

I will hold a virtual information session about the course Friday, Aug. 20, 4:00-5:15 p.m.

on zoom at,

<https://harvard.zoom.us/j/94071003032?pwd=RS83azNTVFVhTWlOQXhSSnNYN1U0dz09#su>

[Syllabus GOV 94wy--YOON 210908.docx](#)

GOV 94wy: Fall 2021

North Korea and Peace-building on the Korean Peninsula

Contents of the Syllabus are Subject to Change (Sept. 8, 2021)

Professor Young-kwan YOON

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Classroom: Robinson 107

Class Hours: Wednesday 3:00-5:00 p.m.

Office Hours: Monday 3:00-5:00 p.m.

â Course Description

Korea remains one of the only two divided nations in the world. There has been no substantive change in the confrontational nature of the inter-Korean relationship even three decades after the end of the Cold War international order. In particular, North Korea has been causing serious international concerns in security, humanitarian, economic, and diplomatic areas. The goal of this course is to help students deepen their understanding of the nature of the problems that North Korea has been posing and explore the best ways to solve them. Trying to have clear eyed views is particularly important here because debates on the North Korea-related issues tend to be biased by stereotypes and ideological prejudices.

Some important theoretical puzzles in the field of international relations are embedded in the problems that North Korea has been posing. In particular, debates among realists, neo-conservatives, and neo-functionalists reveal how diverse the views are on the ways to deal with these challenges related to North Korea. This course will begin by reviewing basic assumptions, arguments, and policy recommendations of these three approaches to international relations and drawing implications from them for analyzing North Korea-related issues.

It will next analyze the most urgent and important subjects such as North Korea's development of WMD (focusing on its nuclear weapons programs), human rights and humanitarian crises, the changing nature of North Korea's economy, and then try to explore some possible solutions. After reviewing past inter-Korean interactions in search of peace, this course will conclude by discussing some possible future scenarios for North Korea and the topic of Korean reunification. When reviewing these practical issues, students are encouraged to engage with diverse viewpoints and recognize these problems's complexity by keeping the theoretical debates and the broader international political context in mind.

â Grading

Class participation (15%) and weekly assignments (15%): 30%

Paper proposal and presentation: 20%

Research paper: 50%

â Class Participation and Discussion

This is a seminar-style class in which class participation and discussions are essential. Students should attend every session. (Job interviews or representing the University in extracurricular and athletic activities cannot be an exception. In case of a medical problem, you will have to submit a doctor's note.) Each week, students are expected to submit a two-page response memo (single space, 11 pt fonts) answering those questions raised for each session's discussion. Beginning from the second week, please submit your response memo to Canvas dropbox before **3:00 p.m. Tuesday**. (24 hours before the class. Late submission **will not** be accepted.) Please come to class having done the readings and ready to discuss them. Your weekly response memos (15%. No or late submission of each session's memo will lead to deduction of 1.5%.) and active participation and contribution in class (15%. Absence of one session will lead to deduction of 1.5%.) will count 30 percent of your final grade.

There is one required text to purchase, which is ***The Two Koreas*** by **Don Oberdorfer and Robert Carlin**. This is an excellent, thorough, easy-to-read book which reviews the history of inter-Korean relations and the role of outside powers since the 1970s. This book provides important insights into the history of Korean political and diplomatic affairs in the last half century. (The Harvard Coop offered a streamlined direct link for students who want to order the book. <https://tinyurl.com/F21-GOVT-94WY-1>)

Most of the other readings will be available either online (hyperlinked), or on the course web page or through e-journals in the Harvard library system (HOLLIS). The average amount of readings will be about 100 pages a week (except Week 5). My goal for each week's selected readings is to provide you with as many diverse viewpoints as possible on each topic.

â Writing Research Paper

The course is also a research seminar. Students will choose a topic which is related to one of the subjects covered in the classes – i.e. North Korea’s security, diplomatic, economic, human rights, humanitarian, and inter-Korean issues. To make yourself familiar with the subjects and research materials related to your topic and develop your preliminary hypothesis and research design, **I strongly encourage you to look through the syllabus and read some of the readings in advance to get a head-start in thinking about a potential topic that interests you.** I will answer any questions or concerns in my office hours (Monday 3:00-5:00 p.m.). If you cannot make it on Monday 3:00-5:00 p.m., I can meet with you at another time. Please email me in advance to arrange your appointment with me.

