute also runs the Unification Studies Forum and the Peace Studies Forum to discuss important and timely topics related to unification and peace. In addition, the institute publishes the SCOPUS-registered English-language journal *Asian Journal of Peacebuilding* twice a year, and the KCI registered Korean-language journal *Journal of Peace and Unification Studies* quarterly.

Based on its accumulated experience and competencies on research related to North Korea, Northeast Asia, and the reunification of the two Koreas, the institute is expanding its horizons and scope of activities beyond the Korean Peninsula. The institute is strengthening exchanges and cooperation with overseas research institutions. Through these efforts, the institute aims to become a world-class research center not only in North Korean studies and unification studies, but also in the field of peace studies. We look forward to your encouragement and advice so that the institute can develop into a cradle of wisdom that contributes to the unification of the Korean Peninsula and global peace. Thank you.

IPUS Director Kim, Bumsoo



## IPUS Annual Report 2024-2025

The Institute for Peace and Unification Studies Seoul National University

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## Goals

**The Seoul National University Institute for Peace and Unification Studies (IPUS)** was established with the aim of recognizing 'unification' and 'peace' as the most important tasks of the Korean people and nation. At IPUS, we aim to contribute to society through academic research on the various issues that will need to be tackled in the process of realizing unification and peace.

## Vision

Establishment of Interdisciplinary Unification Studies	We perform comprehensive, multidisciplinary studies in preparation for unification, using a systematic approach to the integration process between the North and South. We aim to construct an integrated model through an analytical survey of North Korean society and the variations within it.
Establishment of 'Korean Peace Studies'	By establishing Peace and Humanities Studies, we present a new paradigm of Peace Studies, propose peace within the context of unification, and seek the expansion of peace culture at the global level.
Strengthening	We aim to develop various educational series to foster future generations
Next-Generation	of scholars who can establish a continuous virtuous cycle of research
Unification and	and education that can contribute back to society through the clear
Peace Research	communication of research results.
Seoul National	We aim to organize a 'SNU Unification Research Network' by acting as
University	a focal point for exchanges and cooperation among research institutes
Unification	related to North Korea and unification within SNU, such as the Unification
Research on	Medical Center, the Unification Law Center, the Unification Education
Infrastructure	Research Center, the North Korea Nutrition Policy Support Office, and the
Construction	North Korea-Overseas Agricultural Research Institute.
Unification and	By establishing a bilateral exchange program between the 《SNU
Peace Studies,	International Peace Network》 and the 《Northeast Asia Cooperation
Constructing a	Network》, we will internationalize unification research and enrich a global
Global Network	network of Peace Studies on the Korean Peninsula.

## **History**

2024.09.	9	Launched Unification & Security Cluster
2024.09.	0	'ROK-US Policy Brief' was launched
2024.04.	0	Korean-language journal Journal of Peace and Unification Studies is
		published four times a year
2023.10.		Launched the World Korean Advanced Leadership Program for Unification and Peace(WK-ALPUP)
2023.03.	0	Professor Kim Bumsoo took office as the 9th president of IPUS
2021. 05.	0	Professor Kim Byung-Yeon took office as the 8th president of IPUS
2019. 12.	0	Launched the SNU Research Initiative for Peace Research
2019.06.	0	Launched the Korean National University Peace Network
2018.03.	0	Professor Leem Kyung-hoon took office as the 7th president of IPUS
2016.05.	0	Professor Jung Keun-Sik took office as the 6th president of IPUS
2016. 03.	0	Selected as a Unification Education Leading University
2015. 07.	0	The Unification Foundation project began
2014.06.	0	Unification Research Network was launched
2013.10.	0	The first Peace Academy was launched
2013.05.	0	The first issue of the English journal Asian Journal of Peacebuilding was published
2022.04.	0	Changed the Institute's name to 'SNU Institute for Peace and Unification Studies'
2010. 12.	0	SNU IPUS selection of HK Peace and Humanities Research Group projects
2009.06.		The first issue of the Korean-language journal <i>Journal of Peace and Unification Studies</i> was published
2008. 08. 22.	0	Changed the Institute's name to 'Unification and Peace Research Center'
2007. 05.	0	Unification Perception Survey began
2007.04.	0	The first Unification Academy was launched
2006. 04. 12	0	The SNU Unification Research Center was launched with Prof. Park Myeong-
•	0	Kyu as chief
2003.10.	0	Unification Research Support Project began
2003.08.	þ	SNU Unification Studies Steering Committee was inaugurated
2000. 11.	0	The SNU Unification Forum was launched with Prof. Chang Dal-Joong as chairman



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## Organization



## Steering Committee

Position	Dept.	Name	Position	Dept.	Name
Director	Liberal Studies	Kim, Bumsoo		Political Science and Int. Relations	Kim, Jong-Hak
Deputy Director/ Head of Center for Peace Studies	Food & Nutrition Science	Yoon, Jihyun		Family Medicine	Park, Sang Min
Head of Center for Unification Studies	Political Science and Int. Relations	Lee, Jung-Chul		International Agricultural Technology	Park, Mi Sun
Chief of Research and Analysis Division/Data and Publication Divison	IPUS	Kim, Philo	Committee	Environmental Planning	Kim, Boo-Yuel
Chief of Education Division	Department of Geography	Shin, HaeRan		Ethics Education	Kim, Sangbum
Chief of External Relations Division	Civil & Environmental Engineering	Park, Yong-Sung		Child Development & Family Studies	Chin, Meejung

## Personnel Committee

College	Dept.	Name	College	Dept.	Name
College of Liberal Studies	Liberal Studies	Kim, Bumsoo	College of Human Ecology	Food & Nutrition Science	Yoon, Jihyun
College of Social Sciences	Political Science and Int. Relations	Lee, Jung-Chul	College of Social Sciences	Political Sciences and Int. Relations	Shin, Beom-shik
Graduate School of Public Administration	Public Administration	Koo, Min Gyo	College of Humanities	Chinese Language and Literature	Kim, Wolhoe
SNU Law School	Law	Lee, Hyo Won			

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## People

## Director/ Deputy Director/ Head of Center for Peace Studies



## Kim, Bumsoo

IPUS Director / Professor, College of Liberal Studies PhD in Political Science from the University of Chicago Research interests: Political Theory, Democracy, Multiculturalism, Human Rights



### Yoon, Jihyun

IPUS Deputy Director / Head of Center for Peace Studies/ Professor, Dept. of Food & Nutrition Science PhD in Hospitality and Tourism Management from Purdue University Research interests: Food and Nutrition Policy and Food Service Management

Head of Center for Unification Studies / Chief of Research and Analysis Division / Chief of Data and Publication Division / Chief of Education Division / Chief of External Relations Division



## Lee, Jung-Chul

Head of Center for Unification Studies/ Professor, Dept. of Political Science and Int. Relations PhD in Political Science from Seoul National University Research interests: Political Economy of North Korea, Inter-Korean Relations



## Kim, Philo [Byung-Ro]

Chief of Research and Analysis Division/ Data and Publication Division HK Professor PhD in Sociology from Rutgers University, New Brunswick Research interests: Political Sociology, North Korean Studies, Inter-Korean Relations, Unification Policy



## Park, Yong-Sung

Chief of External Relations Division / Professor, Dept. of Civil & Environmental Engineering PhD in Civil & Environmental Engineering from Cornell University Research interests: Coastal Engineering



## Shin, HaeRan

Chief of Education Division / Professor, Dept. of Geography PhD in Urban Planning and Development from University of Southern California Research interests: Political Geography, Immigrant Research

## **HK Professor**



## Lee, Moonyoung

HK Professor PhD in Philology from Moscow State University Research interests: Russia, Post Socialism, Literature, Peace and Humanities



## Hahn, Monica

HK Professor PhD in History from the Catholic University of Korea Research interests: Modern Korean History, the Korean War, the Border Area



## Baik, Jiwoon

HK Professor PhD in Literature from Yonsei University Research interests: East Asian Literature

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## People

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## Senior Fellow

🔓 IPUS



## Kim, Young-ho

PhD in Economics from the Institute of International Political Economy, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences(CASS) Research interests : Chinese Studies, North Korean Economy, East Asian Economic Cooperation



## Lee, Uchul

PhD in Politics from the University of Bristol School of Sociology, Politics and International Studies

Research interests : International Political Theory, International Norms and Ethics, Security of Emerging Technologies, Economic Security



## Lee, Jong Jin

PhD in International Relations from Seoul National University Research interests: Cyber Security, National Strategy, Artificial Intelligence, Space Security



## Cho, Hyun Joo

PhD in Political Science from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Research interests: International Conflict, Territorial Disputes

## Researcher



Kim, Minji MA in Political Science from Seoul National University







Kim, Bora Syracuse University (PhD program) Geography



Kwon, Ji Ae

MA in Sociology from Seoul National University

🚯 IPUS

## **Project Researcher**



Jo, Jun Hyung

Seoul National University (MA program) International Relations

🚯 IPUS

## People

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Kwon, Seon-hye Administrative Staff



Baik, Tae Hyun

👔 IPUS



Advisory Committee

Chang, Yong Seok

# Park, Jongbeom

Chairman of Youngsan Group

🚯 IPUS



Park, Paula Former President of World-

Benikea Japan, President and CEO of Carlton Management

Kim, Hyuntai

President and CEO of

## Park, Hoseong

CEO of Northern Trading



Shim, Sangman President of KOTEC India

OKTA in Washington



Ahn, Jeff Jefferson

WAVA Corp CEO

President of the Korean Association of Nigeria









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# **International Networking**

## Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) State of Affairs

No.	Date	Cooperative Agency	Country
24	2025.06.17	Korean Studies, Free University of Berlin (2nd)	Germany
23	2024.07.09	Nagasaki University Research Center for Nuclear Weapons Abolition (3rd)	Japan
22	2023.11.28	Center for Northeast Asian Studies, Hunan Normal University	China
21	2023.09.27	Institute for Korean Studies, George Washington University	US
20	2023.03.17.	Center for East Asian Peace and Cooperation Studies, Ritsumeikan University	Japan
19	2019.10.31.	Institute for Security and Development Policy	Sweden
18	2019.10.28.	Institute of Far Eastern Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences	Russia
17	2019.10.16.	Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences of the Central Region	Vietnam
16	2019.10.15.	Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences Institute for Northeast Asian Studies	Vietnam
15	2019.01.10.	Hiroshima Peace Institute, Hiroshima City University	Japan
14	2019.01.09.	Nagasaki University Research Center for Nuclear Weapons Abolition (2nd)	Japan
13	2019.01.05.	Graduate Institute for Taiwan Studies of Xiamen University	China
12	2018.06.07.	Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars	US
11	2017.12.18.	East China Normal University	China
10	2017.01.05.	Free University of Berlin	Germany

No.	Date	Cooperative Agency	Country
9	2014.12.24.	Yanbian University Korean Peninsula Collaborative Innovation Center	China
8	2014.02.01.	Nagasaki University Research Center for Nuclear Weapons Abolition	Japan
7	2012.09.26.	Osaka University, Osaka School of International Public Policy	Japan
6	2012.09.22.	Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Far Eastern Studies	Russia
5	2012.08.15.	Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Oriental Studies	Russia
4	2012.08.13.	Moscow State University, International Center for Korean Studies, Institute of Asian and African Studies	Russia
3	2011.09.15.	Library of Congress	US
2	2007.10.17.	Russian State Social University	Russia
1	2007.09.26.	Hanns Seidel Stiftung	Germany

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# **Domestic Networking**

## **Domestic Cooperation Networks**

No.	Date	Cooperative Agency and Main Business
23	2024.04.16	World Federation of Overseas Korean Traders Associations (OKTA)
22	2023.11.08	Research Institute for National Security Affairs, Korea National Defense University
21	2023.10.19	Institute for Northeast Asia Research, Chosun University
20	2023.06.27	Jeju Unification Education Center, Jeju National University
19	2023.06.26	The Institute of Peace Studies, Jeju National University
18	2023.06.02	Jeju Peace Institute (JPI)
17	2023.05.22	The World Assembly of Korean Associations (WAKA)
16	2022.05.11.	Korea Culture and Tourism Institute (KCTI)
15	2020.10.30.	National Institute for Unification Education
14	2020.10.08.	Korea Legislation Research Institute
13	2019.06.25.	'Korean Peninsula Peace National University Network'
12	2018.06.07.	Gangwon University, Incheon University
11	2018.01.19.	Wonkwang University (The Research Institute of Won-Buddhist Thought)
10	2017.06.20.	Incheon National University Post-Unification Research Institute
9	2017.03.28.	Seoul National University Institute of Humanities Seoul National University Institute for Korean Regional Studies Gaesong Industrial District Foundation
8	2016.10.14.	National Museum of Korean Contemporary History

No.	Date	Cooperative Agency and Main Business
7	2016.02.04.	Korea Institute for Health and Social Affairs
6	2013.02.04.	Esquire Academic and Cultural Foundation Korea Social Science Data Archive (KOSSDA) – renewed contract
5	2012.02.22.	Korean Academic Information
4	2012.11.06.	SNU Department of Economics World-class Research-Oriented University Focus Group
3	2011.07.04.	Yonsei University Institute of Korean Studies
2	2008.02.04.	Esquire Academic and Cultural Foundation Korea Social Science Data Archive (KOSSDA)
1	2007.12.03	Korea Institute of National Unification (KINU)

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## **IPUS in the Press**

"Record-High Public Opinion Says Unification Is Unnecessary... Stronger Negative Perceptions Among 2030 Generation" (Yonhap News, October 2, 2024)



#### [By Hyun Hye-ran]

Seoul National University's Institute for Peace and Unification Studies Releases 2024 Unification Perception Survey

35.0% Say "Unification Is Not Necessary" - Highest Since Survey Began in 2007

(SEOUL = Yonhap News) - More than 3 out of 10 South Koreans believe that unification with North Korea is unnecessary, with particularly strong negative perceptions observed among the younger generation in their 20s and 30s.

According to the "2024 Unification Perception Survey" released on October 2 by the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University, the proportion of respondents who said unification is not necessary – combining responses of "not at all necessary" and "not very necessary" – reached 35.0%, the highest since the survey began in 2007.

In contrast, those who said unification is necessary - combining responses of "very necessary" and "somewhat necessary" - fell to 36.9%, marking an all-time low. runran@yna.co.kr

Original article: https://www.yna.co.kr/view/AKR20241002145900504?input=1195m

## [Books&] Why Does the MZ Generation Dislike Unification?

(Seoul Economic Daily, October 25, 2024)



#### [By Seo Ji-hye]

The book 'MZ Generation's Perceptions on Unification' explores how the MZ generation, who will lead future inter-Korean relations, perceives unification based on diverse data. The authors analyze not only German unification strategies but also the perceptions of cross-strait relations among young people in Taiwan, and how Japan's MZ generation views North Korea. Through these comparisons, the book offers a new perspective on how unification is understood in today's world and considers ways to foster more positive views of unification among the MZ generation.

Original article: https://www.sedaily.com/NewsView/2DFPGAOS14



## **IPUS in the Press**

#### Seoul National University Celebrates 36 Graduates from Its 2nd World Korean Advanced Leadership Program for Unification and Peace

(Veritas Alpha, February 10, 2025)



#### [By Park So-hyun]

Seoul National University (SNU) announced on February 10 that the second cohort of the "World Korean Advanced Leadership Program for Unification and Peace", organized by the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies, successfully concluded with a graduation ceremony held on February 5.

This program was launched to foster top leaders within overseas Korean communities who possess both a strong Korean identity and global leadership. To accommodate the needs of overseas participants, the curriculum was offered in a hybrid format, combining both in-person and online lectures.

The program consisted of 30 lectures covering key topics such as inter-Korean relations during times of great transformation, peace in Northeast Asia and inter-Korean relations, ethnic identity and global citizenship, and culture, arts, and the Korean diaspora.

Original article: http://www.veritas-a.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=541659

### Special Academic Conference on "Restoring Democracy in Korea "Held in Gwangju

(Yonhap News, February 21, 2025)



#### [By Jang Ah-reum]

(Gwangju = Yonhap News) — A special academic conference under the theme "Restoration and a New Leap Forward for Korean Democracy" is being held in Gwangju. According to the Gwangju Metropolitan Government on the 21st, the City of Gwangju and the Korean Political Science Association are co-hosting the event, which will take place over two days at the National Asian Culture Center and the Culture Hotel Laam. The conference was organized in response to the democratic and constitutional crisis facing South Korea following President Yoon Suk-yeol's declaration of martial law on December 3. The event aims to diagnose the causes of the crisis and seek alternative solutions.

Out of a total of five sessions, three will be held on February 21 and the remaining two on February 22.

Original article: https://www.yna.co.kr/view/AKR20250221122600054?input=1195m

## **IPUS in the Press**

Seoul National University's Institute for Peace and Unification Studies Wins the 24th Jeong II-hyung & Lee Tae-young Liberal Democratic Award in the "Democratic Unification" Category

(E-Donga, April 22, 2025)



#### [By Bang Hyo-jung]

The Institute for Peace and Unification Studies (IPUS) at Seoul National University, led by Director Kim Bumsoo, has been selected as the recipient of the 24th Jeong II-hyung & Lee Tae-young Liberal Democratic Award in the Democratic Unification category. The award is presented by the Jeong II-hyung & Lee Tae-young Memorial Foundation (Chairman: Chung Ho-joon).

The award ceremony will be held on April 23, commemorating the 43rd anniversary of the death of Dr. Jeong II-hyung, at the YWCA Grand Auditorium in Myeong-dong, Jung-gu, Seoul.

IPUS was selected in recognition of its contributions since its founding in 2006, having dedicated nearly two decades to research, education, and policy development aimed at inter-Korean unification and global peace.

Original article: https://edu.donga.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=86040

## **Foreign**·**Domestic Exchanges**



UAE National Defense College Visits SNU's Institute for Peace and Unification Studies and Asia Center



Roundtable Meeting with the Delegation from the China Institute of International Studies (CIIS)

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## Foreign. Domestic Exchanges



Visit by the Research Center for Nuclear Weapons Abolition (RECNA), Nagasaki University (Japan)



Roundtable Meeting with the Delegation from the Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FNF)



Hunan Normal University-SNU IPUS



Roundtable Discussion-Friedrich Naumann Student Academic and Cultural Exchange Foundation (FNF)-The Open Society and Its Enemies in the 21st Century or Who Can Do Better?



