

KOREAN UNIFICATION: A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

To-hai Liou

University of Illinois

Introduction

The Korean peninsula, serving as a bridge between continent and ocean, has been considered by the land and sea powers around it to be a vital strategic point directly related to their national security. With this deep-rooted traditional idea, the adjacent powers of China, Japan, Russia have competed for the control of the peninsula in the past. In the wake of World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union have emerged as protagonists in Northeast Asian politics; it was at that time, owing to the cold war between the superpowers, that Korea was divided into two parts, South Korea and North Korea. Under the protection of the United States and the Soviet Union respectively, South and North Korea hold diametrically different ideologies. Subsequently, the Korean War in the 1950s resulted in the Peking-P'yongyang-Moscow alliance against the Washington-Seoul-Tōkyō axis.

With the advent of the early 1970s, particularly since the Sino-American rapprochement, the Korean peninsula has been affected by the atmosphere of détente following the dramatic change in the two Koreas' policies towards each other. All the four major powers surrounding Korea favor the status quo and the reducing of tension between the South and the North. With the encouragement of major powers and internal pressure, an intermittent South-North dialogue has gone on unofficially through the Red Cross and officially through governmental departments since August 1971. How to achieve peaceful reunification has been the main topic of these dialogues. Both sides repeatedly underscore their wish for peaceful unification and put forward their own proposals. However, no satisfactory result has been produced except the Joint Communiqué on July 4, 1972, in which both pledged to seek independent, peaceful unification of Korea and to transcend differences of ideologies and systems. Nevertheless, since that communiqué both sides have insisted on their own positions and do not want to make any concession.

The primary goal of this paper is to provide a selected English language bibliography for those people who have an interest in the politics of the Korean peninsula, especially the issue of Korean unification. It may help to give a whole picture of the unification policies and conflicting ideas of the two Koreas: the Republic of Korea (ROK) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). One can see from the books and articles the different ideologies since works from both points of view are included. More importantly, the principle of balance of power and the delicate nexus of check and balance between major powers is also found in the works dealing with policies toward the unification of the Korean peninsula.

The bibliographic essay which follows classifies the selected works into four topics: South Korean unification policy; North Korean unification policy; comparative analysis and general comments on the policies; and the other countries' policies toward Korean unification.

South Korean Unification Policy

South Korea's official stand on Korean unification is laid forth in South-North Dialogue in Korea (4) and A White Paper on South-North Dialogue in Korea (3). The former is the record of the ROK's proposals and the reactions from North Korea, and South Korea's domestic circles, and foreign countries. The latter is an overview of Korean relations, the South-North dialogue and South-North strategies towards peaceful unification. With its emphasis on the solution of social and economic problems rather than of political and military ones, Yung-chul Han's "South Korea's Unification policy" (15) states that Seoul's unification policy is to adopt a gradual, step-by-step approach of attempting to solve the questions of humanitarianism, economics, and culture and then the more difficult issues of the military and politics.

Young Whan Kihl's article "South Korea's Unification Policy in the 1980s: An Assessment" (19) and Shih-kwang Kang's "Unification Policy in the 1980s: Adapting to changing conditions" (17) explores the ROK's current unification policy in great depth. Kang's article tries to persuade the North to abandon its plan to communize the Korean peninsula through encouraging the South Koreans to increase their national power systematically.