Four criteria for an excellent research paper are logical consistency, theoretical understanding, empirical thoroughness and accuracy, and originality. Grading of the paper will be based on a combination of these factors. Also please refer to [thesis guide 2020-2021.pdf \(harvard.edu\)](#) which provides you helpful guidance on how to write a research paper.

The due date for submission of your final research paper (approximately 20 pages) is **December 12 at 11:00 p.m.** Your final paper should be double spaced with 1” margins on all sides, 12 pt fonts and submitted via email to ykyoon21@gmail.com as a word document. **(Late submission of assignments will result in grade deduction - 1/2 letter grade for every 24 hours.)**

There will be in-class presentations of the research proposals during **Week 8 (Oct. 27)**. I don’t know how many students will enroll in this class. Depending on the number of students, there will be some variance. As of now, I am planning to give each student **3 minutes to present his or her proposal and spend 7 minutes for Q&A** discussion with the class. Please post your proposal on the course website by **3:00 p.m. Oct. 25** so that your classmates can read your proposal before they come to the class on Oct. 27. (In case more than 10 students enroll in this class, please understand that we may have to have about 1 hour **additional session** in the evening of Oct. 27. We will talk about this in the first class.)

The research proposal (approximately 3-4 pages) should include the following: (1) paper topic, (2) background explanation about choosing the topic (why you chose the topic, why you think that topic is important and worthwhile to do research on, how original your topic is, etc.), (3) hypotheses, (4) research design (how you will prove your hypotheses).

• Collaboration Policy Statement

In this course, you are encouraged to discuss with your classmates on the choice of paper topics and share sources. It may be useful for you to do so if you chose the same topic with your classmate. However, please make sure that any written work you submit for evaluation is the result of your own research and writing and your own approach. You must also observe standard citation practices in this discipline.

• Academic Honor Code

Plagiarism is a very serious academic offense. I highly recommend familiarizing yourself with the advice on “Avoiding Plagiarism” provided by the Harvard College Writing Program as well as the “Harvard Guide to Using Sources.” The due date for submitting your final research paper (approximately 20 pages) is **11:00 p.m. December 12**.

• Students with Disabilities

Any student in the class who has a disability and requires some modifications in seating or class requirements should contact me directly. The Student Disability Center’s [University Disability Resources](#) has additional information and resources and is located in Suite 900 in the Richard A. and Susan F. Smith Campus Center, 1350 Massachusetts Avenue (Tel: 617-495-1859/ Email: disabilityresources@harvard.edu).

• Class Schedule

(Please check the online syllabus each week prior to the next week’s session. There may be minor, last minutes changes in the readings.)

(There will be no class on Sep. 1. following the University’s Monday Schedule.)

Week 1 (Sep. 8) – Course Introduction, The Brief History of Korea

- (1). Basic organization, themes of the course, paper writing, etc.
- (2). Korea in the Era of Imperialism (1870s-1945): How did international competition among big powers surrounding the Korean Peninsula unfold?
- (3). Liberation, Division, and War (1945-1953): How was Korea divided? How did the Korean War break out and end?

- John King Fairbank, ed. *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China’s Foreign Relations*, Vol.32, Harvard East Asian Series, (Harvard University Press, 2013), pp.1-19. <https://www-degruyter-com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/document/doi/10.4159/harvard.9780674333482/html>

- Carter Eckert, et.al., *Korea, Old and New: A History* (Harvard University Press, 1990), Ch.18. Liberation, Division, and War, 1945-1953, pp.327-46.

- Young Ick Lew with an afterword by Donald P. Gregg, *Brief History of Korea – A Bird's-Eye View* (The Korea Society, New York 2000). https://www.koreasociety.org/images/pdf/KoreanStudies/Monographs_GeneralReading/BRIEF%20HISTORY%20OF%20KOREA.pdf

Week 2 (Sep. 15) -- Current Global Geo-Politics and Korea

- (1). What kind of grand strategy toward East Asia did Brzezinski recommend for the U.S. in the post-Cold War world?
- (2). What's the current state of US-China relations? Will the U.S. and China collide with each other in the future?
- (3). What are the implications of the pre-World War I international politics for the current U.S.-China relations?
- (4). Will South Korea fall into the orbit of China?

- Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Grand Chess* (New York: Basic Books, 2016), Ch.2. The Eurasian Chessboard, pp.39-49, Ch.6, "The Far Eastern Anchor," pp.185-93.
- Zbigniew Brzezinski and John Mearsheimer, "Clash of the Titans," *Foreign Policy* (Oct.22, 2009). (<https://foreignpolicy.com/2009/10/22/clash-of-the-titans/>)
- Kurt Campbell and Jake Sullivan, "Competition without Catastrophe," *Foreign Affairs*, (Sept-Oct.2019). <https://heinonline-org.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/fora98&id=946&collection=journals>
- Yoon Young-kwan, "Will Europe's Past Be East Asia's Future?" *Politique Asiatique* 2014/1 (Spring Issue), pp.173-85. https://www.cairn-int.info/article-E_PE_141_0173--is-europe-s-past-asia-s-future.htm
- Victor Cha, "Collateral Damage: What U.S.-China Competition Means for Korea," CSIS (Oct. 10, 2019). <https://www.csis.org/analysis/collateral-damage-what-us-china-competition-means-korea>
- Jae Ho Chung and Jiyeon Kim, "Is South Korea in China's Orbit? Assessing Seoul's Perceptions and Policies," *Asia Policy*, No.21 (Jan. 2016). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/24905095>

Week 3 (Sep. 22) -- IR Theories and NK: (1) Neo-conservatives and Realists

- (1). What are the assumptions, main arguments, and policy recommendations of the neo-conservative approach and the realist approach to international relations and North Korea-related issues?
- (2). In your view, what are the strengths and weaknesses of both approaches on U.S. foreign policy, in general, and toward North Korea, in specific?
- (3). Can regime change in North Korea be a reasonable policy?

- Charles Krauthammer, *Democratic Realism: An American Foreign Policy for a Unipolar World* (Washington, D.C.: The AEI Press, 2004), pp.1-19. (<https://www.aei.org/publication/democratic-realism>)
- William Kristol and Gary Schmitt, "Lessons of a Nuclear North Korea," *The Weekly Standard* (Oct. 28, 2002), Vol. 8, No.7. <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/weekly-standard/lessons-of-a-nuclear-north-korea>
- Francis Fukuyama, "After Neoconservatism," *The New York Times*, Feb. 19, 2006. <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/02/19/magazine/neo.html>
- Richard Sokolsky and Aaron David Miller, "Regime Change in North Korea: Be Careful What You Wish For," *38 North*, August 2, 2017. <https://www.38north.org/2017/08/rsokolskyamiller080217/>
- Hans Morgenthau, Ch.1. A Realist Theory of International Politics, in *Politics among Nations* (4th ed. 1967), pp.3-14.
- Brent Scowcroft and Daniel Poneman, "Confront North Korea," *Wall Street Journal*, May 26, 2005. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB111706534127743586>

Week 4 (Sep. 29) -- Theories and NK: (2) Neo-functionalist Approach

- (1). What are the assumptions, main arguments, policy recommendations, strengths and weaknesses of the neo-functionalist approach?
- (2). If the neo-functionalist approach was applied to inter-Korean relations in the form of South Korea's Sunshine Policy, what would be its achievements?
- (3). What would be the criticisms of the Sunshine Policy from the realist or neoconservative perspectives?
- (4). Do you think North Korea can be engaged or not?

- Ernst B. Haas, *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-1957* (Univ. of Notre Dame Press, Indiana: 2004), pp.3-19.
- The Jean Monnet Association des Amis, "Jean Monnet, the Father of Europe," <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KN27x27LuDs> (1988). (11 minutes)
- Robert Schuman, "The Schuman Declaration 9 May 1950," (1950)
http://europa.eu/about-eu/basic-information/symbols/europe-day/schuman-declaration/index_en.htm
- Address by President Kim Dae-jung of the Republic of Korea at the Free University of Berlin, March 9, 2000. <http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/dossiers/coree/a/1904>
- David Straub, "Salvaging the Sunshine Policy," *Joint U.S.-Korea Academic Studies* published by Korean Economic Institute of America, (2019).
http://keia.org/sites/default/files/publications/jukas_1.1_salvaging_the_sunshine_policy.pdf
- Victor Cha and David Kang, "Can North Korea be Engaged? An Exchange between Victor D. Cha and David C. Kang," *Survival*, Vol.46, No.2 (Summer 2004), pp.89-108. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1093/survival/46.2.89?needAccess=true>

Week 5 (Oct. 6) -- The Nuclear Problem: Solutions?

- (1). What do you think is the main reason for the failure of the U.S. diplomacy in denuclearizing North Korea during the last three decades?
- (2). What kind of solutions are being proposed by the specialists?
- (3). What is your evaluation of each policy recommendation?
- (4). How did the China factor work in the diplomacy of denuclearizing North Korea?