Seoul National University's Institute for Peace and Unification Studies Receives the 24th Jeong II-hyung & Lee Tae-young Liberal Democratic Award

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## IPUS Annual Report 2024-2025

# Academic Conferences

### Domestic Conferences

• International Conferences

## Domestic Conference

Торіс	Date
[The 97th Domestic Conference] 18th Anniversary Conference of the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies	May 3, 2024, 09:30~17:00
<b>[National University Joint Academic Conference]</b> 2024 Academic Seminar on Regional Issues and Strategies for Expanding Unification Education	May 16, 2024, 13:00~18:00
[Joint Academic Conference by the IPUS at SNU and the Association of Healthcare for Korean Unification] Spring Academic Conference: The Impact of the Pandemic on the Korean Peninsula	June 14, 2024, 12:30~18:00
[2024 Korean Association of International Studies (KAIS) Summer Conference] A Familiar Future? New Imaginations in Korean International Politics	June 26-28, 2024
<b>[The 98th Domestic Conference]</b> 2024 Unification Perception Survey - Rising Support for Division, Erosion of Unification Discourse: Rapid Shifts in Unification Perceptions Following North Korea's "Two Hostile States" Declaration	October 2, 2024, 14:00~
Book Talk for the Publication of MZ Generation's Perceptions on Unification	October 8, 2024, 19:00~
[The 99th Domestic Conference] Beyond the Numbers: Unveiling the Truth of Nuclear Armament Public Opinion	October 10, 2024, 14:00~17:40
[Chosun University-Seoul National University-Korea Eurasian Policy Institute Joint Academic Conference] Russia's Foreign Relations and the Restructuring of the East Asian Order	October 11~12, 2024
2024 Korea-Europe Peace Platform - Realizing Peace on the Korean Peninsula and the Role of Local Governments: A Comparative Study of Cases from Europe and Korea	October 29, 2024, 13:10~18:00
[2024 Honam Association of Political Science Studies Joint Academic Conference] The Role and Challenges of Local Governments Amidst a Rapidly Changing International Order	November 8, 2024, 13:30~18:00
<b>[Korean Political Science Association Joint Academic Conference]</b> Gwangju Special Academic Conference - Restoration and a New Leap Forward for Korean Democracy	February 21~22, 2025

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#### [The 97th Domestic Conference]

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#### 18th Anniversary Conference of the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies

- Date: Friday, May 3, 2024, 09:30–17:00
- Location: Royal Room, 7th Floor, Koreana Hotel
- Topic: Barriers to Overcome, Dreams to Achieve: New Challenges in Inter-Korean Relations and a Vision for Unification Strategy

To commemorate its 18th anniversary, the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies (Director: Bumsoo Kim) at Seoul National University held an academic conference on Friday, May 3, 2024, starting at 10:00 AM, at the Royal Room on the 7th floor of the Koreana Hotel.

The conference began with opening remarks by Director Bumsoo Kim, a congratulatory address by Vice President for Research Jaeyoung Kim of Seoul National University, and a welcome speech by Minister of Unification Young-ho Kim.

This 18th anniversary conference was organized to reflect on the recent rapid changes in inter-Korean relations—particularly in light of North Korea's recent claims of the "two hostile states" doctrine—and to share new visions for unification strategy.



- [National University Joint Academic Conference] 2024 Academic Seminar on Regional Issues and Strategies for Expanding Unification Education – Recent Developments on the Korean Peninsula and Strategies for Expanding Unification Education in Local Communities
  - Date: Thursday, May 16, 2024, 13:00–18:00
  - Location: 3rd Floor, Dongwon Jang Bogo Hall, Pukyong National University
  - Topic: Recent Developments on the Korean Peninsula and Strategies for Expanding Unification Education in Local Communities
  - Co-hosted by: Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at SNU, Gyeongnam Unification Education Center, Institute for Future Convergence Research at Changwon National University, Institute of Global Area Studies at Pukyong National University



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Declaration

- Joint Academic Conference by the Institute for **Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National** University and the Association of Healthcare for **Korean Unification] Spring Academic Conference:** The Impact of the Pandemic on the Korean Peninsula
  - Date: Friday, June 14, 2024, 12:30-18:00
  - Location: Lecture Hall, 6th Floor, Main Medical Building 1, Korea University College of Medicine
  - Topic: Spring Academic Conference: The Impact of the Pandemic on the Korean Peninsula





- [2024 Korean Association of International Studies] (KAIS) Summer Conference]
  - A Familiar Future? New Imaginations in Korean International Politics
  - Date: Wednesday, June 26 Friday, June 28, 2024
  - Location: Lakai Sandpine Resort, Gangneung
  - Topic: A Familiar Future? New Imaginations in Korean International Politics

The Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University participated in three sessions at the 2024 KAIS Summer Conference, held under the theme "A Familiar Future? New Imaginations in Korean International Politics."





- [The 98th Domestic Conference] 2024 Unification Perception Survey - Rising **Support for Division, Erosion of Unification Discourse: Rapid Shifts in Unification Perceptions** Following North Korea's "Two Hostile States"
  - Date: Wednesday, October 2, 2024, 14:00~

- Location: Room 204, Building 220 (Center for Educational Research), Gwanak Campus, Seoul National University - Topic: Rising Support for Division, Erosion of Unification Discourse: Rapid Shifts in Unification Perceptions Following North Korea's "Two Hostile States" Declaration

On Wednesday, October 2, 2024, the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University (Director: Bumsoo Kim) held an academic conference under the theme "Rising Support for Division, Erosion of Unification Discourse: Rapid Shifts in Unification Perceptions Following North Korea's "Two Hostile States" Declaration" During the event, the results of the 2024 Unification Perception Survey were presented.

# 부상하는 분단 지지, 흔들더는 통일론: 북한의 '적대적 두 국가' 선언 이후 급변하는 통일의식 일시: 2024년 10월 2일(수) 14:00~18:00 참고: 서울대학교 관악법되스 중합교육연구동( 1 1841 1818 1818 1819



## Book Talk for the Publication of MZ Generation's Perceptions on Unification]

- Date: Tuesday, October 8, 2024, 19:00~
- Location: Choi Inah Bookstore, Seolleung Branch
- Topic: Unification Perceptions of the MZ Generation



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Academic Conferences

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#### [The 99th Domestic Conference]

**Beyond the Numbers: Unveiling the Truth of Nuclear Armament Public Opinion** 

- Date: Thursday, October 10, 2024, 14:00-17:40
- Location: Room 204, Building 220 (Center for Educational Research), Gwanak Campus, Seoul National University
- Topic: Beyond the Numbers: Unveiling the Truth of Nuclear **Armament Public Opinion**

On Thursday, October 10, 2024, from 2:00 to 5:40 PM, the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University (Director: Bumsoo Kim) held an academic conference under the theme "Beyond the Numbers: Unveiling the Truth of Nuclear Armament Public Opinion" at Room 204, Center for Educational Research (Building 220), Gwanak Campus. The event was organized to examine the substance and implications of growing public support for nuclear armament in South Korea.

- Chosun University-Seoul National University-**Korea Eurasian Policy Institute Joint Academic Conference**] Russia's Foreign Relations and the **Restructuring of the East Asian Order** 
  - Date: Friday-Saturday, October 11-12, 2024
  - Location: Seminar Room, 2nd Floor, College of Law and Social Sciences, Chosun University
  - Topic: Russia's Foreign Relations and the Restructuring of the East Asian Order





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- 2024 Korea–Europe Peace Platform Realizing Peace on the Korean Peninsula and the Role of Local Governments: A Comparative Study of **Cases from Europe and Korea** 
  - Date: Tuesday, October 29, 2024, 13:10-18:00
  - Location: Grand Conference Room, 9th Floor, Institute for Peace and Unification Studies, Education Cooperation Building, SNU Siheung Campus
- Topic: Realizing Peace on the Korean Peninsula and the Role of Local Governments: A Comparative Study of Cases from Europe and Korea







2024년 호남정치학회 연례학술회의

일시: 2024년 11월 8일(금) 13: 장소: 전복대학교 인문대2호관

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지방정부의 역할과 과제'

- [2024 Honam Association of Political Science] **Studies Joint Academic Conference**] The Role and Challenges of Local Governments **Amidst a Rapidly Changing International Order** 
  - Date: Friday, November 8, 2024, 13:30–18:00
  - Location: Humanities Building 2, Jeonbuk National University
- Topic: The Role and Challenges of Local Governments Amidst a Rapidly Changing International Order
- Organized by: Honam Association of Political Science Studies
- Co-hosted by: Korean Political Science Association, Korean Association of Northeast Asian Studies, Center for Sustainable Development, Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA)
- Supported by: Korea Foundation

|2025년 한국정치학회 광주 특별기획학술회의|

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## | International Conference |

Торіс	Date
<b>[IPUS-GWIKS Joint Webinar]</b> North Korea Economic Forum: Virtual Panel Discussion, Revisiting Sanctions on North Korea	April 23, 2024, 10:00~11:30 PM (KST)
2024 Jeju Forum-Cooperation for Peace and Prosperity on the Korean Peninsula: Food, Nutrition, and Resources	May 29~31, 2024
Revisiting the North Korean Nuclear Crisis: Strategic Responses Among Countries on the Korean Peninsula	June 21, 2024, 09:00~11:00 AM (KST)
2024 Korea–Europe Peace Platform - Berlin International Academic Conference	July 10~12, 2024
[Joint International Conference] Roundtable on International Public Health Cooperation and Research in North East Asia	August 18, 2024, 10:00~14:00 PM
<b>[IPUS-GWIKS Joint Webinar]</b> Cyber Shadows: Understanding and Countering North Korea's Illicit Digital Operations	August 29, 2024, 10:00-11:30 PM (KST)
<b>[APACPH 2024]</b> The 55th Asia Pacific Academic Consortium for Public Health Conference 2024	October 24, 2024, 14:00~18:00
[APCDM 2024] Warfare Upcoming Threatening and Crisis Scenario in Korean Peninsula	November 26, 2024, 11:00~12:00
<b>[IPUS-GWIKS Joint Webinar]</b> The Future of US Policy and the INDO- PACIFIC	January 16, 2025, 1:00-4:30 PM

- [Korean Political Science Association Joint] **Academic Conference**] Gwangju Special Academic Conference -**Restoration and a New Leap Forward for Korean** Democracy
  - Date: Friday–Saturday, February 21–22, 2025
  - Location: National Asian Culture Center and Culture Hotel Laam, Gwangju
  - Topic: Restoration and a New Leap Forward for Korean Democracy
  - Co-hosted by: Korean Political Science Association, Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University, Research Institute of Social Science at Chosun University, and Gwangju Metropolitan City



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## [IPUS-GWIKS Joint Webinar] North Korea Economic Forum: Virtual Panel Discussion, Revisiting Sanctions on North Korea

- Date: Tuesday, April 23, 2024 at 10:00~11:30 PM (KST)
- Location: Zoom Webinar

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- Topic: North Korea Economic Forum: Virtual Panel Discussion, Revisiting Sanctions on North Korea
- Organized by the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies (IPUS) at Seoul National University and Institute for Korean Studies at the George Washington University

## 2024 Jeju Forum – Cooperation for Peace and Prosperity on the Korean Peninsula: Food, Nutrition, and Resources

- Date: Wednesday, May 29 Friday, May 31, 2024
- Location: Room 203, Jeju International Convention Center (ICC Jeju)
- Topic: Acting Together for a Better World





- Revisiting the North Korean Nuclear Crisis: Strategic Responses Among Countries on the Korean Peninsula
  - Date:Thursday, June 21, 2024 at 09:00~11:00 AM (KST) - Location: Zoom
  - Topic: Revisiting the North Korean Nuclear Crisis: Strategic Responses Among Countries on the Korean Peninsula
  - Organized by the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies(IPUS) at Seoul National University





## ◆ 2024 Korea–Europe Peace Platform – Berlin International Academic Conference

### - Date: July 10th~12th, 2024 - Location: Seminaris CampusHotel Berlin, Weiterbildungszentrum der

- Freien University Berlin
- Topic: Korea Europe Peace
- Platform Berlin Forum 2024 - Organized by the Institute
- for Peace and Unification Studies(IPUS) at Seoul National University.
- Korean Studies of Free University of Berlin, Gyeonggi-do Province, KDI School





## [Joint International Conference] Roundtable on International Public Health Cooperation and Research in North East Asia

- Date: Sunday, August 18, 2024, 10:00~14:00PM
- Location: Conference Room, School of Northeast Asia Studies, Shandong University
- Topic: Roundtable on International Public Health Cooperation and Research in North East Asia
- Organized by the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies(IPUS), Seoul National University(SNU) & School of Northeast Aisa Studies(SNAS), Shandong University(SD)



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- [IPUS-GWIKS Joint Webinar] Cyber Shadows: **Understanding and Countering North Korea's Illicit Digital Operations** 
  - Date: Thursday, August 29, 2024 at 10:00-11:30 PM (KST)
  - Location: Zoom Webinar

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- Topic: Cyber Shadows: Understanding and Countering North Korea's Illicit Digital Operations
- Organized by the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies(IPUS) at Seoul National University and Institute for Korean Studies at the George Washington University







- **Consortium for Public Health Conference 2024** 
  - Date: Thursday, October 24, 2024 at 14:00~18:00
  - Location: Bexco, Convention Hall #102
  - Topic: Disaster & Unification Seminar
  - Host: Center for Health & Unification of Korea, Yonsei University Health System, Ajou Institute of Unification Health Studies, Association of Healthcare for Korean Unification, The Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University



- ♦ [APACPH 2024] The 55th Asia Pacific Academic

[APCDM 2024]

Warfare Upcoming Threatening and Crisis Scenario in Korean Peninsula

- Date: Tuesday, November 26, 2024 at 11:00~12:00
- Location: Crystal Ballroom B, The K Hotel
- Topic: Warfare upcoming threatening and crisis scenario in Korean peninsula





## [IPUS-GWIKS Joint Webinar] The Future of US Policy and the INDO-PACIFIC

- Date: January 16, 2025, 1:00~4:30PM
- Location: State Room, 7th Floor, Elliott School, George Washington University
- Topic: The Future of US Policy and the INDO-PACIFIC
- Organized by the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies(IPUS) of the Seoul National University(SNU)/ Sigur Center for Asian Studies, Institute for Korean Studies, East Asian National Resourse Center, Taiwan Education & Research Program of the George Washington University/ Center for East Asian Peace and Cooperation Studies of the Ritumeikan University



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## IPUS Annual Report 2024-2025

# Center for Unification Studies

• Unification Studies Forum

Unification Studies Seminar

## Unification Studies Forum

The IPUS at SNU regularly organizes the "IPUS Unification Studies Forum," which invites domestic and international scholars, experts, and government officials to hear and discuss opinions on the Korean Peninsula, Northeast Asia, North Korea and unification-related issues, as well as various international issues. It is the successor to the "Unification Policy Forum," which was launched in 2006 to expand the base of unification studies, and was relaunched under its current name in 2021 to encompass a wide range of topics related to unification studies and peace studies as well as policy. The Unification Studies Forum aims to contribute to building an academic foundation for the unification of the Korean Peninsula and human peace by presenting new perspectives and exploring alternatives from an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary perspective on current issues and problems of North Korea, unification, and international affairs.

Publication

# [99th Unification Studies Forum] North Korea's Military Transformation under Kim Jong Un

- Date: Thursday, April 11, 2024, 15:00 – 17:00 (KST)

- Venue: Online Video Conference (ZOOM)
- Topic: North Korea's Military Transformation under Kim Jong Un

The Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University (IPUS at SNU) hosted the 99th Unification Studies Forum on Thursday, April 11, 2024, under the theme of "North Korea's Military Transformation under Kim Jong Un". The Unification Studies Forum is an expansion and reorganization of the Unification Policy Forum, which was held 75 times between 2006 and 2020, and is now in its 99th edition. The forum was moderated by Dr. Kim Taek-bin, a senior researcher at IPUS, who opened the forum with a welcome speech.

In this forum, Dr. Jang Cheol-wun explained North Korea's military power and military policy during the Kim II-sung and Kim Jong-il eras, as well as its changes under Kim Jong-un. First, under Kim II-sung and Kim Jong-il, North Korea was militarily self-reliant and focused on building and maintaining a strong military. During this period, North Korea maintained a large army and fleet and emphasized the concept of "politico-military revolutionary force" to bolster its defense capabilities. Under Kim Jong II, the country sought to further strengthen and modernize these military foundations, and it also began to develop its nuclear weapons and missile programs in earnest, most notably with a successful nuclear test in 2006 and a number of subsequent nuclear tests and missile launches. These military changes are closely aligned with North Korea's strategic goals. North Korea aims to develop nuclear weapons and missiles to strengthen its international standing, prepare for foreign military pressure, and enhance domestic security. These military capabilities also appear to play an important role in achieving North Korea's political goals. Under Kim Jong Un, North Korea's military policy has taken a somewhat different turn. The regime places a high value on nuclear weapons and missile development. It is actively pursuing the

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upgrading of its nuclear arsenal, including the diversification of warhead delivery vehicles. The Kim era has also seen some shifts in military priorities. Previously focused on a large army and fleet, the country is now devoting more resources to nuclear weapons and missile development, cyber warfare, and special operations. Meanwhile, its military policy has become more centralized and tightly controlled. This is leading to more efficient operation of North Korea's military forces and efforts to prevent information leakage to the outside world.

In his concluding remarks, Dr. Jang emphasized that the basic framework of North Korea's military policy and military power is to be found in the military confrontation on the Korean Peninsula. It is based on the continuation of military confrontation between North and South Korea centered on massive conventional military power and the perceived threat of the presence of the U.S. and South Korean allied forces. Furthermore, Kim Jong-un's military transformation should be seen as basically an extension of his predecessor's regime. In the past, North Korea has already been overwhelmed by South Korea in terms of the quality of its conventional weapons and has tried to overcome this with a quantitative buildup. Of course, Kim Jong Un's nuclear program is one of the ways to make up for the deficit in the conventional weapons. However, economic difficulties make it difficult to achieve this. Dr. Jang concluded the 99th Forum by urging the participants to pay attention to macro-level military changes as well as micro-level weapon changes.