North Korean Unification Policy

To reunify Korea under communism has been the ultimate goal of North Korea ever since its establishment in 1948. To pursue this goal, the DPRK has used different strategies at different times and in different situations. Sang-woo Rhee in his article "North Korean Unification Policy: A Review of Shifts in Strategical Foci" (29) gives analyses on these strategies through statistical figures and tables. "The Politics of North Korea's Unification Policies 1950-1965" (14) by Soon Sung Cho points out that North Korea's unification propaganda was shaped by its internal economic problems and the politics of 1950-1960. However, by the early 1960s the propaganda tactics had changed due to external influences as shown in Byung Chul Koh's The Foreign Policy of North Korea (10), which separates the operational direction of North Korea's unification policy toward the South into three stages. They are: 1945-1950, building a revolutionary base; 1950-1953, initiating a full-scale military invasion; 1953-late 1960s, turning to aggressive psychological warfare coupled with underground subversion. In the same vein, "The Unification Strategy of North Korea: Adroit Diplomacy or Fishing in Troubled Waters" (32) by Yim Young Soon reviews in a descriptive and contextual way the patterns of North Korea's unification strategy from 1953 to 1976 and the main factors which resulted from those strategies.

In addition, three articles aid in the understanding of P'yongyang's current unification policy. Koh's "The Korean Impasse: the View from P'yongyang" (22) and "Reunification Strategies of China and North Korea--A Comparative Assessment" (21) spell it out. In the former article, he suggests that South Korea's government pacify anti-government sentiment, particularly on college campuses, as a means to convince P'yongyang that Seoul's legitimacy is beyond question. Koh also urges South Korea to soften its hard rhetoric towards the North in order to create a spirit of good will. "North Korea's Unification Policy in the 1980s" (18) by Yong Whan Kihl also explicates North Korea's official position on the issue of Korean unification.

Three references are very useful and valuable in thoroughly realizing North Korea's views. One is the winter 1982 issue of Korea and World Affairs which is devoted to North Korea. The other two are Il-sung Kim's five-volume Selected Works (9) and For the Independent Peaceful Reunification of Korea (9).

Comparative Analysis and General Comments

Four articles discuss theories of and approaches to unification, namely Oran R. Young's "Korean Unification: Alternative Theoretical Perspectives" (34), Young-il Lee's "Unification in the 1980s: New Approach for a New Era" (25), Sang Woo Rhee's "Korean Unification: Issues and Approaches" (28), and Yong-il Lee's "Korean Unification and Its Legal Background" (23). The first essay examines theoretical perspectives on social conflict, collective choice and political integration of the problem of political unification in Korea. In the second one, Lee calls for a new nationalism for national survival and warns that South and North Korea should completely abandon their identification with the other major powers because the U.S.-Japan-China alliance against Russia sooner or later will sacrifice Korea. The third explores issues of ideological reconciliation, control of social change, and the acquiring of international support. In the last article, the author attempts to analyze the legitimacy of Korean unification from factual and legal viewpoints.

As a comparative study of the two Koreas, one of the best works of its kind is Hak-joon Kim's "The Unification Policy of South and North Korea" (7). In textbook fashion, this volume systematically and coherently compares the two sides' positions on Korean unification during different periods and analyzes the perception of the major powers and their policies toward the Korean issue. Because it was written in the middle 1970s, the book lacks current material. Fortunately, two recently published books provide not only the most up-to-date resources but also an in-depth analysis of the latest political developments on the Korean peninsula. Korean Unification: Problems and Prospects (7) edited by Eugene Kim and A Comparative Study of South and North Korea (2) by William Barnads, editor, make a comprehensive comparison between P'yongyang and Seoul. In "Overriding Strategy Versus Subversion Tactics: A Macro-comparative Study on South and North Korean Unification Strategies" (27), Sang Woo Rhee portrays the basic characteristics of both sides' unification strategies and predicts the prospects through analysis of words and acts of both sides.

Several articles deal with South-North relations and future developments: Koon Woo Nam's "North-South Korean Relations: from Dialogue to Confrontation" (26), Sam Kyu Kim's "Peaceful Unification of Korea" (20), Young Soon Yim's "The Prospect of Peaceful Unification of Korea in the 1980s: The Inter-Korean Internal Political Perspective" (33), K. Hwang's "The Rationale for Korean Reunification via Permanent Neutralization of the Entire Korean Peninsula" (16). Additionally, two essays in Barnads' volume The Two Koreas in East Asian Affairs (1) also dwell on relations between Seoul and P'yongyang. They are Scalapino's "Two Koreas--Dialogue or Conflict?" and Henderson's "Korea: Militarist or Unification Policies?"

