

CHAPTER III
ANALYSIS OF THE ADVANTAGES AND
DISADVANTAGES OF KOREAN
REUNIFICATION AND THE JOINING OF SOUTH
KOREA AND NORTH KOREA IN ONE FLAG AT
THE ASIAN GAMES 2018

In carrying out an action or choosing a policy such as the restoration of diplomatic relations, there are steps that are considered very important to be carried out first before carrying out a policy, an important step is to analyze the advantages and disadvantages of what policies will be chosen, this analysis technique it is highly required to be carried out first in order to take into account the benefits and losses that will be obtained if a country chooses to carry out a recovery of diplomatic relations which previously both parties had poor diplomatic relations.

A. Advantages and Disadvantages of Korea Peninsula Reunification

It is no longer a secret that North Korea and South Korea clash even very fiercely. If counted until 2017, the two countries have had a history of feud for 67 years. Within 67 years, of course they carried out various efforts for peace, but in each process there were still factors that caused the peace effort being carried out to find no light. The peak is in 2017, with the launch of North Korean ballistic weapons towards Japanese waters so that the action triggered a reaction from the US with various security threats posed to North Korea if they disturbed public security from the US alliance namely South Korea and Japan. About 24 million people live in a country located in the northern part of the Korean peninsula. They have very little access to the outside world. On the other hand, foreign media are also prohibited from interacting with North Korean people. They are controlled with really minimal access. North Korea's nuclear program and poor human rights records make this country isolated, especially with

international sanctions. Economic conditions are chaotic, poverty rates are rising. An observation of space shows Pyongyang disappearing in the dark, clear illustration of the chronic backwardness of the region compared to other regions.

In the 14th century, the Chosun Dynasty, better known as Joseon in Korea, adopted a policy of isolation from the outside world for almost six centuries. The way it is done is to fend off invasions of foreign countries while keeping the Confucian tradition tightly held. Just like what happened in North Korea at this time, Koreans are forbidden to make contact with outsiders, also travel outside Korea. Korea itself received the embrace of the Hermit Kingdom in the 19th century. Korea's political isolation finally slowly opened. The decision did not bring blessings, because post-World War I, Korea had to surrender to Japan in 1910. The suffering continued after, when Japan lost in World War II, Korea was divided into two regions: South Korea was under US control and North Korea was under the control of the Soviet Union for a while. In North Korea, Soviet leader Josef Stalin appointed Kim Il Sung as the highest leader. Kim Il Sung ruled North Korea for approximately 50 years before being replaced by his son Kim Jong Il and then continued by his grandson who recently disappeared while Kim Jong Un, until now. The Cold War atmosphere in the early 1950s, made relations between South Korea and North Korea heated up in the aftermath of heated relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. The war took place with the support of their respective allies: South Korea was supported by the US, North Korea received Moscow support. And undoubtedly the civil war gave untold suffering to both, especially North Korea which was devastated by American-made bombs. Seeing the condition of his people like that, Kim Il Sung then developed the theory of independence which in Korean terms is called Juche. Juche then became the ideology of this nation. There are three principles that underlie this ideology: political independence, economic independence, and military autonomy. North Korea is increasingly alienated when relations between China and the

West improve, and are exacerbated by the collapse of the Soviet Union. There had been hope when relations with South Korea and the West had improved in the late 1990s, but that did not last long when George W. Bush included North Korea as part of the 2002 main Axis of Evil support for terrorism because of its nuclear program. The issue of the security crisis in the East Asia region was the main topic of discussion which was widely discussed by the international community. The crisis in the East Asia region is a classic crisis. From the various crises that occurred, the crisis which is currently still a central issue in the East Asia region is the crisis of the Korean Peninsula. The Korean Peninsula crisis is a legacy of the Korean War.

In 2012 there was a threat from North Korea where in various reports that after North Korea reactivated its nuclear development program, America would be the next target for their nuclear test, not to mention the development because they had poor relations with South Korea as a result of the struggle territory in the past (Pratiwi, 2014). Specifically the North Korean reason for developing nuclear weapons is caused by several things. First, the use of nuclear bombs by the US, to destroy Japan at the end of World War II in a short time, was very effective in dealing with war conflicts. Second, that Kim II Sung realized the US power as a country that had become an alliance of South Korea during the Korean War. Kim realizes that the US can at any time use its nuclear weapons placed on the South Korean border to attack North Korea, in other words North Korea's policy of carrying out its nuclear program is to increase capability to rival US forces (Mansourov, 1995).

In the past two decades, North Korea has been at loggerheads with the US regarding its nuclear program. This of course forces the United States to make the North Korean nuclear issue one of its foreign political agendas since 1990. Pyongyang is suspected of using the issue of its nuclear nuclear weapons (nuclear brinkmanship) as a political maneuver to increase the bargaining position in the

international world, especially the US and its allies, did not continue to pressure North Korea and forced the termination of US military and economic assistance to South Korea. North Korea also rejected Washington's intervention in the problem of the process of reunifying the Korean Peninsula (H. Obtar Sinaga, 2008). With the intervention of third parties as previously explained, the reunification of Korea as a goal and hope for the Korean people is unlikely to face a smooth road. The United States as an ally of South Korea always vilifies North Korea. The United States calls North Korea the axis of crime and the nest of terrorists because it often commits terror and infiltration into the territory of the South Korean government. While North Korea maintains good relations with China and Russia. However, the fall of communism in Eastern Europe in 1989, and the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, resulted in a reduction in aid to North Korea from Russia. Barry Buzan defines a regional security complex as a group of countries in an area where the main focus in the context of security is closely related between one country and another (Buzan, 2003).