#### Program

Moderator: Kim, Taek-bin (Senior Researcher, IPUS at SNU)Speaker: Jang, Cheol-wun (Research Fellow, KINU)



## [100th Unification Studies Forum] North Korea's Perception of the International Situation and Changes in its Foreign and Inter-Korean Strategy

- Date: Thursday, May 2, 2024, 15:00 17:00 (KST)
- Venue: Online video conference (ZOOM)
- Topic: North Korea's Perception of the International Situation and Changes in its Foreign and Inter-Korean Strategy

The Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University(IPUS at SNU) hosted the 100th Unification Studies Forum on Thursday, May 2, 2024, under the theme of "North Korea's Perception of the International Situation and Changes in its Foreign and Inter-Korean Strategy". The Unification Studies Forum is an expansion and reorganization of the Unification Policy Forum, which was held 75 times between 2006 and 2020, and is now in its 100th edition. The forum was moderated by Dr. Kim Taek-bin, a senior researcher at IPUS, who opened the forum with a welcome speech.

During this forum, Senior Research Fellow Choi Yong-hwan explained North Korea's perception of the international situation and changes in its foreign and Inter-Korean strategy. In the early years of Kim Jongun's regime, North Korea adopted a strategy of simultaneously pursuing economic development and nuclear capabilities. This strategy reflected the accelerated nuclear development following the collapse of the Six-Party Talks in 2008 and the death of Kim Jong-il. Concurrently, Kim Jong-un attempted to improve relations with the United States alongside the parallel military buildup. To achieve this, efforts were made to improve relations with South Korea and China, culminating in the PyeongChang Winter Olympics and inter-Korean summits. However, following the breakdown of North Korea–United States negotiations after the Hanoi Summit in 2019, North Korea adopted a new external strategy.

Acknowledging the inevitability of tensions and conflicts with the United States, North Korea continued its nuclear development, reverting to a self-reliant economic-nuclear parallel policy to cope with U.S. sanctions. This shift emphasized a de facto economic-nuclear parallel policy, reaffirming the socialist economic development pursued at the beginning of Kim Jong-un's regime. North Korea criticized South Korea's dependence on the United States, reducing the importance of inter-Korean relations. Meanwhile, North Korea, while invoking the discourse of the "new Cold War," sought to utilize the deterioration of U.S.-China relations and the strategic competition between the United States and China to carve out strategic space unaffected by U.S. influence, striving to overcome international pressure. Additionally, North Korea's military was not an adversary due to North Korea's nuclear capabilities and emphasizing in the Nuclear Weapons Act that nuclear weapons were a means of safeguarding national sovereignty, territory, and fundamental interests.

The reduction in the significance of North-South relations is evident in recent references to "twostate relations" by North Korea. Recent plenary sessions and speeches by North Korea indicate new changes in inter-Korean relations. North Korea emphasized its readiness for war at any time, expressing

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its determination to occupy and annex South Korea in the event of war. Moreover, North Korea plans to reorganize and revamp all organizations related to inter-Korean relations. This demonstrates a willingness to change previous approaches and establish a system suitable for a new era. However, whether these changes in North Korea are mere posturing for negotiations or a shift in strategy to a more aggressive stance, close observation of North Korea's changes and appropriate responses are necessary.

**Center for Unification Studies** 

As a midterm task in response to North Korea's changes in oreign and Inter-Korean strategy, several strategies can be considered. Strengthening cooperation with Russia: Enhanced military and economic cooperation with Russia can be pursued to improve relations with North Korea. Russia is one of the major countries possessing high compatibility in weapons systems with North Korea and has advanced nuclear, missile, and space technology, making it a key player. Expansion of cooperation among China, Russia, and North Korea: Instead of viewing cooperation between North Korea, China, and Russia solely through the lens of a new Cold War dynamic, efforts should be made to utilize China and Russia to facilitate dialogue with North Korea. Responding to North Korea's substantive threats: Building expanded deterrence capabilities to address North Korea's nuclear weapons and missile programs is essential. Responding to changes in the international order: The current order is characterized by fluid boundaries and conflicts depending on the issue. Therefore, flexible and proactive diplomacy should be pursued to secure national interests and seek responses to North Korea. Balance between external and North Korean strategies: Establishing strategies that turn the Korean Peninsula issue into a common agenda for East Asia, inducing North Korea's participation and contributing to regional stability, requires domestic consensus for sustainable and stable policies.

#### Program

Moderator: Kim, Taek-bin (Senior Researcher, IPUS at SNU)
Speaker: Choi Yong-hwan (Senior Research Fellow, INSS)



#### ◆ [101st Unification Studies Forum] North Korean Socio-Cultural policies and trends

- Date: Thursday, May 16, 2024, 15:00 - 17:00 (KST)

- Venue: Online video conference (ZOOM)
- Topic: North Korean Socio-Cultural policies and trends

The Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University(IPUS at SNU) hosted the 101st Unification Studies Forum on Thursday, May 16, 2024, under the theme of "North Korean Socio-Cultural policies and trends". The Unification Studies Forum is an expansion and reorganization of the Unification Policy Forum, which was held 75 times between 2006 and 2020, and is now in its 101th edition. The forum was moderated by Dr. Kim Philo, a professor at IPUS, who opened the forum with a welcome speech.

During this forum, HK research professor Jeon Young-seon explained recent North Korean Socio-Cultural policies and trends. Before 2019, North Korea set two major goals: 'Socialist Civilization' and 'Globalization.' The aim of the 'Socialist Civilization' was to enable the people to enjoy a civilization of global standards, thereby strengthening the socialist system. The emphasis on globalization was highlighted through the trial performance of the Moranbong Band on July 6, 2012, which called for fundamental innovation and change. During his speech at the event, Kim Jong-un stressed that "we must boldly accept and make our own the good things from other countries while creating excellent things unique to our nation that suit our people's tastes" in an effort to develop North Korea's music and arts to a global level[Rodong Sinmun, July 9, 2012].

However, after 2019, the situation in North Korea changed rapidly due to the breakdown of the Hanoi Summit and the COVID-19 pandemic. Following the breakdown of the Hanoi Summit, North Korea revised its foreign policy, shifting from improving external relations to strengthening anti-imperialist confrontations. This led to the severance of dialogue with the United States and South Korea, and on June 25, 2023, a large-scale mass rally was held on 'Anti-American Struggle Day.' During this period, the concept of 'Our State First' emerged. This concept was first mentioned in the Rodong Simmun article reporting the test launch of Hwasong-15 on November 30, 2017, and was later spread through a box article in the 2018 issue of the magazine <sup>II</sup>Choson Women<sub>JI</sub>. Kim Jong-un reiterated this concept in his New Year's address in 2019.

After the breakdown of the Hanoi Summit, North Korea declared a 'frontal breakthrough' campaign, but the economic crisis developed into a systemic crisis due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Border closures severed foreign trade, and health crises emphasized 'People-First' ideology. In the face of a food crisis caused by natural disasters, North Korea braced itself for a 'March of Hardship.' Kim Jongun emphasized, "all Party members and workers must hold firm to the belief in our state-first ideology, vigorously push forward our socialist economic construction in our own way, and splendidly build our precious socialist home, which has been defended through generations."

Since 2022, North Korea has strengthened anti-imperialist international solidarity, showing a pro-Russian stance politically while promoting civil exchanges such as tourism. The year 2024 has been designated as the year of friendship between China and North Korea, aiming to strengthen socialist international solidarity with Southeast Asian countries. A delegation led by Kim Song-nam, head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party, visited China, Vietnam, and Laos from March 21, 2024.

Internally, in order to maintain the collectivist spirit as the essence of socialism, North Korea actively promoted the five major educational campaigns: revolutionary tradition education, loyalty education, patriotism education, anti-imperialist class education, and moral education. Especially emphasizing absolute loyalty to Kim Jong-un, it was stated that "absolute loyalty to our respected General Secretary

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is the spiritual strength that makes our people think and act according to the Party Central Committee's ideological will." Additionally, several ideological control laws were enacted, including the <sup>r</sup>Anti-Reactionary Thought and Culture Rejection Act<sub>J</sub> in December 2020, the <sup>r</sup>Youth Education Guarantee Act<sub>J</sub> in 2021, and the <sup>r</sup>Pyongyang Cultural Language Protection Act<sub>J</sub> in January 2023.

The <sup>r</sup>Pyongyang Cultural Language Protection Act<sub>J</sub>, enacted in January 2023, is aimed at protecting 'Pyongyang cultural language' and establishing a socialist linguistic lifestyle by strictly punishing the influx and dissemination of non-normative language. The law defines "vocabulary, grammar, and intonation that have been westernized, Japanized, or Sinicized to the extent that they have completely lost the essence of the Korean language as a mongrel language that is vile and detestable trash with no parallel in the world" (Article 2 definition), and prescribes severe punishments to "eradicate the phenomenon of using puppet speech" (Article 1).

Furthermore, 'law-abiding spirit' is emphasized as a socialist virtue, and in the era of 'Our State First,' it is defined as a patriotic movement, a practice of patriotism by adhering to the laws set by the state. In addition, North Korea has concretized its vision of a socialist utopia, promoting rural and mountainous urban development, and implementing the 20×10 policy to develop 20 selected local counties over ten years.

In relations with South Korea, Kim Jong-un, during the 8th Central Committee's 9th plenary meeting of the Workers' Party from December 26 to 30, 2023, criticized the South Korean government's North Korea policy as only pursuing 'regime collapse' and 'absorption unification,' declaring a fundamental redefinition of unification policy and a fundamental shift in the principles and direction of the struggle against South Korea. On January 1, 2024, a meeting was held led by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to abolish and organize the South Korean-related institutions, closing all relevant sites. In his policy speech at the Supreme People's Assembly on January 15, Kim Jong-un ordered the demolition of the "Three Charters for National Reunification Memorial Tower," an eyesore at the southern gateway of Pyongyang, and emphasized that "the concepts of 'reunification,' reconciliation,' and 'compatriots' should be completely eliminated from the history of the Republic." This suggests a potential constitutional amendment.

#### Program

- Moderator: Kim, Philo (Professor, IPUS at SNU)

- Speaker: Jeon, Young-seon (HK research professor, Institute of himanities for Unification at KKU)



## [102nd Unification Studies Forum] North Korea's State and Law: Evaluating and Forecasting Socialist Rule of Law

- Date: Tuesday, June 11, 2024, 15:00 17:00 (KST)
- Venue: Online video conference (ZOOM)
- Topic: North Korea's State and Law: Evaluating and Forecasting Socialist Rule of Law

The Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University(IPUS at SNU) hosted the 102nd Unification Studies Forum on Thursday, June 11, 2024, under the theme of "North Korea's State and Law: Evaluating and Forecasting Socialist Rule of Law". The Unification Studies Forum is an expansion and reorganization of the Unification Policy Forum, which was held 75 times between 2006 and 2020, and is now in its 102th edition. The forum was moderated by Dr. Kim Taek-bin, a senior researcher at IPUS, who opened the forum with a welcome speech.

In her presentation, Dr. Kang discussed the evolution of North Korea's rule of law and its contentious aspects. She explained that in November 2017, North Korea proclaimed the doctrine of "Our State First," emphasizing the dignity and stability of the state. This doctrine emerged in the context of North Korea's sixth nuclear test and successful hydrogen bomb test in September 2017, which led to increased international sanctions. The "Our State First" ideology underscores concepts such as "Our Leader," "Our Ideology," and "Our System," highlighting the superiority and pride of the North Korean regime. This ideological framework has been a significant factor in strengthening elements of rule of law in North Korea.

Dr. Kang noted that North Korea's concept of rule of law differs from the Western understanding. In North Korea, law functions as an instrument to implement state policies, with the directives of the state and the party taking precedence. During Kim Jong-il's era, legal studies expanded and the law itself began to be recognized as an independent subject of research. According to Kim Il-sung's theories of transitional periods and proletarian dictatorship, the law was employed as a means to reinforce state power, a trend that continues under Kim Jong-un's regime.

Under Kim Jong-un, the process of legal codification has become more systematic, reflected in the frequency of new legislation and revisions. From 2012 to 2023, 98 new laws were enacted, and 224 laws were amended at least once. This indicates an effort to refine the legal system and strengthen state control. Dr. Kang identified two main pillars of legal initiatives during Kim Jong-un's tenure: people's welfare and social control. In terms of welfare, various laws have been enacted or revised across sectors like education, healthcare, environmental management, and social welfare. These efforts can be seen as attempts by North Korea to align with international norms and universal values. In contrast, laws aimed at social control, such as the Anti-Reactionary Thought and Culture Rejection Act and the State Secrets Protection Act, reinforce social regulation and regime stability.

Dr. Kang concluded that North Korea's socialist rule of law can be understood as an effort to implement state policies and stabilize the regime through legal means. While law in North Korea serves as a tool to protect the rights and demands of the people, it is also used to reinforce the regime's strength.

Under Kim Jong-un, there is an ongoing emphasis on building a state ruled by law, even as discussions continue about the potential misuse of the law and the feasibility of achieving universal rule of law principles.

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North Korea's legal system, as Dr. Kang observed, has significant potential for abuse as a means of governance, often conflicting with the universal values of rule of law. Nevertheless, North Korea's attempt to present itself as a state governed by law can be interpreted as part of its effort to enhance its standing as a legitimate state in the international community.

In conclusion, Dr. Kang emphasized that the development of North Korea's rule of law and state system is a complex process that seeks to balance internal control with external legitimacy. Under Kim Jongun, the efforts to legalize and systematize governance have intensified, aimed at stabilizing the regime and strengthening its control. The concept of a socialist rule of law in North Korea remains contentious, and its future viability will need to be continuously assessed in the context of changing international relations.

#### Program

- Moderator: Kim, Taek-bin (Senior Researcher, IPUS at SNU)

- Speaker: Kang, Hye-seok (Research Professor, IKPS at SNU)



# [103rd Unification Studies Forum] 70 years of Division, 30 years of Crisis, and Han peninsula at Crossroads

- Date: Friday, October 18, 2024, 15:00 17:00 (KST)
- Venue: Online video conference (ZOOM)
- Topic: 70 years of Division, 30 years of Crisis, and Han peninsula at Crossroads

The Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University(IPUS at SNU) hosted the 103rd Unification Studies Forum on Friday, October 18, 2024, under the theme of "70 years of Division, 30 years of Crisis, and Han peninsula at Crossroads". The Unification Studies Forum is an expansion and reorganization of the Unification Policy Forum, which was held 75 times between 2006 and 2020, and is now in its 103th edition. The forum was moderated by Dr. Kim Taek-bin, a senior researcher at IPUS, who opened the forum with a welcome speech.

Professor Ahn Kyung-mo particularly explained North Korea's "new strategic line" as a national strategy following the 2018 Korean Peninsula peace process. Through this new strategic line in 2018, North Korea attempted to shift from a balanced strategy, characterized by the byungjin line, to a bandwagoning strategy, but this effort faltered alongside the peace process. After several years of transitional deliberation, North Korea made it clear by 2022 that it would return to the byungjin line, aiming for structural peace based on its own capabilities rather than pursuing relational peace grounded in mutual trust. The reemerged byungjin line's core lies in combining the logic of an arms race, centered on nuclear power, with a realist perspective focused on national capabilities and variables, seeking to achieve wealth and military strength under sanctions through self-reliance.

As part of this balanced strategy, one can also approach the North's northern triangle relations as an external balancing measure. North Korea's cooperation with China, with which it shares a traditional friendship, and recently with Russia, with whom it has signed new agreements to tighten their relationship, must be viewed in the context of this shift from a bandwagoning strategy to a balanced strategy. The same applies to North Korea's strategy toward South Korea. Since 2018, North Korea emphasized that the South was not its main enemy and attempted to manage inter-Korean relations stably. However, after the failure of the Hanoi summit, North Korea adopted a new strategic line, reentering a phase of conflict that culminated in last year's presentation of the "two hostile states theory." How then should we respond to this two-state theory, which has emerged as a result of North Korea's strategic shift? Some have suggested an optimistic view, pointing out that East Germany also proposed a two-state theory before reunification, but it did not prevent reunification. However, the quantity and quality of exchanges and cooperation between East and West Germany were incomparable to those of the two Koreas. Furthermore, the unification of East and West Germany occurred under the international conditions of détente, while the current international situation surrounding the Korean Peninsula is vastly different. Therefore, rather than falling into an overly optimistic view, a serious deliberation on inter-Korean relations is required at this time.

In concluding the forum, Professor Ahn noted that, while it is true that conflict and confrontation have persisted throughout the 70 years of division, one cannot deny that there have also been positive phases of dialogue and cooperation. He questioned whether we should now return to a path of hostility after these 70 years, and urged a reflection on whether there are alternative options available. He emphasized the need to explore various options that serve South Korea's interests, going beyond the frameworks of past North Korea policies and applying imagination in addressing the current challenges.

#### Program

Moderator: Kim, Taek-bin (Senior Researcher, IPUS at SNU)
 Speaker: Ahn, Kyung-mo (Professor, National Defense University)



문의사항은 담당자 📾 kwondh92@snu.ac.kr 에게 연락 바랍니다

[104th Unification Studies Forum] The North Korean Economy under Kim Jong Un: Trends and Key Issues

- Date: Thursday, November 5, 2024, 15:00 17:00 (KST)
- Venue: Online video conference (ZOOM)
- Topic: The North Korean Economy under Kim Jong Un: Trends and Key Issues

The Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University(IPUS at SNU) hosted the 104th Unification Studies Forum on Tuesday, November 5, 2024, under the theme of "The North Korean Economy under Kim Jong Un: Trends and Key Issues". The Unification Studies Forum is an expansion and reorganization of the Unification Policy Forum, which was held 75 times between 2006 and 2020, and is now in its 104th edition. The forum was moderated by Dr. Kim Taek-bin, a senior researcher at IPUS, who opened the forum with a welcome speech.