Finally, The Record on Korean Unification 1945-1960 (13) consists of a summary and a collection of documents concerning the policies and actions of the United Nations, both Koreas, and other countries concerned. In addition, the two volume Korean Unification: Source Materials (11) contains materials directly or indirectly related to the politics of the Korean peninsula from 1943 to 1978. The Spring 1982 and Spring 1984 issues of Korea and World Affairs also focus on Korean unification.

Major Powers' Policies Towards the Koreas

As mentioned earlier, China, Japan, the United States, and the Soviet Union are very much concerned about the situation on the Korean peninsula owing to its strategic location. Moreover, a policy shift from any of these countries will directly influence the balance of power on the peninsula. Neither South Korea or North Korea can achieve their unification policies by force or through negotiations without the support of these major powers. In this connection, books like Politics of Korean Reunification (5), edited by Young Hoon Kang and Yong Soon Yim, The Two Koreas in East Asian Affairs, U.S. Policy toward Korea: Analysis, Alternative, and Recommendation (15) by Nathan White and Major Powers and Korea by Young C. Kim (12) serve this concern well. Other articles, for example Shapiro's "Soviet Policy towards North Korea and Korean Unification" (30) and Westerfield's "U.S. Foreign Priorities and A Peaceful Unification of Korea" (31), also give a detailed explanation of this theme.

Conclusion

There are many more English periodicals and books published on the topic of Korean unification under the auspices of the South Korean government than in the United States or North Korea. Those works published by the Research Center for Peace and Unification in Seoul are especially helpful in an understanding of South Korean politics. Examples are Korea and World Affairs, Korean Unification Quarterly, Korean Unification: Source Materials, and Politics of Korean Reunification.

It is unfortunate that English-language sources published in North Korea are very rare. Only Il-sung Kim's selected works are available. Since he is the head of the DPRK, the speeches and statements in his works accurately reflect P'yongyang's unification policy. In addition the research of Byung Chul Koh and Yong Whan Kihl are of use, not only because they are native speakers of Korean, but also because, though they are naturalized Americans originally from South Korea, they have visited the DPRK.

In the United States, literature focusing on Korean politics is scant compared to that devoted to Chinese or Japanese studies. Furthermore, most of the scholars in Korean studies are Korean-Americans. In summary, Korean studies in the U.S. is still in the beginning stages and still in need of more people with different backgrounds.

Bibliography

Books:

1. Barnds, William J. The Two Koreas in East Asian Affairs (New York: New York University Press, 1976)
2. _____. A Comparative Study of South and North Korea (Seoul: National Unification Board, 1982)
3. _____. A White Paper on South-North Dialogue in Korea (Seoul: National Unification Board, 1975, 1979, 1982)

4. _____. South-North Dialogue in Korea (Seoul: International Cultural Society of Korea, 1982) No. 21-30.
5. Kang, Young Hoon and Yim Yong Soon, eds. Politics of Korean Reunification (Seoul: Research Center for Peace and Unification, 1978)
6. Kihl, Young Whan. Politics and Policies in Divided Korea: Regimes in Contest (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1984)
7. Kim, Eugene, ed. Korean Unification: Problems and Prospects (Kalamazoo, Michigan: The Korea Research and Publications, Inc., 1973)
8. Kim, Hak-joon. The Unification Policy of South and North Korea: A Comparative Study (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 1977)
9. Kim, Il-sung. For the Independent Peaceful Reunification of Korea (New York: International Publishers, 1975)
10. _____. Selected Works (P'yongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1972) 5 volumes.
11. Kim, Se-jin, ed. Korean Unification: Source Materials with An Introduction (Seoul: Research Center for Peace and Unification, 1976)
12. Kim, Young C., ed. Major Powers and Korea (Silver Spring, Maryland: Research Institute on Korean Affairs, 1973)
13. Koh, Byung Chul. The Foreign Policy of North Korea (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1969)
14. _____. The Foreign Policy Systems of North and South Korea (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984)
15. White, Nathan N. US Policy Toward Korea: Analysis, Alternatives, and Recommendation (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1979)
16. _____. The Record on Korean Unification, 1945-1960 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960)