- Don Oberdorfer and Robert Carlin, *Two Koreas*, (rev. ed. 2014), Ch.11-15 (pp.194-288) 18, 19, Afterword (pp.381-464).
- Robert Einhorn, "The North Korea Policy Review: Key Choices Facing the Biden Administration," *38 North*, March 26, 2021. <https://www.38north.org/2021/03/the-north-korea-policy-review-key-choices-facing-the-biden-administration/>
- Nicolas Eberstadt, "Getting serious about North Korea threat reduction," May 5, 2020. <https://www.aei.org/articles/getting-serious-about-north-korea-threat-reduction/>
- "A Principled US Diplomatic Strategy Toward North Korea," *38 North: Informed Analysis of North Korea*, February 22, 2021. <https://www.38north.org/2021/02/a-principled-us-diplomatic-strategy-toward-north-korea/>
- Yoon Young-kwan, "Getting to Yes with Kim Jong Un," *Project Syndicate*, Jun.8, 2018. <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/kim-trump-singapore-summit-recipe-by-yoon-young-kwan-2018-06>
- Oriana Skylar Mastro, "China's Dangerous Double Game in North Korea," *Foreign Affairs*, April 2, 2021. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2021-04-02/chinas-dangerous-double-game-north-korea>
- (Recommended) Eleanor Albert, *Background: North Korea's Military Capabilities*, Council on Foreign Relations, October 2020. <https://www.cfr.org/background/north-koreas-military-capabilities>

Week 6 (Oct. 13) -- The Nuclear Problem: Theoretical perspectives

- (1). What are the important theoretical concepts each author adopts in explaining the nature of and the US policy toward the North Korean nuclear threats?
 - (2). In your view, what are the utilities and weaknesses of their concepts explanations?
 - (3). Which U.S. administration, do you think, pursued a North Korea policy most closely to Jervis's policy recommendation during the last three decades?
- Kathy Gilsinan, "North Korean Nukes and the Grand International-Relations Experiment in Asia: Interview with Robert Jervis," *The Atlantic*, March 19, 2017. <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/03/security-dilemma-north-korea/520023/>
 - James D. Fearon, "The Big Problem with the North Koreans Isn't That We Can't Trust Them. It's That They Can't Trust Us," *Washington Post*, August 16, 2017. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/08/16/the-big-problem-with-north-korea-isnt-that-we-cant-trust-them-its-that-they-cant-trust-us/>
 - Scott Sagan, "The North Korean Missile Crisis: Why Deterrence is still the best option," *Foreign Affairs*, Nov.-Dec. 2017. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/north-korea/2017-09-10/korean-missile-crisis>

- Robert Jervis and Mira Rapp-Hooper, "Perception and Misperception on the Korean Peninsula: How Unwanted Wars Begin," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2018). <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/north-korea/2018-04-05/perception-and-misperception-korean-peninsula>

Week 7 (Oct. 20) -- Human Rights Issues (I)

- (1). What has been the dynamic relationship between human rights and the nation-state? And how have improvements in the global human rights situation been made since 1945?
- (2). What have been the U.S. and international efforts to improve the human rights situation in North Korea?
- (3). How did the views of human rights and humanitarian aid groups come to diverge in the US policy-making circle?
- (4). In your view, what would be the preferred policy recommendations by neo-conservatives, realists, and neo-functionalists on the North Korean human rights issue?

- Eric D. Weitz, *A World Divided: The Global Struggle for Human Rights in the Age of Nation-States* (Princeton University Press, 2019), pp.1-11, <https://www-degruyter-com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/document/doi/10.1515/9780691185552-004/html>
- pp.404-30. <https://www-degruyter-com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/document/doi/10.1515/9780691185552-015/html>

- (Video clip) Human Rights in North Korea: Excerpts from the Public Hearings of the Commission of Inquiry (23mins) Apr 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0kpP_Q-iUB8

- (Document) H.R.2061 - North Korean Human Rights Reauthorization Act of 2017, 115th Congress (2017-2018). <https://www.congress.gov/115/plaws/publ198/PLAW-115publ198.pdf>

- Robert R. King, *North Korea Human Rights Policy, One Year After Hanoi: A Testimony by Ambassador Robert R. King*, February 26, 2020, <https://beyondparallel.csis.org/north-korea-human-rights-policy-one-year-after-hanoi-a-testimony-by-ambassador-robert-r-king/>

- Andrew I. Yeo, "Alleviating Misery: The Politics of North Korean Human Rights in U.S. Foreign Policy," *North Korean Review*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Fall 2014), pp. 71-87. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43908942>

- Hazel Smith, "Brownback bill will not solve NK's problems," *Jane's Intelligence Review*, Feb. 1, 2004. <http://oldsite.nautilus.org/DPRKBriefingBook/humanitarian/Hazel.pdf>

Week 8 (Oct. 27) -- Presentation of Paper Proposal (Possibly, additional 1 hr session on Oct. 27 may be needed.)