Dr. Lee opened the session by explaining that North Korea, under Kim Jong Un's leadership, adopted the "Our Style Economic Management Method" to introduce economic reforms accommodating elements of marketization. This approach encompasses policies such as the Socialist Enterprise Management Responsibility System in the industrial sector, the Field Responsibility System in agriculture, and Economic Development Zones in the realm of foreign trade, all aimed at enhancing autonomy and institutionalizing market practices. However, this policy represents a flexible acceptance of marketization within the framework of a planned economy rather than a fundamental shift in the regime's underlying system.

Following the unsuccessful Hanoi Summit in 2019, Kim Jong Un emphasized "self-reliance" and a "frontal breakthrough" strategy to strengthen centralized government control over the economy in response to intensifying sanctions. Revisions to trade laws and efforts to centralize grain trade in 2020 and 2022 illustrate this trend toward enhancing state autonomy in economic governance. Rather than signaling a return to traditional planned economics, these policy adjustments appear to aim at institutionalizing the informal economy under state oversight.

While North Korea recorded modest economic growth in the early years of Kim Jong Un's administration, accelerated nuclear development in 2017 and 2018 resulted in unprecedentedly severe sanctions, leading to significant economic contraction and negative growth rates. Key industries, particularly mining and heavy industry, faced substantial setbacks, and the COVID-19 pandemic's resulting border closures and movement restrictions further stymied economic activity beginning in 2020. Sanctions have severely restricted North Korea's exports and imports, exerting a direct impact on real income and production. With sanctions impacting the informal economy as well, recent research suggests that North Korea's actual growth rate may be even lower than estimated by the Bank of Korea, underscoring substantial losses in the informal sector.

Historically, North Korea has demonstrated a high degree of trade dependence, particularly with China.

It imports most electronic and consumer goods while exporting coal and other mineral resources to earn foreign currency. In response to sanctions that have transformed the trade structure, North Korea has sought alternative export industries, such as human hair products, including wigs and eyelashes. To offset a chronic trade deficit, North Korea relies on foreign currency inflows from overseas labor dispatch, international aid, and remittances. Recently, trade with China, which had stalled due to the pandemic, has begun to recover, suggesting a slight improvement in North Korea's foreign currency reserves.

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Finally, Dr. Lee addressed the issue of North Korea-Russia cooperation. North Korea plans to supply Russia with conventional weaponry and dispatch labor for post-conflict reconstruction, moves that may improve North Korea's foreign currency inflow in the short term. However, uncertainties remain regarding the sustainability of this relationship for long-term economic growth. Trade with Russia involves logistical inefficiencies in terms of transportation and customs processes, and North Korea has limited alternative export items beyond weaponry. Dr. Lee emphasized that while enhanced cooperation with Russia could offer short-term economic benefits, institutional reforms and capital investment are essential to ensure the sustainability of North Korea's economic system.

#### Program

- Moderator: Kim, Taek-bin (Senior Researcher, IPUS at SNU)

- Speaker: Lee, Jong-min (Associate Researcher, Bank of Korea)



## [105th Unification Studies Forum] The Rise of the Middle Class in North Korea and Social Changes

- Date: Monday, November 18, 2024, 15:00 17:00 (KST)
- Venue: Online video conference (ZOOM)
- Topic: The Rise of the Middle Class in North Korea and Social Changes

The Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University(IPUS at SNU) hosted the 105th Unification Studies Forum on Monday, November 18, 2024, under the theme of "The Rise of the Middle Class in North Korea and Social Changes". The Unification Studies Forum is an expansion and reorganization of the Unification Policy Forum, which was held 75 times between 2006 and 2020, and is now in its 104th edition. The forum was moderated by Professor Cho who opened the forum with a welcome speech.

Dr. Jung opened the session by explaining that North Korean society has traditionally been structured around a stratified system based on political background and social classification. This system divides the population into three classes: the core class, the wavering class, and the hostile class, with an individual's social standing and quality of life determined by their background. While the Kim Jong Un regime has sought to stabilize the system by strengthening policies favoring the core class, the rise of the middle class, driven by marketization and the expansion of the informal economy, has introduced significant changes to the traditional social order.

The middle class in North Korea can be categorized into two groups: the "old" middle class and the "new" middle class. The old middle class comprised individuals who owned means of production and lived relatively prosperous lives through their own labor, such as mid-level farmers or urban petit bourgeoisie. In contrast, the new middle class has emerged amid market reforms and economic transformation. They navigate both formal employment and informal economic activities to achieve economic stability and status. This new middle class is divided into three types: power-based, professional, and commercial middle classes. Power-based middle-class individuals leverage their political capital to generate income, while the professional middle class consists of experts such as doctors, teachers, and researchers. The commercial middle class, on the other hand, is composed of traders and private service providers who have achieved economic success through market activities.

The growth of the middle class has become a key driver of economic and cultural change in North Korea. The development of markets and the informal economy has significantly boosted the purchasing power of this class, fueling the expansion of consumer markets. The middle class increasingly engages in diverse consumption patterns, including high-end appliances, imported food products, and fashion, contributing to the emergence of new lifestyles and greater cultural diversity in North Korea. Notably, the progress in informatization has also played a critical role in facilitating the economic activities and consumption habits of the middle class.

Under Kim Jong Un's leadership, North Korea has pursued informatization policies to digitize its society. The government has built an internal national network called the "Kwangmyong" intranet and expanded mobile telecommunications, while strengthening education in science and technology. These measures have enabled residents to increase their participation in economic and cultural activities, although challenges persist. Access to the intranet remains limited, with digital disparities between urban and rural areas and between Pyongyang and provincial regions exacerbating social inequalities.

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Despite the rise of the middle class, North Korea continues to face significant challenges. The growth of the middle class is constrained by social mobility barriers tied to political background, conflicts between old and new middle classes, and persistent economic inequality. In particular, the economic gap between urban and rural areas, as well as between central and peripheral regions, has hindered the further expansion of the middle class.

The Kim Jong Un regime has introduced legislative and policy measures to address these disparities, including the enactment of the "Law on the Development of Cities and Counties" and the "Rural Development Act," with the goal of achieving balanced regional development. However, fundamental limitations remain due to international sanctions, resource shortages, and low technological capacity. The uneven progress in informatization further hampers the growth of digital commerce and the electronic economy, limiting the dynamism and openness of North Korean society.

In conclusion, North Korea's middle class has emerged as a significant social stratum amid the transition toward a market-based and information-driven economy. While the middle class contributes to societal transformation through increased purchasing power and cultural consumption, it continues to face challenges such as class conflict, digital disparities, and regional imbalances. Unless these issues are addressed, the broader development and stability of North Korean society will remain constrained.

#### Program

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Moderator: Cho, Dong-Jun (Professor, SNU)Speaker: Jung, Eun-mi (Researcher, KINU)

#### | 제105차 | 통일학포럼 너울대한고 북한의 중산층 부상과 사회변동 일시 \_\_\_\_\_ 2024년 11월 18일 월요일 오후 3시 장 소 온라인 화상회의 💿 2 연사 정은미 (통일연구원 연구위원) 사회 시용대학교 동일원파연구원 서용대학교 동일원파연구원 정은미 조동준 (서울대학교 정치외교학부교수) | 참가신청 | 서울대학교 통일평화연구원 참가를 희망하시는 분들께서는 우측 QR코드 또는 아래 구글폼 링크를 통해 2024년 11월 17일 일요일 오후 6시까지 사전신청 해주시기 바랍니다. 통일학 포럼 문의사항은 담당자 📾 kwondh92@snu.ac.kr 에게 연락 바랍니다.

### Unification Studies Seminar

The IPUS at SNU holds "Unification Studies Seminar" by inviting scholars and experts from home and abroad to build the academic foundation of unification studies and expand its horizons.

## 제 81차 통일학 세미나

## 2023년도 북한이탈주민 조사사업 결과보고 세미나

- 일시: 2024년 6월 10일(월) 19시~22시
- 장소: Zoom 온라인 \*비공개
- 사회: 김병로(통일평화연구원), 이정철(서울대)
- 발표: 김택빈(통일평화연구원), 임수진(국가안보전략연구원), 조현주(통일평화연구원), 최은영(통일평화연구원)
- 토론: 안경모(국방대), 정은미(통일연구원), 송현진(이화여대), 장철운(통일연구원), 고광영(평화나눔연구소),
   강혜석(서울대 한국정치연구소), 신효숙(북한대학원대학교), 최장호(대외경제정책연구원), 정승호(인천대)

🖉 서울대학교 통일평화연구원

제82차 통일학 세미나

북한이탈주민 조사사업 연구 현안 진단

• 장소: 통일평화연구원 대회의실 (교육협력동 9층) + Zoom 온라인 \*비공개

• 토론 및 자문: 정은미(통일연구원), 최지영(통일연구원), 황진태(동국대)

서울대학교 통일평화연구원 The Institute for Peace and Unification Studies

• 일시: 2025년 3월 12일(수) 15시~17시

• 사회: 김병로(통일평화연구원), 이정철(서울대)



## IPUS Annual Report 2024-2025

# Center for Peace Studies

- Peace Studies Forum
- Peace Studies Seminar

## Peace Studies Forum

The IPUS at SNU regularly organizes the IPUS Peace Studies Forum, which invites distinguished researchers and speakers who are active in the peace agenda in civil society, public and private sectors to present and discuss various topics related to peace studies. The Peace Studies Forum embraces a diverse spectrum of peace theory, practice, and policy, and aims to broaden the horizons of peace studies by discussing global and Asian peace studies, and East-West peace studies.

#### • [22nd Peace Studies Forum] Paradigm Shift in Immigration Policy for Migrant Integration

Date: Wednesday, May 22, 2024, 17:30-19:00
Venue: Online Video Conference (ZOOM)
Topic: Paradigm Shift in Immigration Policy for Migrant Integration

The Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University (IPUS at SNU) held the 22nd Peace Studies Forum on Wednesday, May 22, 2024, under the overarching theme of 'Peaceful Coexistence: Post-Division and Multiculturalism.' The forum featured a discussion led by Research Fellow Jang Juyoung from the Migration Research and Training Centre under the main topic 'Paradigm sight in Immigration Policy for Migrant Integration.' Professor Chin Meejung from the Department of Child Development and Family Studies at Seoul National University chaired the forum, introducing the agenda for the upcoming Peace Studies Fora before delivering welcoming remarks and officially opening the event.

In this forum, Dr. Jang aimed to review the changes and current status of Korea's immigration policies and explore the direction of immigration policy necessary for social integration. First, Dr. Jang introduced various concepts of migrants based on statistics compiled by the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of the Interior and Safety to explain the scale of migrants in Korea. "The number of 'foreigners legally residing in Korea with long-term visa' announced by the Ministry of Justice is about 1.69 million, accounting for 3.3% of the total population, as of 2022," Dr. Jang said, and "which is a significant increase compared to 1998, when it was about 150,000, accounting for 0.3% of the total population." "The 'foreign residents' cited in the Ministry of the Interior and Safety's statistics are estimated to be about 2.26 million as of 2022, accounting for 4.4% of the total population," she explained, "and the reason for the discrepancy with the Ministry of Justice's statistics is that the Ministry of the Interior and Safety's statistics include Koreans who are not foreigners." "Since the number of undocumented stateless persons of foreign origin born in Korea is not counted, no one knows the exact number of immigrants living in Korea," Dr. Jang continued, "but nevertheless, the number of foreigners living in Korea who are long-term residents continues to increase." Specifically, "the origin of migrants is diversifying and the difference in gender and age structure between urban and rural areas is changing compared to the past," Dr. Jang said, noting that "one of the most notable phenomena is the increasing number of children and adolescents with migrant backgrounds in schools."

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Dr. Jang went on to explain the changing concept of migrant integration, highlighting the lack of an agreed concept of 'migrant integration' in a world where the number and diversity of migrants are increasing. In particular, she introduced a paper by Spencer & Charlsey (2021), which states that "despite the shift in the existing debate from 'assimilation' to 'integration', there are increasing criticisms of the concept, objectives, and measurement of migrant integration." She explained that "there are criticisms that the focus on the justification and desirable goals of integration, rather than the process of integration, problematizes 'migrants as the only others in need of integration' and assumes a society as a unified ideal structure." Moving further from the concept of acculturation, which refers to "changes in values, attitudes, behaviors, and identities as a result of the relationship between migrants and natives," Dr. Jang drew attention to Spencer and Charlsey's (2021) concept of integration as a process, which they describe as "a multidirectional, spatial, transnational, and temporary process of individual and social change in structural, social, cultural, and civic spheres and identities. Dr. Jang noted the author's explanation that "the antonym of integration is not 'disintegration' but 'the absence of interaction or the process of individual and social change,'" and emphasized that "this will have great significance for Korean society."

Dr. Jang went on to explain the decision-making process of immigration and integration policies by explaining the model of 'combining immigration integration policies with interactive acculturation strategies' proposed by Bourhis et al. (1997), and introduced the evolution of Korea's migrant integration policies, starting with the 1991 Industrial Training Program and the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs' "Project for Marriage between Rural Bachelors and Korean Chinese Women," and the ratification and entry into force of the Refugee Convention in 1993. Dr. Jang emphasized the lack of an explicit definition of migrant 'integration' as in other countries, and introduced the vision and policy goals of the 'Master Plan for Immigration Policy,' Korea's flagship migrant integration policy launched in 2008. Specifically, Dr. Jang noted that "it is noteworthy that the vision of the first through fourth 'Master Plan for Immigration Policy' focuses only on 'conforming to global standards,'" and that "the actual policies for social integration within the policy goals have not changed significantly."

Dr. Jang then assessed the direction of Korea's migrant integration policies, noting that "there are many policies in place that raise questions about whether migrants are viewed on an equal footing." In particular, "discrimination and exclusion of migrants in social services is noticeable," she said, citing the issue of equal pay for migrant domestic workers as the most contentious issue, and pointing out that "confusion exists regarding the prioritization criteria for migrants' membership in society." In particular, She highlighted national health insurance as the most visible area of discrimination, noting that "the lack of protection for children and adolescents with migrant backgrounds", and that there is a "lack of consistency" regarding "restrictions and permissions on inviting migrant family members."

Finally, Dr. Jang emphasized that "what we need to talk about at this point is a paradigm shift toward integration of natives and immigrants," citing recent statistics showing that more respondents believe that "at a certain point in time, foreigners should be able to receive the same welfare benefits as Koreans," and fewer respondents believe that "immigrants should be reduced." Specifically, Dr. Jang

stressed that "we need to shift the narrative from 'multiculturalism' to 'diversity' and gradually expand the scope of social services for migrants to prevent their vulnerability by emphasizing their residency at the community level where they actually live." "We need to change the direction to respect the autonomy of migrants instead of emphasizing assimilation only," she said, "and build a sustainable social integration paradigm by establishing policy communication strategies centered on alternative discourses and promoting 'social integration as a process' and attempting to improve the trials and errors that occur along the way.

#### Program

- Chair: Chin, Meejung (Professor, Dept. of Child Development and Family Studies at Seoul National University)

- Presenter: Jang, Juyoung (Research Fellow, Migration Research and Training Centre)



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Outreach

## [23rd Peace Studies Forum] Racism and Xenophobia in Post-Unification German Society

- Date: Wednesday, May 29, 2024, 17:00-18:30
- Venue: Online Video Conference (ZOOM)
- Topic: Racism and Xenophobia in Post-Unification German Society

The Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University (IPUS at SNU) held the 23rd Peace Studies Forum on Wednesday, May 29, 2024, under the overarching theme of 'Peaceful Coexistence: Post-Division and Multiculturalism.' The forum featured a discussion led by Professor Choi Yun-Young from the Department of German Language and Literature at Seoul National University under the main topic 'Racism and Xenophobia in Post-Unification German Society.' Professor Lee No-Eun from the Department of German Language and Literature at Incheon National University chaired the forum, opening the event with welcoming remarks.

In this forum, Prof. Choi examined the patterns and causes of terrorism against migrants since German reunifcation, exploring how real individuals, especially migrants, have experienced this period through the lens of literature. Choi stated that "as of 2022, the proportion of people with immigration backgrounds in Germany is 28.7% of the total population," explaining that half hold German citizenship and the other half hold foreign citizenship. "This is because West Germany used Gastarbeiter to fill the labor needs during the economic revival," Choi noted, further explaining that "according to the latest statistics, Turkey has the highest proportion, followed by Ukraine." "Interestingly, statistics show that regions with the highest levels of hostility toward foreigners are mainly in the former East Germany, despite having a low percentage of foreigners. The phenomenon of 'xenophobia without foreigners' is noteworthy." Choi explained.

Professor Choi continued to delve into the xenophobic terrorist attacks that occurred shortly after unification, such as the Hoyerswerda riots (1991), the Rostock-Lichtenhagen riots (1992), and the Mölln arson attack (1992). She noted that "these incidents all occurred in West Germany and involved not only the far right but also the middle class, making them even more shocking." She then introduced Z. Şenocak's quote, "The Berlin Wall came down. That wall fell on the heads of the Turks," and explained that "as Şenocak pointed out, German unification revived the long-held Pandora's box of 'German national' identity, labeling immigrants as non-Germans and leading to much discrimination and hatred, including terrorist attacks against them." In analyzing the causes of xenophobic terrorism, Professor Choi identified two key factors: "(1) the tendency to blame foreigners for internal social problems such as unemployment, social security, and crime rates after unification, and (2) the formation of anti-foreigner sentiment due to the rise of a new nationalism." She also pointed out that policies were implemented one step too late, despite the rapid progress of multicultural society.

Specifically, Professor Choi discussed Germany's foreign policy. She explained that "West Germany's policy shifted its focus from the Rotationsprinzip, which involved replacing migrant workers every

three years, to the Integrationsprinzip, which emphasized integrating immigrants into society." "East Germany's immigration policy, in contrast, operated under a strict socialist planned economy," she noted, "and it actively recruited workers from Poland, Hungary, Mozambique, Cuba, Vietnam, and North Korea (and other countries) through the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) to address labor shortages." She explained "These workers were expected to return to their home countries after completing their assignments." Professor Choi goes on to say that "after reunification, Germany enacted new asylum laws and recognized itself as an immigration country in the 2000s, granting German citizenship to foreign-born children born in Germany." However, she criticized the lack of a consistent and long-term foreign policy in unified Germany, pointing out that policies fluctuated significantly depending on the ruling government.