Articles:

17. Cho, Soon Sung, "The Politics of North Korea's Unification Policies, 1950-1965," World Politics, XIX:2 (January 1967) pp. 219-241.
18. Han, Yung-chul, "South Korea's Unification Policy," Korean Unification Quarterly, II:2 (1976) pp. 16-21.
19. Hwang, In K., "The Rationale for Korean Reunification via Permanent Neutralization of the Entire Korean Peninsula," Asian Profile 10:2 (April 1980) pp. 163-171.
20. Kang, Shik-kwang, "Unification Policy in the 1980s: Adapting to Changing Conditions," Korea and World Affairs (Spring 1981) pp. 120-138.

21. Kihl, Young Whan, "North Korea's Unification Policy in the 1980s," Korea and World Affairs 6:4 (Winter 1982) pp. 602-614.
22. _____. "South Korea's Unification Policy in the 1980s: An Assessment," Korea and World Affairs VI:1 (Spring 1982) pp.73-95.
23. Kim, Sam Kyu, "Peaceful Unification of Korea," Japan Quarterly XIX:4 (October-December 1972) pp.415-422.
24. Koh, Byung Chul. "Reunification Strategies of China and North Korea: A Comparative Assessment," Korea and World Affairs 7:3 (Fall 1983) pp. 395-408.
25. _____. "The Korean Impasse: the View from P'yongyang," Korea and World Affairs 6:4 (Winter 1982) pp. 527-545.
26. Lee, Yong-il, "Korean Unification and Its Legal Background," Korean Unification Quarterly II:3 (1976) pp. 13-20.
27. Lee, Young-ho, "South Korea's Unification Policy," Korean Unification Quarterly II:4 (Winter 1975-76) pp. 16-26.
28. Lee, Young-il, "Unification in the 1980s: New Approach for a New Era," Korea and World Affairs 4:2 (Summer 1980) pp. 335-348.
29. Nam, Koon Woo, "North-South Korean Relations: From Dialogue to Confrontation," Pacific Affairs 48:4, Winter 1975-76) pp. 477-499.
30. Rhee, Sang Woo, "Overriding Strategy Versus Subversion Tactics: A Macro-comparative Study on South and North Korean Unification Strategies," Unification Policy Quarterly II:4 (1976) pp. 40-65.
31. _____. "Korean Unification: Issue and Approaches," Korea and World Affairs 6:4 (Winter 1982) pp. 615-630.
32. _____. "North Korean Unification Policy: A Review on Shifts in Strategical Foci," Korean Unification Quarterly I:4 (Winter 1975-76) pp. 27-56.
33. Shapiro, Jane P., "Soviet Policy Towards North Korea and Korean Unification," Pacific Affairs 48:3 (Fall 1975) pp. 335-352.
34. Westerfield, Bradford H., "U.S. Foreign Priorities and A Peaceful Unification of Korea," Korea and World Affairs 7:1 (Spring 1983) pp. 40-56.
35. Yim, Yong Soon, "The Unification Strategy of North Korea: Adroit Diplomacy or Fishing in Troubled Waters," Korea and World Affairs 2:4 (Winter 1977) pp. 440-465.
36. _____. "The Prospect of Peaceful Unification of Korea in the 1980s: the Inter-Korean Internal Political Perspective," Korea and World Affairs 4:1 (Spring 1980) pp. 187-208.
37. Young, Oran R., "Korean Unification: Alternative Theoretical Perspectives," Korea and World Affairs 7:1 (Spring 1983) pp. 57-80.