Week 9 (Nov. 3) -- Human Rights Issues (II) and Humanitarian Assistance

- (1). What are the achievements and the limitations of the U.S. efforts to improve human rights condition in North Korea? What will be the more effective way of achieving the goal of improving human rights situation in North Korea?
- (2). Can engagement work as an instrument for improving human rights condition in North Korea? Or, can human rights situation be improved without engaging the country?
- (3). Is it desirable to use food aid as a bargaining chip in nuclear negotiations with North Korea?
- (4). What are the effective ways of providing humanitarian assistance to North Korea?

- John Feffer, "The Forgotten Lessons of Helsinki: Human Rights and U.S.-North Korean Relations," *World Policy Journal* (Fall 2004), pp.31-39. https://www.jstor.org/stable/40210234?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents
- Gregory Ulferts and Terry L. Howard, "North Korean Human Rights Abuses and Their Consequences," *North Korean Review*, Vol.13, No.2 (FALL 2017), pp.84-92. <https://www-proquest-com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/1981609321?pq-origsite=primo&accountid=11311>
- Hazel Smith, "Nutrition and Health in North Korea: What's New, What's Changed and Why It Matters," *North Korean Review*, Vol. 12, Iss. 1. (Spring 2016): pp.7-34. <https://www-proquest-com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/docview/1806413535?OpenUrlRefId=info:xri/sid:primo&accountid=11311>
- Stephan Haggard and Marcus Noland, *Hard Target: Sanctions, Inducements, and the Case of North Korea*, Ch.4, Humanitarian Dilemmas (Stanford University Press, 2017). <https://stanford-universitypressscholarship-com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/view/10.11126/stanford/9781503600362.001.0001/upso-9781503600362-chapter-004?print=pdf>
- Andrew S. Natsios, "North Korea's Chronic Food Problem," in Sang-Hun Choe, Gi-Wook Shin, David Straub, eds., *Troubled Transition: North Korea's Politics, Economy and External Relations* (Stanford University Press, 2013), pp.117-40.

Week 10 (Nov. 10) -- Economic Transition of the Socialist Economies and North Korea

- (1). What were the major structural limitations of the socialist economic system or social market economy in the former Soviet Union?
- (2). What are the important measures to be taken to make a successful transition from a socialist economic system to a market economic system?
- (3). Kornai explains there are two ways of ownership reform. What are they and what is his evaluation of each? How do you compare China's experience of economic transition with Russia's?
- (3). In what stage, do you think, is North Korean economy located now in terms of this transition process? And what policy actions does Aslund recommend?

- *The Economist*, "Perestroika: And Now for the Hard Part," April 28, 1990, pp.155-74.

https://go-gale-com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=Newspapers&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchResultsType=SingleTab&hitCount=2&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm¤tPosition=2&docId=GALE%7CMOD1&prodId=ECON&pageNum=1&contentSet=GALE%7CGP4100217504&searchId=R3&userGroupName=camb55135&inPS=true

- Janos Kornai, "Ten Years After 'The Road to a Free Economy': The Author's Self-Evaluation," September 22, 2000.

https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=235875

- Jeffrey Sachs, Wing Thye Woo, Stanley Fischer and Gordon Hughes, "Structural Factors in the Economic Reforms of China, Eastern Europe, and the Former Soviet Union," *Economic Policy*, Vol.9, No.18 (Apr., 1994), pp.101-45. <https://www.jstor-org.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/stable/pdf/1344459.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A1f6e2045e5c993c260af3c8a14430b78>
- Anders Aslund, "Prospects and Preconditions for Market Economic Transformation in North Korea," in Ahn, Eberstadt, Lee, *A New International Engagement Framework for North Korea*, 2011, pp.175-95. <https://keia.org/publication/prospects-and-preconditions-for-market-economic-transformation-in-north-korea>

Week 11 (Nov.17) -- Changing Nature of the North Korean Economy

- (1). How did the North Korean economy evolve since the 1950s? Prof. Kim says the North Korean economy is "a plan-less planned economy". Why?
- (2). How has informal marketization of North Korea been affecting that country's regime stability?
- (3). What are the two scenarios that Kim and Roland explain? And why do they argue that the collapse scenario holds more promise for economic development in North Korea?
- (4). Why do North Korean elites think the Chinese-style reform is dangerous?