Professor Choi then introduced several literary works focusing on immigrants in unified Germany to examine the lives of individual immigrants who lived through that period. First, she introduced the work of Hung Gurst, a Vietnamese writer who examined a cross-section of society in unified Germany from the perspective of an immigrant. She also highlighted his experience of discrimination due to cultural differences. Professor Choi then turned to the works of Turkish writers E. S. Özdamar and Z. Senocak, particularly Senocak's works that explore themes of the post-war period and overcoming the past. These works reveal the struggles of individual Jews who returned to Germany from Turkey as they tried to adapt to German society in their own ways. She also introduced the work of M. Biller, a Jewish writer who criticized former German Chancellor Willy Brandt's emphasis on ethnic identity in his later years. Biller's writings, according to Professor Choi, argue that "the emphasis on nationalism has led to the retreat of multicultural values and created many conflicts." Professor Choi also discussed Wladimir Kaminer's work, which examines the lives of Jews who migrated from Russia to Germany. Lastly, Professor Choi concluded by discussing a work that explores the the life of a second-generation immigrant. The Individual grew up in Berlin and identidied as German, only to be pushed aside as an outsider after German reunification. The work was vividly delivered by Professor Choi, portraying the confusion, pain, and discrimination experienced by second-generation immigrants in the wake of the German reunification.

#### Program

Chair: Lee, No-Eun (Professor, Dept. of German Language and Literature at Incheon National University)
 Presenter: Choi, Yun-Young (Professor, Dept. of German Language and Literature at Seoul National University)

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서웅대한교

<mark>일평화연구원</mark> 평화학 포럼 서울대학교

통일평화연구원

평화학 포럼

IPUS

서욱대학교 통일

서울대학교

**ミ임평화연구원** 

평화학 포럼

#### • [24th Peace Studies Forum] Racism and Xenophobia in Korean Society

- Date: Wednesday, June 19, 2024, 17:00-18:30 - Venue: Online Video Conference (ZOOM)
- Topic: Racism and Xenophobia in Korean Society

The Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University (IPUS at SNU) held the 24th Peace Studies Forum on Wednesday, June 19, 2024, under the overarching theme of 'Peaceful Coexistence: Post-Division and Multiculturalism.' The forum featured a discussion led by Professor Yi, Sohoon from the Graduate School of International Studies at Korea University under the main topic 'Racism and Xenophobia in Korean Society.' Park, Seo Yeon, Director of Ansan Multicultural Small Library, chaired the forum, opening the event with welcoming remarks.

In this forum, Professor Yi examined the situation in the last century, when the concept of race first emerged, from a comparative perspective with the present, in order to consider the misconceptions and preconceptions we have about race. First, she presented three theses: "Race is a constructed concept, and historically, white supremacy has served to justify European imperialism and colonialism, and the concept of race has influenced the formation of modernity and modernization." Second, Prof. Yi argued that "historically, the formation of 'Koreanness' has been accompanied by racial processes, but due to unique historical processes, racial hierarchies have been obscured, contradicted, and developed with compromised logics." Finally, Professor Yi emphasized that "we need to examine how to understand the historically shaped concept of racism and how new forms of racism are unfolding in Korean society, which has entered the ranks of high-income countries in the 21st century."

Professor Yi first attempted a conceptual approach to race based on the concept defined by Aníbal Quijano, describing it as "a socio-historically constructed concept that justifies power structures and domination relationships such as colonialism based on beliefs about biological differences as 'natural superiority/ inferiority.'" Citing the work of Omi & Winant (2014), Yi explained that "racial identity is created and experienced through a series of historical and social processes, and as such, it is not a fixed stereotype, but is (re)defined, transformed, disrupted, and contested." Introducing the work of Keevak (2011), she explained that "the 'Mongoloid race' was created by the rise of medical discourse in the 19th century, which led to the study of the 'biological defects' of Mongoloids in comparison to the physical characteristics of Caucasians in order to create a 'scientific' distinction between Caucasians and people of color." In particular, Professor Yi described the historical flow of racism against yellow people, beginning in the late 1800s with the introduction of the 'Yellow Peril,' which posited that East Asians posed an existential threat to the Western world, and argued that "racist gender norms of 'violent men of color' and racism to 'protect women' have been perpetuated ever since."

Professor Yi then took a historical approach to racism in Korea, focusing on the Late Chosun period, when the concept of race was introduced to Korea. "In the context of a world order centered on the white European empire and the European invasion of Asia, Japanese-led 'Pan-Asianism' and 'the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere' could be used as a way to justify colonialism," Professor Yi explained.



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Center r Unification Against this backdrop, Yi pointed out that "the prevalence of social evolutionary theory in society led to a widespread belief in the superiority of the white race and the acceptance of the colonization of the superior race as 'natural,' supported by the emergence of 'pseudo-scientific' discourses such as eugenics, and coupled with a sense of urgency about the extinction of Asian species." In addition, "Under these circumstances, the modern concepts of race and ethnicity, which originated in the West, were utilized by the Korean intelligentsia to ritualize the collective identity of the people in a turbulent world order," Yi stated. Specifically, "the concept of 'race,' which emerged in the late 19th century, functioned as a conceptual framework for Korean intellectuals to understand the world and position Korea in the world earlier than the concept of 'ethnicity." "The concept of 'ethnicity' emerged in the early 20th century and led to the construction of a 'Korean' identity centered on intellectuals such as Shin Chae-ho, but Japan always used the concept of ethnicity in a racial sense and utilized it as an important discourse for colonization," Professor Yi said.

Professor Yi explained, "The concepts of 'race' and 'ethnicity' provided a conceptual framework for distinguishing between the 'Self' and the 'Other', and the 'subaltern' and the 'superior,' at a time when a modern national identity was needed." "Korea's history of colonization by Japan, a non-western, non-white empire, had the effect of masking Japanese racial ideology and racism, but Korean nationalism, while rejecting Japanese colonialism, also adopted/adapted conceptual frameworks and tools for race/ ethnicity, such as the 'Dangun lineage'," she continued. "The concept of 'Korean nation' was established as an identity through a racial process," Yi said, emphasizing that it should be understood as part of an outward, comparative, and global process. In other words, "Unlike societies under white colonization, the process of decolonization from an epistemological and knowledge production perspective excluded discussions of race, but we need to reflect on the deeply internalized concepts and everyday terminology in our society, recalling that racial/racist concepts are based on white supremacy ideas, and examine the racial meanings and dynamics of 'Korean' identity."

Finally, Professor Yi analyzed three cases, explaining that "we need to pay attention to the nature of Koreanness as the foundation of racism in the 21st century while examining the new dynamics of racism." Referring to the first case of the 'Parody of the Coffin Dance in Uijeongbu High School,' she explained that "Blackface itself is a very racial thing that was created for the purpose of caricaturing black people, and the fact that it is used as humor is also racist." In the second case, Professor Yi pointed to the 'no foreigners' as objects of fear, similar to 'Asian hatred' found in foreign countries." In the last case, the opposition to the construction of a mosque in Buk-gu, Daegu, Professor Yi explained that "the sentiment of Islamophobia is based on white supremacy, and this Western-originated hatred is being replicated in Korean society." As such, Prof. Yi concluded her lecture by recognizing the inherent xenophobia in Korean society that was revealed through these three cases and sharing her thoughts on the problem.

#### Program

Chair: Park, Seo Yeon (Director, Ansan Multicultural Small Library)
Presenter: Yi, Sohoon (Professor, Graduate School of International Studies at Korea University)




### • [25th Peace Studies Forum] A Year in Ulsan with Afghan Refugees

- Date: Wednesday, June 26, 2024, 17:00-18:30
- Venue: Online Video Conference (ZOOM)
- Topic: A Year in Ulsan with Afghan Refugees

The Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University (IPUS at SNU) held the 25th Peace Studies Forum on Wednesday, June 26, 2024, under the overarching theme of 'Peaceful Coexistence: Post-Division and Multiculturalism.' The forum featured a discussion led by Journalist Kim, Young Hwa from SISA IN under the main topic 'A Year in Ulsan with Afghan Refugees.' Kim, Boo-yuel, Professor of the Graduate School of Environmental Studies at Seoul National University, chaired the forum, opening the event with welcoming remarks.

In this forum, Kim looked at the integration of migrant neighborhoods in Ulsan's Dong-gu district and discussed the implications of this for Korean society, as migration and immigration are still at the center of conflicts and coexistence know-how is not being recorded. Looking back on her experience reporting on migrants, Kim said, "I saw a lot of negative public opinion in Korea about migrants and immigration, and I was more concerned about the fact that it was a problem that would happen more frequently in the future." "South Korea is gradually becoming a multicultural society, with the proportion of foreigners living in the country reaching 4.89% of the population in 2023, but the 'absence of politics' has led to conflicts over migration, such as Yemeni refugees in 2018 and the opposition to the construction of a mosque in Daegu in 2021." On the other hand, Kim emphasized, "The case of the late Ulsan Superintendent of education Roh Ok-hee, who sent out an inclusive message to Afghan refugees, is significant."

"The case of the Afghan special contributor's resettlement in Ulsan initially seemed to follow a similar pattern to the previous case, but looking back on it a year later, it did not turn into a serious conflict compared to the initial backlash," Kim emphasized. "This was largely due to the close cooperation between Hyundai Heavy Industries(HHI), the Ulsan Dong-gu Multicultural Center, and the Ulsan Office of Education," said Kim. According to Kim, "The Ulsan Office of Education established a communication council with parents to maintain smooth communication, and continued its active administration by organizing a special Korean language class for the children of Afghan donors." "HHI provided them with living space and bus transportation, and the Multicultural Center provided education and counseling programs to help them adapt to life in Korea," Kim said. "When each entity does its best to play its part, conflicts and discord related to multiculturalism can be resolved," Kim emphasized.

Citing statistics from the 2021 National Multicultural Acceptance Survey conducted by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, Kim said, "While the general public's multicultural acceptance is declining, it is encouraging that the youth's multicultural acceptance is relatively high." In particular, "the 'willingness to engage in interaction behavior,' which indicates the willingness to engage in social relationships, was significantly higher among youth compared to adults," and argued that "it is important to create a 'place where people can naturally interact,' such as in the case of Ulsan, to create unity." She also quoted U.S. Senator John Ossoff of Georgia in a documentary about the writer Minjin Lee, emphasizing that "Korean society still focuses on 'how well they have adapted' or 'how useful they are to us' when evaluating

migrants or immigrants, and this attitude needs to change."

Finally, based on her on-the-ground experience, Kim presented the implications of a year in Ulsan for Korean society, emphasizing that "it is important to make sure that the case of Ulsan does not end up being a single miracle or a single story." "The biggest reason for the increasing dropout rate of children from migrant backgrounds is related to 'language maladjustment," Kim said, emphasizing the need for systematic support for Korean language education, such as running special Korean classes for immigrants and refugees, as in the case of Ulsan. "Conflict itself is natural," Kim said, pointing out that "the more important issue is whether there is a 'message of inclusion' to calm anxiety and the role of politics and local communities to resolve conflict." "For Korea, which is heading toward a multicultural society, the experience of Ulsan is a 'preview of the future," Kim said, emphasizing that "we need to recall the words of the late Ulsan Superintendent of Education Roh Ok-hee that 'learning happens in unfamiliar places."

### Program

**Center for Peace Studies** 

Chair: Kim, Boo-yuel (Professor, Graduate School of Environmental Studies at Seoul National University)
 Presenter: Kim, Young Hwa (Journalist, SISA IN)

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Outreach

- [26th Peace Studies Forum] Post-Division Experiments and Coexistence Beyond the Korean Peninsula: A Case Study of the New Malden Korean School in the UK
  - Date: Thursday, October 24, 2024, 17:00-18:30
  - Venue: Online Video Conference(ZOOM)
  - Topic: Post-Division Experiments and Coexistence Beyond the Korean Peninsula: A Case Study of the New Malden Korean School in the UK

The Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University (IPUS at SNU) held the 26th Peace Studies Forum on Thursday, October 24, 2024, under the overarching theme of 'Peaceful Coexistence: Post-Division and Multiculturalism.' The forum featured a discussion led by Lee, President Hyang Kue from the New Malden Korean School in the UK under the main topic 'Post-Division Experiments and Coexistence Beyond the Korean Peninsula: A Case Study of the New Malden Korean School in the UK.' Choi, Eunyoung Christina, Senior Fellow of the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University, chaired the forum, opening the event with welcoming remarks.

In this forum, Dr. Lee explained the uniqueness of the New Malden area and the significance of the "experiment of overcoming division" at the Korean school in New Malden and the lessons learned from it. First, Dr. Lee emphasized that although the New Malden area in England is known as "Little Korea" because of the North and South Koreans living together, "it is not a monolithic community due to different immigration histories, socioeconomic circumstances, and cultures," and that the community of North Koreans is much more vulnerable. "The enactment of the North Korean Human Rights Act in the U.S. in 2004 and the North Korean Human Rights Act in the EU in 2006 spurred the exodus, which peaked between 2007 and 2008," Dr. Lee said. "However, in 2008, the U.K. government began requiring South Korean fingerprints on North Korean refugee applications, and at one point, the refusal rate skyrocketed to 80.1 percent in 2009." Dr. Lee then introduced a number of previous studies that examine "what makes them settle in Western societies and what makes them different from North Korean refugees in South Korean residents in New Malden along three axes: "1) the third space of 'Korean' as a minority; 2) the fluid 'economic interdependence'; and 3) the status of North Korean refugees as permanent residents.

"There are few places in the world where North and South Koreans live together, and because there is no continuous influx of North Korean refugees, it is actually a very temporary and exceptional space," Dr. Lee explained. "It is also unique in that North and South Koreans can interact and communicate in everyday spaces, such as the streets of New Malden, schools, churches, and workplaces," said Dr. Lee. "For example, the Unification Kitchen, the Korean Senior Citizens Association, joint funerals, calligraphy groups, and joint attendance at events related to the Korean War are positive examples of how North and South Koreans appreciate the value of cultural elements and show mutual support in life difficulties and respect for personal matters." On the other hand, "there are still elements of conflict," Dr. Lee said, explaining that "the frequent gatherings of groups within the Korean diaspora and the political conflicts that result from them, the expression of latent ideological conflicts, and issues of pride in conflict

situations show a picture of coexistence under tension."

Dr. Lee went on to explain that this experience is also reflected in the process from the Hankyoree School in London to the New Malden Korean Language School. "The London Korean Hankyoreh School, which was launched at the initiative of North Korean defectors, has been struggling to operate due to the overlap with the nearby London Korean School, failing to register as an official Korean language school and lack of support," Dr. Lee explained. "In the second half of 2021, the school began to receive textbook support from the Korean Embassy, overhauled its curriculum, and increased the number of students, but for various reasons, the school became difficult to operate." "In April 2021, Dr. Lee became the first South Korean to head the London Korean Hankyoreh School, vowing to 'think about education, not politics," she said, "and the biggest question was 'what should we teach?"" "As part of an experiment to overcome the divide, we organized a 'Peace Day' event in which we invited Korean War veterans in the UK to tell their stories," Dr. Lee said, 'and this was possible because the UK was a third space and a place where 'multiculturalism' was familiar." Recalling that despite these attempts, the school became increasingly unpopular due to conflicts of interest surrounding its operation, Dr. Lee explained, "I realized that individual conflicts between North and South Koreans could always be amplified into collective conflicts, and I began to think about 'educational autonomy' and 'what to teach' again."

Based on these concerns, in June 2023, Dr. Lee founded the New Malden Korean School, emphasizing that she "focused on the common heritage of the Korean people, namely language, rather than the larger discourse of reunification or peace." In other words, Dr. Lee "shifted the focus of education to 'Korean language education, which is what a Korean language school should do,' and especially utilized cultural elements such as poetry, traditional fairy tales, and nursery rhymes with beautiful songs to experience the beauty of the Korean language," she explained. "We also formed a student council through direct voting so that everyone could share the experience of democracy," said Dr. Lee, who emphasized that the value of the school is that adults from both North and South Korea 'build' a good school together. "The school should be a 'space for everyday life,' not an experiment or a project," Dr. Lee said, emphasizing that 'it is important to pursue a Korean-style curriculum that is free from the mechanical neutrality of 'teaching North and South Korean culture fairly,' but to make the school a 'quality contact space' where members from different backgrounds can participate in school management." "By focusing on the individual rather than the collective, we seek to pursue 'organic union' without mechanical allocation, and by exchanging daily life, culture, and habits, we encourage students to think in a larger community beyond North and South Korea," Dr. Lee explained. "By doing so, we hope to create a virtuous cycle in which schools become 'quality contact spaces' and provide opportunities for growth not only for students, but also for teachers, parents, and community members," she said, sharing his determination to "think about better education through lessons learned from past efforts and setbacks."

### Program

Chair: Choi, Eunyoung Christina (Senior Fellow, IPUS at SNU)
Presenter: Lee, Hyang Kue (President, New Malden Korean School in the UK)

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Education a Outreach

### [27th Peace Studies Forum] The United Nations and Human Rights in North Korea

- Date: Thursday, November 21, 2024, 17:00-18:30
- Venue: Online Video Conference(ZOOM)
- Topic: The United Nations and Human Rights in North Korea

The Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University (IPUS at SNU) hosted its 27th Peace Studies Forum on Thursday, November 21, 2024, under the theme 'The United Nations and Human Rights in North Korea,' with Professor Baik, Tae-Ung from the University of Hawaii at Manoa William S. Richardson School of Law. The forum was chaired by Professor Cho, Jung-hyun from Hankuk University of Foreign Studies Law School, who opened the forum with welcoming remarks.

In this forum, Prof. Baek Tae-woong presented his lecture on "1) UN human rights mechanisms, 2) Universal Periodic Review (UPR), and 3) ways to improve North Korea's human rights situation." "Since the establishment of the UN Human Rights Council in 2006, the Universal Periodic Review (UPR) and the Special Procedure (SP) have been the two most effective systems of the Human Rights Council," said Prof. Baek. "In the fourth cycle of the UPR, which is held every five years, North Korea is being reviewed in a plenary session with the Working Group (Troika) of the UN Human Rights Council." "North Korea's attitude towards the UPR review over the past three cycles has shown a relative openness to the process," said Dr. Paik, adding that the country's rejection of all recommendations in 2009 and its acceptance of 199 recommendations in 2019 shows that North Korea can no longer deny the universal nature of human rights." Finally, "North Korea has completed the submission of its national report, which was due on August 5, 2024, and the 47th session of the UPR Working Group will be held from November 4 to 15," explained Prof. Baek, "the resulting report of the Working Group (Troika) will be presented to the Human Rights Council General Assembly next year, in 2025."

"All UN member states are obligated to respect and ensure human rights, regardless of whether they have ratified human rights treaties," said Professor Baek. "It is in this spirit of the UN Charter that the UN Human Rights Council (HRC) was created on March 15, 2006." "The role of the HRC is to promote respect for human rights and the protection of fundamental freedoms," explained Prof. Baek, 'and its specific mechanism, the 'Special Procedure,' is to respond to and make recommendations on cases of serious and systematic violations of human rights." "The HRC Advisory Committee acts as a think tank for the Council based on Council resolutions," explained Prof. Baek, "and provides expert advice to the Council when requested by the Council and in accordance with the Council's guidelines." Prof. Baek went on to explain the Complaint Procedure of the Human Rights Council, which allows individuals and organizations to raise concerns about grave and clearly documented human rights violations, which are then examined by a working group composed of members of the Human Rights Council's Advisory Committee.

Among the various human rights mechanisms introduced earlier, Prof. Baek highlighted the Universal Periodic Review. "It is a process by which all countries are reviewed at least once every five years on the implementation of their human rights obligations and commitments in a manner that ensures universal application and equal treatment based on 'objective and reliable information," he explained,





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"and it has a very special significance in that it promotes a cooperative mechanism for the protection of human rights." "For this reason, North Korea is an active participant in the process, and it provides an opportunity for North Korea to think seriously about protecting the universal value of human rights," explained Dr. Baek. "Specifically, in its fourth periodic report, North Korea stated that it had enacted and amended a number of human rights-related laws and regulations, and actively asserted that it was making efforts to improve human rights, including by ratifying the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in November 2023 and submitting its initial report under that treaty," Baek said. "It is noteworthy that it emphasizes international dialogue and cooperation on improving human rights, albeit under the guiding principles of 'respect for sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, impartiality, objectivity, and mutual benefit," said Professor Baek. 'It is also noteworthy that 86 delegations submitted 294 recommendations at the November 7, 2024, interactive dialogue, and on November 13, North Korea said it would 'take note' of 88 recommendations "

"The UN's commitment to human rights in North Korea as a long history, with the UN General Assembly adopting a resolution on North Korean human rights every year since 2003," said Prof. Baek. In particular, he introduced the 2014 UN Commission of Inquiry Report (COI Report), which stated that "those most responsible for crimes against humanity in North Korea must be held accountable, and these measures must be combined with a timetable for inter-Korean reconciliation and the promotion of gradual change through enhanced human rights dialogue and people-to-people contacts," and raised the question of "how to combine efforts to achieve real and lasting change with criticism and sanctions for human rights violations?", emphasizing the need to examine the North Korean human rights problem from multiple perspectives. He attributed North Korea's human rights problems to "legal flaws, procedural rights that are ignored within the existing legal system, and a lack of will to prevent human rights violations," and emphasized that "addressing them requires careful consideration of complex dynamics both domestically and internationally, while not sacrificing human rights improvements for other goals. "Change for security and human rights requires 'engagement' and 'interaction," said Professor Baek, 'but engagement should be done while maintaining international standards, and it is important to emphasize the 'moral value' of human rights while maintaining political neutrality to prevent human rights from being used as a political tool."

"The current turbulent international situation surrounding the Korean Peninsula has overshadowed human rights issues with security concerns," Professor Baek explained. 'Nevertheless, by maintaining that 'human rights are universal values and norms,' we should make efforts to actually improve human rights and promote them despite the seriousness of the security situation." Prof. Baek also emphasized that "improving human rights issues can be a stepping stone to lasting peace, common prosperity, and reunification," and concluded his lecture by emphasizing that "we must continue to make efforts to improve the human rights situation in North Korea."

### Program

 Chair: Cho, Jung-hyun (Professor of Law, School of Law, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)
 Presenter: Baik, Tae-Ung (Professor of Law, William S. Richardson School of Law in Honolulu, University of Hawaii at Manoa)





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### [28th Peace Studies Forum] Resisting America and Aiding North Korea: The Korean War from the Chinese Perspective

- Date: Thursday, December 12, 2024, 16:00-17:30
- Venue: Online Video Conference (ZOOM)
- Topic: Resisting America and Aiding North Korea: The Korean War from the Chinese Perspective

The Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University (IPUS at SNU) hosted its 28th Peace Studies Forum on Thursday, December 12, 2024, under the theme 'Resisting America and Aiding North Korea: The Korean War from the Chinese Perspective,' with Humanities Korea Professor Baik, Jiwoon from the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University. The forum was chaired by Chair Professor Paik, Won-Dam from Sungkonghoe University, who opened the forum with welcoming remarks.

In this forum, Professor Baik explored the recent return of 'Resisting America and Aiding North Korea War' (a Chinese perspective of the Korean War) to the public's collective memory through Chinese films, dramas, and literary works. "China included the 'Resisting America and Aiding North Korea War' in the preamble of its constitution in 1954, but it was removed in the 1975 amendments," Professor Baik explained, adding that "after the 1980s, references to the war were almost absent in textbooks, but in the 2000s, commemorative discourses by state leaders began to appear, and since Xi Jinping took office, the war has been actively commemorated." "The most important means of propaganda in a socialist system is film," Professor Baik said, adding, "It is noteworthy that while films about the Chinese Civil War were actively produced before the 1980s, the number of films regarding 'Resisting America and Aiding North Korea War' was very limited at that time." "Then, in the 2010s, the ban on mentioning the war was quietly lifted, and with the emergence of drama and documentary as powerful means of public education, the number of materials related to Resisting America and Aiding Korea War increased," said Professor Baik. "In particular, documentaries based on oral histories collected during this period are valuable because they played a crucial role in shaping the national narrative.

Professor Baik then introduced several films about the 'Resisting America and Aiding North Korea War', including Battle on Shangganling Mountain (1956), Heroic Sons and Daughters (1964), and The Battle At Lake Changjin II (2022), emphasizing that "the image of the hero has gradually changed from the revolutionary era to recent films." First, Professor Baik explained, "Battle on Shangganling Mountain tells the story of a boy signaler named Huang Jiguang who sacrificed himself to destroy the enemy's pillbox." "At the time, an article in the People's Daily referred to Huang Jiguang as a 'Matrosov-style hero," she said. "The story is also featured in the subsequent movie, Heroic Sons and Daughters, which tells the story of the unsung hero Wang Cheng and his sister Wang Fang," Professor Baik continued. "The film is based on the middle-grade novel Dan Yuan (1961) by the anarchist writer "Ba Jin," a master of modern Chinese literature who did not participate in the Communist revolution," Professor Baik

explained. "To this day, the shadow of this novel is still very strongly cast on films and dramas about the 'Resisting America and Aiding North Korea War'." Specifically, Professor Baik explained, "The novel explores the Chinese Communist Party's internal slogan of 'Protecting the Home and Defending the Country(保家衛國)', and asks the question, 'How does an ordinary and insignificant young soldier turn into a superhuman who is as big as a mountain?" "In the film, the protagonist is Wang Cheng instead of Liu Zhengqing, the hidden protagonist in the original novel," Professor Baik said, explaining that this was done to "replace the self-deprecating image of the hero in the novel with a positive and optimistic image of a revolutionary hero." Professor Baik also introduced a film called The Battle At Lake Changjin II, which was released in 2022. "As we have seen, the hero of the revolutionary era portrayed a nameless soldier as a hero and tried to draw an introspective narrative about 'how a communist new man is made," she said. "However, by portraying the hero as a 'warrior hero,' the film seeks to erase the remnants of impure emotions such as lamentation, criticism, and regret that float between the lines of the public narrative," Professor Baik explained, "and in doing so, China seeks to replace the public narrative of Xi Jinping."

Finally, Professor Baik noted a unique plot twist in The Sacrifice, which was released in 2020. "The plot moves from the far view to the near view to the micro view, a technique inspired by Christopher Nolan's Dunkirk," explains Professor Baik, "representing the vivid microscopic history that is revealed when a microscope is put on the 'sublime sacrifice' seen from the far view." "In other words, it vividly demonstrates that great moments in history are a collection of many small elements that are not simply reduced to the public narrative of 'heroic sacrifice," said Professor Baik. "It is noteworthy that the film shows the viewpoint of small characters, such as private emotions and contingencies, and creates small cracks in the existing heroic narrative." Professor Baik concluded by saying, "Even though the film did not go as far as an anti-war film due to the limitations of Chinese cinema, it shows the possibility of 'creating an anti-war narrative' under the realistic conditions of the Xi Jinping era, where the 'Resisting America and Aiding North Korea War' is being used to emphasize a strong patriotic narrative."

### Program

- Chair: Paik, Won-Dam (Chair Professor, Sunkonghoe University)
- Presenter: Baik, Jiwoon (Humanities Korea Professor, the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University)

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## [29th Peace Studies Forum] The History of the DMZ: The Korean Armistice Regime and the Demilitarized Zone

- Date: Thursday, January 9, 2025, 16:00-17:30
- Venue: Online Video Conference (ZOOM)
- Topic: The History of the DMZ: The Korean Armistice Regime and the Demilitarized Zone

The Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University (IPUS at SNU) hosted its 29th Peace Studies Forum on Thursday, January 9, 2025, under the theme 'The History of the DMZ: The Korean Armistice Regime and the Demilitarized Zone,' with Humanities Korea Professor Hahn, Monica from the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University. The forum was chaired by Professor Jeong, Han Beom from the Department of Security Policy at National Defense University, who opened the forum with welcoming remarks.

Professor Hahn began the lecture by exploring public perceptions and experiences associated with the DMZ. She noted that for many Koreans, the DMZ is recognized as a symbolic front line and the boundary of division, often remembered through the hardships and anecdotes of military service. At the same time, she pointed out that the DMZ has been described by the BBC as one of the most heavily fortified areas in the world, reflecting its persistent military tension.

However, Professor Hahn also emphasized that the DMZ is not merely a military buffer zone. It is known internationally as a rich ecological habitat, home to numerous endangered and rare species, and is often viewed as a symbol of peace. This dual character of the DMZ—between militarization and ecological preservation—served as a starting point for her inquiry. Professor Hahn proposed that the DMZ should be understood not simply as a product of the armistice, but as a complex space shaped by international proposals, institutional negotiations, and the cumulative effects of policy implementation.

She also addressed the public's limited understanding of the actual location and structure of the DMZ, noting that due to strict restrictions on civilian access, research on the zone itself remains extremely difficult. As a result, while studies on adjacent border areas are abundant, they are often mistakenly equated with studies on the DMZ proper, leading to the circulation of superficial or inaccurate information.

The historical origins of the DMZ were a major focus of the lecture. Contrary to popular belief that the DMZ began with the 1953 Armistice Agreement, Professor Hahn explained that the concept was first proposed in October 1950 by British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, following the Chinese military's entry into the Korean War. Britain's proposal aimed to prevent the expansion of the war and suggested the creation of a demilitarized zone along the Korea–Manchuria border, administered by a demobilized North Korean government and military. This idea was rejected by U.S. and South Korean leadership, including General Douglas MacArthur and Ambassador Jang Myeon, but it nevertheless sparked

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international debate and contributed to the evolution of the DMZ concept.

As armistice negotiations progressed from July 1951, discussions regarding the DMZ's location, scope, and governing authority intensified. The North Korean and Chinese side proposed a 20-kilometer-wide buffer zone based on the 38th parallel, with the restoration of prewar civil administration. In contrast, the United Nations Command called for a broader 32-kilometer zone further to the north. Ultimately, the DMZ was established as a 4-kilometer-wide buffer zone, based on the contact line at the time of the armistice.

Professor Hahn referenced Article 1 of the Armistice Agreement, which defines the DMZ as a mutually agreed buffer area in which both sides withdrew their forces by 2 kilometers. She also reviewed Article 13, which mandated the withdrawal of military assets within 72 hours and the removal of explosives and mines within 45 days. These provisions were implemented under the supervision of the Military Armistice Commission (MAC).

She highlighted that on November 3, 1953, the 86th Secretariat Meeting of the MAC confirmed the completion of the installation of 1,292 physical markers along the Military Demarcation Line (MDL), effectively converting the line into a series of demarcation points. She also discussed the formation of Joint Observer Teams (JOTs) tasked with monitoring violations and the logistical operations required to maintain DMZ stability in accordance with the agreement.

In the latter part of the lecture, Professor Hahn noted that despite being legally defined as demilitarized, the DMZ became heavily militarized during the 1960s. She added that in the early 1970s, proposals to transform the zone into a peace corridor began to emerge both within Korea and internationally.

Professor Hahn concluded by underscoring that the DMZ is not a static or singular result of war, but rather a multilayered space formed through the Korean War, the armistice process, subsequent militarization, and later discourses on ecology and peace. She emphasized the importance of reexamining the DMZ as a dynamic space where war was halted, the armistice maintained, and possibilities for peace continue to be negotiated.

### Program

Chair: Jeong, Han Beom (Professor, Department of Security Policy at National Defense University)
 Presenter: Hahn, Monica (Humanities Korea Professor, the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies at Seoul National University)





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### Peace Studies Seminar

The IPUS at SNU holds the "Peace Studies Seminar" to expand the horizons of peace humanities research and revitalize the education-research linkage system. The seminars are designed to invite domestic and international scholars who have been leading peace studies to share their experiences and achievements directly with the public.



## 제60차 IPUS 평화학세미나

나가사키대학교 핵무기철폐연구소 공동세미나 - 동북아 핵 재난과 방사선 대응: 정책, 의료, 사회적 대응 -

일시: 2025. 02. 11. 12:00~18:00
장소: 서울대학교 호암교수회관 체리룸

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# Unification and Peace Foundation Building Project

- Participating Agencies and Specific Projects
- Academic Conference on Unification and Peace Foundation Building Project

# Seoul National University Unification and Peace Foundation Building Project

Since 2015, Seoul National University has been promoting the "Unification Foundation Building Project." The project aims to develop a comprehensive and systematic capability in addressing and contributing to the resolution of unification problem, which is one of the main concerns of the government and our society. In 2021, the project was renamed as the "Unification and Peace Foundation Building Project" so that the project encompasses various topics such as peace, human rights, and security. Since 2022, the project has started to support research that are conducted for multiple years, enabling continuity of research. In 2024, a new type of project will be created to conduct research in the areas of knowledge expansion for reunification, human resource development and reunification education, global network building, and multilateral cooperation.





# 2024 Participating Agencies and Specific Projects

Project Agency	Director	Name	
Research Institute of Nursing Science	Kim, Jinhyun	Developing a retraining program for North Korean nursing workforce after unification of Korea	
College of Nursin	Bang, Kyung-Sook	Study on the School Adaptation Experiences of North Korean Defector Nursing College Students and Their Instructors' Guidance Experiences	
Department of Civil and Environmental Engineering	Kim, Yong II	Analysis of urban vitality in North Korea using nighttime satellite images and spatial information	
Institute of Construction and Environmental Engineering	Kwon, Young Sang	A study on how to improve the wind path and waterfront environment of North Korean cities in preparation for climate change: focusing on 3D digital twin technology	
Graduate School of International Studies	Han, JeongHun	Exploring the potential impacts of 2024 US Presidential Election on the US' policy toward Asia and Korea	
College of Agriculture and Life Sciences	An, Dong Hwan	Analysis of Spatial Structure and Network of North Korean Rural Areas: A Case Study Approach	
Research Institute of Agriculture and Life Sciences	Lee, Seung hwan	Investigation of biodiversity of the border area(DMZ) and suggestion of the unified scientific name in Korean Peninsula for peaceful unification	
The Institute of North Korean and Foreign Agriculture	lm, Jeongbin	Estimating Agricultural Production in North Korea Using Satellite and Weather Information	
Department of Anthropology	Kang, Jeong Won	The Past and the Present of the Folk-religion in North Korea	
Seoul National University Asia Center	Kim, Taekyoon	North Korea and the Global South: Building Relations with African Countries	
Seoul National University Asia Center	Kim, Baek Yung	The Self-representation and It's Effects of the Kim Jong Un Regime During the New Cold War Era	
Institute of Gender Research	Shin, HyeRan	North Koreans' mobility dynamics from a gender perspective: North Korean female defectors' care work, informality, empowerment, multi- identities and cultural politics	
Research Institute of Energy Resources	Park, Hyeong Dong	Sustainability and Decarbonization Strategies of Mining Areas in the Korean Peninsula Using Satellite Data	
College of Humanities	Dongwon Lee	Study on the Regional Innovation System in North Korea -Analyzing the Preparation of the 15-years preparation process (2008–2023) for the adoption of the 'Local Development 20×10 Policy'	
Institute for Health and Unification Studies	Moon, Jin Soo	Development of Smart Health Center Model to Strengthen the Monitoring Function of Climate Change and Health Impact in North and South Korea	
Institute for Health and Unification Studies	Park, Sang Min	Development of Research Platform for Public Health and Regional Official Development Assistance on the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia	
College of Liberal Studies	Cho, Jun Hee	India-Korea Exchange Project on Cultural Diversity and Peace Education	
Center for Korean Unification in Dentistry	Han, Dong-Hun	The impact of early life experiences of North Korean defection on health and socioeconomic outcomes in South Korean society	
The Korea Institute of Public Affairs	Choi, Changyong	Analyzing changes in the stability of Kim Jong Un's regime	
Constitutional Law and Unification Law Center	Lee, Hyo Won	Judicial procedures for resolving legal disputes related to inter-Korean relations and peaceful reunification.	
	Sung, Jong-sang	Exploring the Cultural Heritage Value of the DMZ Minbuk Village to Build the Foundation for a Joint South-North World Heritage Listing –Focused on Daesungdong Village-	
Environmental Planning Institute	Chang, Justin S.	Research on North Korean Road Transport System Utilizing Satellite Imagery and Network Theory	
	Gim, Tae-Hyoung	Examining the role of social capital and developing policy alternatives for the self-achievement and social convergence of North Korea defectors	
Institute of Green Bio Science & Technology	Ji, Seongtae	North Korea's Emerging Security Crisis and Inter-Korean Cooperation from a Food Security Perspective	