- Byung-yeon Kim and Gerard Roland, "Scenarios for a Transition to a Prosperous Market Economy in North Korea," *International Economic Journal*, Vol. 26, No. 3, September 2012, pp. 511-39.

- Byung-yeon Kim, *Unveiling the North Korean Economy: Collapse and Transition* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp.41-51, pp.55-64, pp.192-201.

- Andrei Lankov, *The Real North Korea* (Oxford University Press, 2015), Ch.3. "The Logic of Survival (Domestically)," pp.111-38.

- [Choe Sang-Hun](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/18/world/asia/north-korea-economy-sanctions.html), "North Korea's State-Run Economy Falters Under Sanctions, Testing Elite Loyalty," *The New York Times*, April 18, 2019.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/18/world/asia/north-korea-economy-sanctions.html>

- Yonho Kim, "North Korea's Mobile Telecommunications and Private Transport Services in Kim Jong Un Era," *HRNK Insider* (2019).

<http://www.hrnkinsider.org/2019/01/north-koreas-mobile-telecommunications.html>

Week 12 (Nov. 24) -- Thanksgiving Holiday

Week 13 (Dec. 1) "Inter-Korean Relations, Korean unification, Future Scenarios

- (1). What are the major factors that have affected ups and downs in inter-Korean relations since the end of the Cold War?
- (2). What have been ROK governments' unification policies since the early 1990s? Can the German model of unification be applied to Korea?
- (3). What will be the costs and benefits of the collapse of North Korea for the U.S. and China?
- (4). Will there be some ways of harmonizing different strategic intentions of Korea's neighboring states (U.S., China, Japan, Russia) on Korea's unification?

- Yang, C. 2016. "Review of Previous ROK Government Policies for Reunification and Future Policy Options in View of German Reunification." December 2016. U.S.-Korea Institute, SAIS.

<https://www.38north.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/NKIP-Yang-German-Reunification.pdf>

- Robert D. Kaplan, "When North Korea Falls," *The Atlantic Monthly*, October 2006

<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2006/10/when-north-korea-falls/305228/>

- P. Freeman, Testimony before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission; Developments in China's North Korea Policy and Contingency Planning. April 12, 2018. <https://www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/transcripts/Hearing%20Transcript%20-%20April%2012.%202018.pdf>

- Bonnie Glaser and Scott Snyder, "Responding to Change on the Korean Peninsula: Impediments to U.S.-South Korea-China Coordination," CSIS Report, May 2010. https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy_files/files/publication/100506_Glaser_RespondingtoChange_Web.pdf

- Jennifer Lind, "Will Trump's hardball tactics work on China and North Korea?" CNN, August 7, 2017.

<https://edition.cnn.com/2017/08/07/opinions/china-north-korea-opinion-lind/index.html>

- "A Tillerson Slip Offers a Peek into Secret Planning on North Korea," *The New York Times*, December 17, 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/17/us/politics/tillerson-north-korea-china.html>

- Yoon's chapter in the forthcoming Oxford University Press book (2021).

- (Recommended) Don Oberdorfer and Robert Calin, *The Two Koreas* (2014), Ch.9-10, 18.

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(Useful Websites)

<https://www.38north.org/> (The Stimson Center)

<https://www.brookings.edu/topic/northeast-asia/> (Brookings Institution)

<https://www.cfr.org/asia/north-korea> (Council on Foreign Relations)

<https://beyondparallel.csis.org/> (CSIS)

<https://www.belfercenter.org/search/all?q=North+Korea&f%5B0%5D=t%3AAI> (The Belfer Center, Harvard University)

<https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/content/cisac-north-korea> (CISAC, Stanford University)

<https://keia.org/#publications> (Korea Economic Institute of America)

<https://www.piie.com/blogs/north-korea-witness-transformation> (Peterson Institute for International Economics)

(Chronology)

<https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/dprkchron> (Arms Control Association: chronology)

(Documents)

- The Korean War Armistice Agreement, 1953. https://www.usfk.mil/Portals/105/Documents/SOFA/G_Armistice_Agreement.pdf

- Wilson Center Digital Archive, *Conversation Between Kim Il Sung and Lee Hu-Rak*. May 4, 1972. <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/110780>.

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