# 2025 Participating Agencies and Specific Projects

Project Agency	Director	Name	
Department of Civil and Environmental Engineering	Kim, Yong II	Analysis of North Korea's Disaster Resilience Using Satellite Imagery: Focusing on Flood Damage	
nstitute of Construction and Environmental Engineering	Park, Yong-Sung	Coastal Erosion Analysis on North Korea's East Coast Using Satellite Imagery	
Institute of Education Research	Mo, Kyung-Hwan	Reconstructing Peace Education for Civic Education: From Unification Discourse to Social Conflict Resolution	
Graduate School of	Han, Jeong-Hoon	The EU's Security Policy under the Second von der Leyen Commission and Prospects for Peace on the Korean Peninsula	
International Studies	Lee, Hyun-Tae	Analyzing the Impact of Strengthened North Korea–Russia Relations on North Korea–China Economic Cooperation	
Institute of Green Bio Science & Technology	Ji, Seong-Tae	Implications of Agricultural Organization Development in Transition Economie for North Korea's Rural Reform	
	Ahn, Dong-Hwan	Spatial Structure and Regional Economy of Rural Areas in North Korea	
Agricultural Life Science Research Institute	Lim, Jeong-Bin	Future Agro-Ecological Zoning and Potential Agricultural Productivity of the Korean Peninsula Using FAO-GAEZ Data	
noocalon module	Kim, Kwang-Soo	Forecasting Suitable Areas for Corn and Alfalfa Cultivation to Support Sustainable Agriculture in North Korea	
Center for Future Strategy	Kim, Sang-Bae	North Korea's Cyber-Nuclear-Al Capabilities for Peacebuilding on the Kore Peninsula	
Graduate School of Public Health	Yoo, Seung-Hyun	Public Health Challenges in North Korea from a Health Promotion Perspec	
College of Education	Shin, Yoon-Jeong	Development of Intergroup Dialogue Programs for Youth and Effectivenes Assessment Using Multi-Modal Data	
Asia Center	Kim, Tae-Kyun	Perceptions of North Korean Human Rights among African and Global South Nations	
Energy Resources and New Technology Institute	Park, Hyung-Dong	Utilization of Thermal Energy on the Korean Peninsula	
Collogo of Llumonition	Kwon, Oh-Young	Discovery of Dangun's Tomb and the Shift in North Korea's Unification Policy	
College of Humanities	Bang, Min-Ho	Literary Creation Workshop with Writers and the Public from Both Koreas	
School of Dentistry Center for Korean	Myung, Hoon	The Role of Dental Services in the Social Integration of North Korean Defecto Building an Academic Basis through Understanding Perceptions and Suppor Gaps between Defectors and South Korean Dental Professionals	
Unification in Dentistry	Lee, Seung-Pyo	Al-Based Oral Health Improvement Project for North Korean Defectors: e-Un Health+	
Center for Unification	Park, Sang-Min	Establishing a Foundation for Revising the Unification Medicine Textbook through Analysis of Recent Public Health Data in North Korea	
Medicine	Moon, Jin-Soo	Development of a Smart Health Center Model for Monitoring Climate Change and Health Impacts in North and South Korea (Year 3)	
Korean Institute of Public Administration	Park, Soon-Ae	Study on North Korea's Sustainable Development	
Center for Constitutional and Unification Law	Lee, Hyo-Won	Normative Study on Statehood in South and North Korea through Constitutional System and Revisions	
	Jang, Soo-Eun	Estimating Traffic Volume on Major Roads in North Korea Using Satellite Image	
Institute of Environmental Planning	Yoon, Soon-Jin	Household Energy Consumption and Renewable Energy Potential in North Korea: Focus on the Distribution of Home Appliances and Solar Panels	
Planing	Lim, Justin Heejun	Thermal Comfort Analysis and Climate Adaptation Strategies for Urban Spac in North Korea	

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The 2024 Joint Academic Conference on Unification and Peace Foudation-Building Projects was held on November 27, 2024, at Buildings 220 and 221 of Seoul National University's Gwanak Campus. A total of 25 project teams from 21 different units across the university participated in the conference. Each team presented and shared the outcomes of their research conducted over the past year.

Unification and Peace Foundation Building Project

Going forward, the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies (IPUS) at Seoul National University plans to strengthen its collaboration with internal departments and institutes, in line with the expanded scope reflected in the project's new title, Unification and Peace Foundation-Building Projects. Through such efforts, IPUS aims to further enhance its capacity to contribute meaningfully to peace and unification on the Korean Peninsula.



## IPUS Annual Report 2024-2025

• National University Network for Peace in Korean Peninsula

**Education** 

and Outreach

- 23rd Unification Academy
- 12th Peace Academy
- 2nd World Korean Advanced Leadership Program for Unification and Peace
- 4th Siheung Citizen Peace School
- 4th Siheung Leaders' Academy

### National University Network for Peace in Korean Peninsula

To fulfill its social responsibilities as a national university, Seoul National University has established the <National University Network for Peace in Korean Peninsula> with eight regional-based national universities (Kangwon National University, Pusan National University, Jeonbuk National University, Chungnam National University, Jeju National University, Chonnam National University, Kyungpook National University, and Gyeongsang National University) to conduct education and research projects in preparation for an era of peace on the Korean Peninsula. The IPUS at SNU is participating in the <National University Network for Peace in Korean Peninsula> on behalf of Seoul National University and is leading joint research and education projects to realize peace on the Korean Peninsula and revitalize inter-Korean exchange and cooperation. The <National University Network for Peace in Korean Goals (SDGs) on the Korean Peninsula," the "Joint Education Center for Unification and Peace," and the "Council for Network Building and Sustainable Development" as subprojects.

### **Purpose**

- To share the unification and peace education and research that national universities have been doing for peace on the Korean Peninsula and explore ways to cooperate with them.
- To propose feasible inter-Korean exchange and cooperation projects for lasting peace on the Korean Peninsula, through which national and public universities can contribute to government policies and actively communicate with civil society and the international community.

### **Detailed Projects**

### 1. Joint Research on setting "Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) for the Korean Peninsula"

- The Joint research team held expert meetings with UN ESCAP, UNICEF Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey(MICS), and the High Level Political Forum(HLPF) under UN ECOSOC.
- 2019: Created templates for Peace (Goal 16) and Partnership (Goal 17) of the SDGs.
- 2020: Selected healthcare, education, and forest greening as specific areas of the SDGs for research, conducting the research.
- 2021: Conducted research centered on poverty, gender, economic growth, and inequality among the SDGs goals.
- 2022: Conducted research on the remaining goals of the SDGs, focusing on poverty, water, infrastructure, cities, inequalities, climate and environment, analying all of the SDGs goals and completing the template.

### 2. Joint Research on the "Politics of Conflict Resolution for Realizing Peace"

- Explored practical ways to resolve various conflicts faced by Korean society internally and externally, such as ideological conflicts, distributional conflicts, cultrual conflicts, trade disputes, and arms-race.

### 3. Joint Research on the "Peace and Democracy"

- Conducted macro-level research on the relationship between regimes and peace, noting that despite the global spread of democracy, social conflicts are increasing both internationally and domestically.

### 4. Establishment and Operation of the Joint Education Center for Unification and Peace

- Each university operated its own program by organizing lecturers in various field such as engineering, civil engineering, education, science, and nutrition, as well as social science fields such as political science, economics, and geography.

### 5. Operation of a Council for Network Establishment and Sustainable Development

- Designed and operated research and forum projects while overseeing all network projects.

### History

Date	Contents		
2023.11.17.	Joint Conference of KAURINU: Current Status and Challenges of University's Educatio and Research on Korean Unification and Peace in the New Cold War Era		
2023.08.1619.	Held 2023 National University Network for Peace in Korean Peninsula Summer Camp		
2022.11.2021.	Held Jeju Peace Trip at Pusan National University		
2022.10.04.	Held the 10 <sup>th</sup> Peace Academy at Seoul National University		
2022.08.26.	(National University Network for Peace in Korean Peninsula) Summer Conference of the Korean Political Science Association: "Peace and Democracy" (Roundtable)		
2022.08.1719.	Held the 3 <sup>rd</sup> East Sea Peace School		
2022.05.06. -12.04.	Held the Honam Region Peace and Unification Academy at Jeonbuk National University		
2022.04.05.	Held the 21 <sup>st</sup> Unification Academy at Seoul National University		
2022.02.18.	(National University Network for Peace in Korean Peninsula) Joint Conference: "Democracy and Peace on the Korean Peninsula"		
2021.10.05.	Held the 9 <sup>th</sup> Peace Academy at Seoul National University		
2021.08.2527.	Held the 2 <sup>nd</sup> East Sea Peace School		
2021.04.06.	Held the 20 <sup>th</sup> Unification Academy at Seoul National University		
2021.02.03.	(National University Network for Peace in Korean Peninsula) Annual General Meeting and Academic Conference: "Education and Research for Lasting Peace on the Korean Peninsula"		
2020.10.06.	Held the 8th Peace Academy at Seoul National University		

Program

### Unification Academy

### 23rd Unification Academy

The **IPUS Unification Academy**, which began in 2007 and is celebrating its 23rd session this year, is an educational program designed to share research findings on North Korea and unification with the public, and to boost policy and academic interest and understanding of North Korea and unification among undergraduate students, graduate students, and general citizens.



The 23rd Unification Academy ran for a total of seven weeks, from April 8 to May 27, 2025. It covered a variety of topics, including North Korea's recent policy changes towards South Korea, approaches to international relations in preparation for the "Trump 2.0" era, the outlook for the North Korean nuclear issue, the North Korean economy viewed through



its markets, and shifts in the younger generation's perceptions of unification and peace. Out of 96 students who participated in this academy after a separate selection process, 59 completed the program. The student body was well-distributed, with undergraduate students making up 20%, graduate students 28%, and general citizens 52%.

Looking at students' majors, social sciences accounted for the largest share at 61%, followed by humanities at 15%, STEM fields at 13%, and peace and unification studies at 2%. Among general citizens,

professionals comprised 30%, religious and civic organizations 14%, and other professions 56%. The largest age group among participants was those in their 20s at 37%, followed by those 50 and over at 30%, and those in their 30s and 40s at 20% and 13% respectively.

Lecture 1. A New Korean Peninsula Unification Initiative and Creative Engagement: South Korea's Response to North Korea's 'Two States' Policy Philo, Kim (IPUS at SNU) Lecture 2. The Second Trump Administration's Beginning and the Outlook for the North Korean Nuclear Issue Jihwan, Hwang (Seoul National University of Education) Lecture 3. International Relations in the Indo-Pacific during the Trump 2.0 Era, and

Lecture 4. The Strategic Implications and Outlook of North Korea's Troop Deployment in the Russia-Ukraine War Sooho, Lim (National Institute for Security Strategy)

the Challenges for South Korea Jaejeok, Park (Yonsei University)



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Date	Contents		
2020.07.14.	Jeju National University's Participation in the 〈National University Network for Peace in Korean Peninsula〉		
2020.05.30.	(National University Network for Peace in Korean Peninsula) Academic Conference: "SDGs Indicators and Development Strategies for the Korean Peninsula"		
2020.02.13.	Held Annual General Meeting of 〈National University Network for Peace in Korean Peninsula〉 Council		
2020.02.13.	3. (National University Network for Peace in Korean Peninsula) Academic Conference: "Set SDGs Indicators for the Korean Peninsula and the Challenges of Inter–Korean Cooperation		
2020.02.04.	Discussed cooperation with UNICEF MICS, UN HLPF, and the Permanent Mission of Ko to the United Nations		
2020.01.19.	Discussed North Korea's SDGs progress and cooperation with UN ESCAP		
2019.10.01.	Held the 7 <sup>th</sup> Peace Academy at Seoul National University		
2019.09.30.	Held the Peace Academy at Jeonbuk National University		
2019.09.26.	Held the Peace Academy at Pusan National University		
2019.06.25. Held the inaugural conference of the (National University Network for Peace in Korear Peninsula): "Exploring the Direction of National Universities Contribution to Peace on Korean Peninsula"			
2019.06.01.	Launched (National University Network for Peace in Korean Peninsula) project		
2019.05.24.	Operational Meeting held		



Lecture 7. MZ Generation's Perceptions of Unification and Peace, and the Future of the Korean Peninsula Bumsoo, Kim (Director, IPUS at SNU)

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### Peace Academy

### 12th Peace Academy

The **IPUS Peace Academy**, which first launched in 2013 and is now in its **12th year**, is an educational program. It aims to share research findings in peace humanities with the public and facilitate communication among students, the general public, and field activists.

The **12th Peace Academy**, held over **seven weeks** from October 8 to November 19, 2024, focused on "**The Global South and Alternative Peace Regimes**." Domestic experts led lectures on diverse topics, including the historical origins and rise of the Global South, international perceptions and responses to the Global South, and a vision for peace on the Korean Peninsula.

Out of 72 students who participated in this academy after a separate

selection process, 44 completed the program. The student body was well-distributed, with undergraduate students making up 26%, graduate students 25%, and general citizens 8%.

Looking at students' majors, social sciences accounted for the largest share at 62%, followed by humanities at 24%, STEM fields at 8%, and peace and unification studies at 3%. Among general citizens, professionals comprised 44%, religious and civic organizations 39%, and other professions 17%. The largest age group among participants was those in their 20s at

39%, followed by those 50 and over at 32%, and those in their 30s and 40s at 15% and 14% respectively.

### Program

Lecture 1. The Global South: A Peace Studies Perspective Taekyun, Kim (GSIS at SNU)

Lecture 2. De-Linking and Peaceful Asia: The Historical Context and Politics of Plurality in the Global South

Wondam, Baek (Sungkonghoe University)

Lecture 3. The Post-Capitalist World Economy and the Global South Theory Seongjin, Jung (Gyeongsang National University)

Lecture 4. The Tricontinental Conference and Radicalism in the Global South Koobyeong, Park (Ajou University)

Lecture 5. The Rise of the Global South and China's Response: Focusing on Discourse and Practice Dongwook, Won (Dong-A University)

Lecture 6. North Korea's Non-Alignment Activities and Perception of the Global South Domin, Kim (Kangwon National University)

Lecture 7. Envisioning Peace on the Korean Peninsula Beyond the New Cold War Bumsoo, Kim (Director, IPUS at SNU)



## World Korean Advanced Leadership Program for Unification and Peace

### 2nd World Korean Advanced Leadership Program for Unification and Peace

<World Korean Advanced Leadership Program for Unification and Peace> (WK-ALPUP) is an educational program for Koreans around the world to foster domestic and international talents with Korean identity and global leadership. Launched in 2023, the program operates in a hybrid format, blending in-person and online lectures to accommodate overseas Koreans. Participants have included key figures from the global Korean diaspora interested in Korean peninsula unification and world peace, as well as South Korean leaders residing domestically who can foster communication within the global Korean community and contribute to the spread of the Korean Wave.

The second term, which began in 2024, consisted of 30 lectures covering topics such as inter-Korean relations during a period of great

transformation, peace in Northeast Asia and inter-Korean relations, national identity and global citizenship, and culture, arts, and overseas Koreans. All participants attended and engaged in lectures and networking sessions while staying at the Hoam Faculty House on Seoul National University's Gwanak Campus during two intensive in-person sessions: the first from September 26-30, 2024, and the second from February 1-5, 2025. The second term of the program concluded with a graduation ceremony held at the Marronnier Hall of the Hoam Faculty House on February 5, 2025 (Wednesday), the final day of the second intensive in-person session.

Out of 39 participants, 36 successfully met the program's completion requirements, including an attendance rate of over 80%, and received completion certificates in the name of the President of Seoul National University. The second term garnered significant positive feedback, with over 90% of participants expressing satisfaction with both the intensive in-person and online lectures. The graduation ceremony also included a presentation of development funds from the second-term alumni association.



제4회 시흥 LEADERS'ACADEMY

### Siheung Academy

In 2020, in compliance with the relocation of the Siheung campus, the IPUS at SNU launched the <Siheung Academy> in cooperation with the city of Siheung. The <Siheung Academy> aims to: 1) contribute to the formation of a healthy and future-oriented peace sensitivity and unification consciousness among Siheung citizens by utilizing the institute's accumulated experience and network in unification and peace education; 2) establish a virtuous cycle of knowledge and daily life, research and practice, through direct communication between the university and the citizens of the local government; and 3) realize winwin cooperation with the university's public service and the local government. The <Siheung Academy> consists of the Siheung Citizens' Peace School (1st semester) for general citizens and the Siheung Leaders' Academy (2nd semester) for local leaders.

### <4th Siheung Citizens' Peace School> How to Respond to the Climate Crisis

The 4th <Siheung Citizens' Peace School>, held from April to May 2024 under the theme "How to Respond to the Climate Crisis," aimed to bring peace closer by offering 7 weeks of lectures tailored to citizens' understanding. While peace is a universal value shared by all humanity, it often feels either taken for granted or too distant. This session of the Siheung Citizens' Peace School sought to discuss the climate crisis, a topic deeply connected to peace, with the citizens of Siheung. With active participation from Siheung residents, the 4th Siheung Citizens' Peace School featured a panel of climate experts who delivered lectures covering a wide range of climate-related issues.





### <4th Siheung Leaders' Academy> An Era of War and Violence: Reflecting on the World and the Korean Peninsula

From October to November 2024, the 4th <Siheung Leaders' Academy> was held under the theme "An Era of War and Violence: Reflecting on the World and the Korean Peninsula." Facing significant crises amidst a pandemic and ongoing conflicts, the academy brought together top domestic experts. This provided an opportunity to examine various countries experiencing upheaval, helping to envision and prepare for the future of the Korean Peninsula.



Academic Conferences

for

Education and Outreach

# IPUS Annual Report 2024-2025

# Publication

- Unification Studies Series
- Asian Journal of Peacebuilding
- Journal of Peace and Unification Studies
- IPUS HORIZON
- ROK-US POLICY BRIEF

### Unification Studies Series

The research published at IPUS is composed of 3 parts, the 'Unification Studies General Collection,' the 'New Research in Unification Studies' and the 'Unification Research Series.' There have been 31 editions of the 'Unification Studies General Collection,' 7 editions of the 'New Research in Unification Studies,' and 63 editions of the 'Unification Research Series.'

**Unification Studies General Collection**: A series of general works that cross disciplinary boundaries and set a research agenda for unification studies.

**New Research in Unification Studies**: A series of interdisciplinary works on the issues to be considered in the reunification process and North Korea studies.

**Unification Research Series**: Research series on the results of annual surveys conducted by the IPUS, such as the Unification Perception Survey, the Inter-Korean Integration Index, and the North Korean Unification Perception Survey and issues related to unification and North Korea.

### «Unification Studies Series» 2007-2024 Publication List

### <Unification Studies General Collection>

- "The Formation of North Korean System and the International Politics of the Korean Peninsula" (Kim Se Kyun and 7 others, Seoul National University Press, 2007).
- "North Korean Industrial Development and Inter-Korean Cooperation Plan<sub>J</sub> (Park Sam Ock and 3 others, Seoul National University Press, 2007).
- "North Korean Defector Families' Adjustment and Psychological Integration," (Lee Soon-Hyung and 3 others, Seoul National University Press, 2007).
- "A Comparative Study on the Environmental Policies of North and South Korea 1<sub>1</sub> (Youn Yeo-Chang and 6 others, Seoul National University Press, 2008). "A Comparative Study on the Environmental Policies of North and South Korea 2<sub>1</sub> (Kim Jung-Wook and 6 others, Seoul National University Press, 2008).
- "Inter-Korean Integration Index, 1989 2007. (Park Myoung-Kyu, Kim Byung-Yeon, Kim Philo [Byoung-Ro], Jeong Eun-Mi, Seoul National University Publishing and Cultural Center, 2009).
- <sup>II</sup>Child Nutrition in a Unified Korea<sub>I</sub> (Lee Yeon-Sook and 3 others, Seoul National University Publishing and Cultural Center, 2010).
- <sup>II</sup>Confrontation Between North Korea and the United States/ Confrontation in the Post-Cold War<sub>J</sub> (Chang Dal-joong and 2 others, Seoul National University Publishing and Cultural Center, 2011).
- <sup>II</sup>Networks in World Politics<sub>I</sub> (Kim Sangbae, Ha Young-Sun, Seoul National University Publishing and Cultural Center, 2011).
- "The Kim II Sung Socialist Youth League and the Korean Democratic Women's Alliance』 (Lee On-Juk, &

Lee In-Jeong, Seoul National University Publishing and Cultural Center, 2010).

- <sup>II</sup>Unification Broadcasting in a Multi-Platform, Multi-Channel Era<sub>I</sub> (Yoon Seok-Min and 4 others, Seoul National University Publishing and Cultural Center, 2011).
- <sup>II</sup>Looking at 20 Years of German Unification Through Basic Data<sub>I</sub> (Lim Hong Bae, Song Tae-Soo, Chung Byung Kee, Seoul National University Publishing and Cultural Center, 2011).
- "Work Relations and Communication of North Korean Defectors," (Lee Soon-Hyung, Kim Chang Dae, Jin MiJung, Seoul National University Publishing and Cultural Center, 2011).
- <sup>®</sup>Research on North Korea's North Korean Language Dictionary<sub>1</sub> (Kwon Youngil, Seoul National University Publishing and Cultural Center, 2012).
   <sup>®</sup>Inter-Korean Relations Through Judicial Precedents<sub>1</sub> (Lee Hyo Won, Seoul National University Publishing and Cultural Center, 2012).
- "The Market and Government in the North Korean Economy" (Yang Moon-Soo & Kim Byung-Yeon, Seoul National University Publishing and Cultural Center, 2012).
- <sup>II</sup>Unification Agricultural Growth Report<sub>I</sub> (Choi Jeong-nam, Kim Wan-Bae, Seoul National University Publishing and Cultural Center, 2012).
- "The Structure and Kinetics of Inter-Korean Exchange Cooperation and Governance<sub>1</sub> (Jung Keun-Sik, Jeong Eun-Mi, Kang Dong Wan, Seoul National University Publishing and Cultural Center, 2012).
- "German Unification & Women<sub>1</sub> (Han Jeong-suk, Hong Chan-suk, Lee Jae-won, Seoul National University Publishing and Cultural Center, 2012).
- "North Korean Society and Refracted Modernity: Population, Nation, and the Lives of Inhabitants』 (Park Kyung-suk, Seoul National University Publishing and Cultural Center, 2013).
- "North Korean Defector Youths and South Korean Youths' Morals, Legal Consciousness and Ideas of Authority<sub>1</sub> (Lee Sun-hyeong, Kim Chang-dae, Jin Mi-jeong, 2014).
- <sup>II</sup>Uniformization of North and South Korean Vocabulary<sub>I</sub> (Kwon Jae-il, 2014).
- "Views on Unification in the Young Generations of North and South Korea<sub>1</sub> (Kang Won-taek, Lee Jaechol, Cho Jin-man, Han Jeong-taek, Kim Sae-mi, 2015).
   "Religious Experiences of North Korean Defectors<sub>1</sub> (Lee Sun-hyeong, Choi Yeon-sil, Jin Mi-jeong, 2015).
- "Economic Adaptation of Female North Korean Defectors\_ (Jeong Jin-hwa, Son Sang-hui, 2015).
- "Sports and Leisure in North Korea<sub>1</sub> (Na Yeong-il, Heon Ju, Ahn Ji-ho, Shin Young-jin, Jin Hyeon-ju, Seong Je-hun, 2016).
- <sup>II</sup>Chinese Trade and Investment in North Korea/ Survey of Local Businesses in Dandong<sub>I</sub> (Kim Beong-Yeon, Jeong Seung-ho, 2015).
- <sup>II</sup>Diseases and Disease Control in North Korea<sub>I</sub> (Kim Seok-ju, Lee Wang-jae, Park Sang-min, Lee Hyewon, Choi Hui-ran, 2015).
- $\cdot$  <sup>¶</sup>Analysis of North Korean Mathematics Research<sub>J</sub> (Kim Do-han, Shin Jeong-sun, 2016).
- "Historical Sociology of Korean War Photographs\_ (Jeong Geun-shik, Kang Seong-hyun, 2016).
- <sup>II</sup>Unification Medicine: North and South Korean Medical Cooperation and Integration<sub>II</sub> (Shin Hee-young, Lee Hye-won, Ahn Kyungsoo, Ahn Hyung-soon, Lim Ah-young, Jeon Ji-eun, Choi So-young, 2017).

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### Publication

### <New Research in Unification Studies>

- "Socio-economic Changes in North Korea: The Rise of the Informal Sector and the Change of Hierarchy\_I (Lee Seung-hoon, Hong Doo-seung, Seoul National University Press, 2007).
- "Post-Unification Literature Education\_ (Kim Dae-haeng, Seoul National University Press, 2008).
- <sup>¶</sup>Analysis of Drought Characteristics in North Korea and Preparation of Drought Maps<sub>1</sub> (Choi Jin-young, Seoul National University Press, 2008).
- "North Korea's Transitional System and Social Policy Challenges』 (Lim Hyeon-jin, Jeong Young-chol, Seoul National University Press, 2008).
- <sup>II</sup>Disintegration and Reconstruction of North Korean Defector Families<sub>I</sub> (Lee Soon-hyung, Kim Changdae, Jin Mi-jeong, Seoul National University Publishing and Cultural Center, 2009).
- "Going Back Down the Blocked Road: An Analysis of Inter-Korean Networks<sub>II</sub> (Hahn Shin-gap, Seoul National University Publishing and Cultural Center, 2013). "National Unification and Conflict in Multicultural Society<sub>II</sub> (Choi Yoon-young, Seoul National University Publishing and Cultural Center, 2016).

### <Unification Research Series>

- "The North Korean Diaspora" (Park Myoung-Kyu, Kim Philo [Byoung-Ro], Kim Su Am, Song Young Hoon, Yang Un Chol, 2011).
- "The Process of Establishing a Succession Regime for North Korean Leader Kim Jong Un<sub>1</sub> (Park MyoungKyu, Chun Hyun Jin and 4 others, 2011).
- "2011 Unification Perception Survey," (Park Myoung-Kyu, Kim Philo [Byoung-Ro], Kang Won-Taek, Jeong Eun-Mi, Lee Sang Shin, Park Jeong Ran, 2011).
- "2012 Unification Perception Survey." (Park Myoung-Kyu, Kang Won-Taek, Kim Philo [Byoung-Ro], Song Young Hoon, Lee Soo Jeong, Jang Yong Suk, 2012).
- <sup>I</sup>Internationalization of North Korea 2017, (Park Myoung-Kyu, Chun Chaesung, Kim Byung-Yeon, Jang Yong Suk, Song Young Hoon, 2013).
- <sup>II</sup>Changes in the Inter-Korean Integration Index 2008-2013<sub>I</sub> (Park Myoung-Kyu, Kim Byung-Yeon, Kim Philo [Byoung-Ro], Jeong Eun-Mi, 2013).
- <sup>II</sup>2013 Unification Perceptions Survey<sub>I</sub> (Park Myoung-Kyu, Kim Philo [Byoung-Ro], Song, Young Hoon, Jang Yong Suk, Jeong Eun-Mi, 2013).
- "North Korean Residents' Unification Perceptions 2008 2013: Asking North Korean Defectors," (Song Young Hoon, Kim Philo [Byoung-Ro], Park Myoung-Kyu, 2014).
- "Social Fluctuations in North Korea 2012-2013: Marketization, Income Differentiation, and Inequality, (Park Myoung-Kyu, Jang Yong Suk, Jeong Eun-Mi, Song Young Hoon, 2014).
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(Kim Bumsoo, Kim Philo [Byoung-Ro], Chang Yong Seok, Choi Eun Young, Hwang Soohwan, Lee Sung Woo, Kim Taek Bin, Kim Minji, 2024)



Publication

### Part 1 Basic Analysis

Chapter 1 Perceptions of Unification
Chapter 2 Perceptions of North Korea
Chapter 3 Perceptions of Policy toward North Korea
Chapter 4 Perceptions of North Korean Defectors
Chapter 5 Perceptions of Relations with Neighboring Countries
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Chapter 7 Analyzing Unification Skepticism Among Generation Z: Voluntary Skepticism, Involuntary Skepticism, and Indifference Toward Unification

Conclusions

Appendix, Tables, and Surveys

This book surveys and analyzes South Korean citizens' perceptions and attitudes of unification, North Korea, and inter-Korean relations.

### [Unification Research Series 63]: Inter-Korean Integration Index 2024

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# Part 1 – Structural Integration Index Chapter 1 – Economy Chapter 2 – Politics Chapter 3 – Social Culture

Chapter 3 – Social Culture Part 2 – Perception Integration Index Chapter 1 – Exponential Composition Chapter 2 – Index by Area Chapter 3 – Synthesis Part 3 – Inter Korean Integration Index: 2010 to 2023

This book implements a systematic model by quantitatively evaluating and indexing the degree of inter-Korean integration to actualize unification as a predictable problem.

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Center r Unification IPUS launched Asia's first international journal specializing in Peace Studies, the AJP, in May 2013. The AJP, which is issued twice a year in May and November, communicates the academic possibilities of 'Peace Studies from the Korean Peninsula' sent in by researchers with Asia and the world, while collecting meaningful results from world peace studies.

The AJP is undoubtedly the first specialized international academic journal on Peace Studies in Asia. The AJP has been faithfully fulfilling its role in improving the quality of research and academic activities of the IPUS based on incorporating significant achievements in global peace studies, while simultaneously disseminating the awareness of Peace Humanities Studies globally. The AJP has invited Nobel Peace Prize laureate José Ramos-Horta, former President of Timor-Leste, and former Chairmen of peace-related international associations such as ISA and IPRA (Harvey Starr, Ethel Solingen and T.V. Paul) as editorial board members to encourage the submission of outstanding papers, demonstrating its ability to attract exceptional papers, including those by Nobel Peace Prize laureate Aung San Suu Kyi and former President of Timor-Leste, José Ramos-Horta. The AJP has been recognized as international and professional not only in the screening process but also in the production process of accepted papers. Currently, AJP is indexed in KCI (Korean Citation Index) and SCOPUS.

### Vol.12 No. 1 (2024.05)

Publication



Special Issue\_Gender, (In)Securities, and North Korean Migration: Survival and Resilience in the Face of Violence



Special Issue Editor: Eunyoung Christina Choi

Introduction: Gender, (In)Securities, and North Korean Migration Eunyoung Christina Choi

Citizenship Redefined: China's Hukou System Reform and the Status of North Korean Refugee Women and Their Children in China *Kang Seo* 

Transnational Mothering and North Korean Women's Strategies of Survival: Impact of China's One–Child Policy and Hukou on Migration and Kinship Joowon Park

North Korean Female Entrepreneurs in South Korea: Empowerment through Informality and Resilience in Post–Cold War Geopolitics *HaeRan Shin* 

Health–Seeking Patterns of Female North Korean Defectors in South Korea for Mental Health: Evidence from Nationwide Health Insurance Data *HyeSeung Wee, Jongmin Lee, and Seungho Jung* 

Framing Identity and Gender in Public Discourse: A Corpus Analysis of Representation of North Korean Female Defectors *Sun-Hee Lee and Beomil Kang* 

The End of Feminized Migration?: Gendering Violent Borders and Geographies of North Korean Migration from the Arduous March to the COVID-19 Era *Eunyoung Christina Choi* 

### Vol.12 No. 2 (2024.11)



### **Research Article**

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China's Holistic Approaches to Security: A Text-Mining Analysis of Shifting Priorities in COVID-19 Responses Xiru Zhao and Yuji Uesugi

Cultural and Rhetorical Violence in Cambodia–Focused Anti–Trafficking Films *Bryon Lippincott* 

Ethnic Politics, Political Security, and the Selective Application of the Non-Interference Principle within ASEAN *Wen Zha* 

### Perspective

Recent Trends in Pro-government Militias in Africa: A Useful Tool or a Threat? Lucie Konečná

### Ø Korean Academic Journal: Journal of Peace and Unification Studies

IPUS published the Korean academic journal the 'Journal of Peace and Unification Studies' twice a year since June 2009, and has increased its publication to four times a year since April 2024. The 'Journal of Peace and Unification Studies' aims to deepen and diversify research on the keywords "peace" and "unification," which are essential for shaping the future vision of the Korean Peninsula, and to promote scholarly communication. To achieve these goals, the 'Journal of Peace and Unification Studies' rigorously selects and publishes pure academic papers that cover the following areas: 1) research on the regional situation surrounding the Korean Peninsula and various aspects of North Korea, theories and methodologies of unification studies, and 2) key themes of peace, including the overall violence and dispeace structures surrounding humanity, nature, and society, as well as environmental issues, ecology, and various crises and conflicts caused by globalization. In particular, based on the multidisciplinary nature of Unification Studies and Peace Studies, the 'Journal of Peace and Unification Studies' aspires to position itself as a comprehensive academic journal that encompasses the fields of humanities and social sciences. It also aims to cover practical and policy-oriented approaches to unification and peace by actively engaging in discussions on civilizational values and their feasibility. The 'Journal of Peace and Unification and peace by actively engaging in discussions on civilizational values and their feasibility. The 'Journal of Peace and Unification Appeace and Unification and peace by actively engaging in discussions on civilizational values and their feasibility. The 'Journal of Peace and Unification Appeace Appeace

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### **Field Report**

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### **IPUS HORIZON**

The IPUS HORIZON is a place for research in various disciplines to be examined anew from the perspective of peace studies and to provide in-depth discussions on ongoing peace issues not only on the Korean peninsula but also on a global scale. It seeks to explore knowledge about the peace agenda in the human, social, national, and environmental fields and contribute to providing a discourse for building and practicing peace based on reflections on the conflicts and crises facing humanity today.

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No.18	2024.03.13.	Kim, Taekyoon (GSIS at SNU)	Beyond the Peace Paradox: Strategic Peace and the Complexity of Linkages
No.19	2024.07.29.	Choi, Yun-Young (Dept. of German Language and Literature at SNU)	National Unification and Multicultural Tensions: The Case of German Society
No.20	2024.09.12.	Lee, Seung-mi (Ansan Global Youth Center)	The Emerging Immigration Society and Youth with Migrant Backgrounds

### ROK-US POLICY BRIEF

The ROK-US Policy Brief is a joint publication by the Institute for Peace and Unification Studies (IPUS) at Seoul National University and the George Washington University Institute for Korean Studies (GWIKS). This brief analyzes current Korea-related policy issues within regional and global contexts. Recognizing the growing importance of perspectives from international experts—especially those from the United States, a key ally in the ROK-US alliance—alongside domestic specialists in fostering peace on the Korean Peninsula amid shifting international relations, IPUS and GWIKS began this collaborative project in the latter half of 2024. Through this partnership, they are publishing articles on various current issues concerning the Korean Peninsula.

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INAUGURAL PREPARATORY ISSUE 1 (June 2024)	2024. 06.	Sydney A. Seiler (Senior Adviser, Center for Strategic and International Studies Korea Chair)	The US Presidential Election in 2024 and the Future of Denuclearization
INAUGURAL PREPARATORY ISSUE 2 (July 2024)	2024. 07.	William B. Brown (Principal, Northeast Asia Economics and Intelligence Advisory LLC)	The Future of Sanctions against North Korea
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