Although sixty years have passed since two Korean governments were established in 1948, the Korean Peninsula is still divided between the Republic of Korea (ROK / South Korea) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, or North Korea). Inter-Korean relations are still characterized by mutual distrust, hatred, lack of cooperation, and ideological conflict. Cold War nuances are still felt on the Korean Peninsula.

The first inter-Korean summit meeting attended by South Korean President Kim Dae-Jung and North Korean leader Kim Jong-il, in Pyongyang on June 13-15, 2000 was also one of historic momentum. The meeting resulted in an inter-Korean joint declaration on June 15, 2000, which resulted in a framework for institutionalizing peaceful coexistence between the two Korean countries. The decision of North Korean leader Kim Jong-il to attend the meeting symbolized a change in his strategic policy towards South

Korea. New inter-Korean peace processes continue to be carried out to build mutual trust and mutual understanding in order to create lasting peace on the Korean Peninsula.

In this context, Seoul can play a role in two scenarios, namely "crash landing" or "soft landing". "Crash landing" North Korea or sudden collapse from the inside, South Korea does not want for several reasons. Seoul does not have the economic capability to absorb North Korea's fall. Given that South Korea's economy has suffered a setback several years back, Korea's unification, if it follows the German unification model, will give a severe blow to South Korea's economy, and Seoul can lose its competitive advantage in the coming years. In addition, the people of South Korea will not be able to accept the loss of economic progress as a result of rapid national unification.

If North Korea's economic situation decreases, famine will spread, and international isolation will deepen, North Korean leaders will try to maintain power by creating a military crisis on the Korean Peninsula. If this situation occurs, then tensions in Korea and East Asia will increase. Harsh policy from Seoul towards Pyongyang will strengthen Pyongyang's hardline position and this could lead to open war. North Korea's political instability, poverty and social unrest will lead to the fall of North Korea.

Therefore, Seoul has an interest in helping Pyongyang to advance its economic situation and help Pyongyang join the international community as a full member. North Korea's "soft landing" scenario or gradual adoption of a market economy and liberal democracy are very much desired by South Korea and are possible. North Korea seeks to implement calculative economic reforms and open-door policy, following the China model, to cure its chronic economic illness and end diplomatic isolation. Economic changes and open-door policy, although limited, will be the first step in the transformation of the North Korean Stalinist regime. If the economic structure begins to change under the influence of market-oriented economic policies and increased contact with the outside world, then

social and political structures will also change. Therefore, it can be said that to create a peaceful unification of Korea is through inter-Korean reconciliation and economic cooperation.

To help North Korea achieve a "soft landing" scenario, in 1998, the South Korean government led by Kim Dae-jung issued a "sunshine policy" policy on North Korea. The aim of this policy is to improve inter-Korean relations by promoting reconciliation, cooperation and peace. This policy assumes that it is more important to create peaceful coexistence between the two Koreas than to encourage unification as soon as possible. There are two objectives of the sunshine policy, namely:

1. peaceful management in the separation of the nation and
2. promotion of a comfortable environment for North Korea to change and open up without being overwhelmed by fear.

The South Korean government wants to reduce tensions and negotiate arms control with North Korea in the context of deterrence to prevent open war on the peninsula. In addition, to encourage North Korea to carry out economic transformation by adopting a market-oriented economic system.

There are three basic principles of the Sunshine Policy, among others: First, South Korea will not tolerate any North Korean military provocation. South Korea will maintain a strong security posture against North Korea and will respond directly to any provocation. At the same time, South Korea will continue to make efforts to reduce tension and build mutual confidence. Secondly, South Korea will try to involve North Korea. Instead of promoting the fall of North Korea, South Korea intends to create peaceful coexistence and a comfortable environment for the creation of the North-South national community which will gradually materialize peaceful unification in the future. Third, inter-Korean reconciliation and

cooperation will be expanded. The South Korean government will do the best to overcome the hostilities that have taken place between the two Koreas since the separation of the Korean Peninsula. South Korea wants to implement the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression, and Exchanges and Cooperation which was signed in 1991 between South Korea and North Korea.

Using these three basic principles, the Seoul government adopted six guidelines to implement the new South Korean policy towards North Korea, namely:

1. strong national security and inter-Korean cooperation will be promoted in parallel;
2. the promotion of peaceful coexistence and inter-Korean cooperation will be a top priority;
3. an environment conducive to the opening of North Korea and creating a transformation of North Korea;
4. the same interests need to be promoted;
5. the principle of the right to self-determination and support from the international community must be supported
6. implementation of North Korean policies must be based on national consensus

Kim Dae-jung's government set six steps to implement its policy guidelines, including: reviving the 1991 basic agreement through inter-Korean dialogue; separation between business and politics; separate family reunion; flexibility in providing food assistance to North Korea; continuing commitment to the water reactor project; and create a peaceful environment on the Korean Peninsula. Kim Dae-jung's government has also consistently implemented the engagement policy with North Korea since February 1998. The policy can be said to be quite successful in terms of three aspects. First, engagement policy has prevented open warfare on the Korean Peninsula and contributed to the international environment where the Cold War system on the peninsula can be eliminated. Furthermore, this policy also contributed to the management of stable problems related to the freezing of

North Korea's nuclear program and the testing of long-range missiles. Second, engagement policy contributes to reducing tensions and creating a comfortable environment to improve inter-Korean relations. Inter-Korean economic cooperation and exchanges at the non-government level have been expanded. Mt. Gungang symbolizes the first step in the history of inter-Korean cooperation. More than four hundred thousand tourists have visited Mt.Gungang in North Korea, since November 1998.

Inter-Korean trade began in 1989 with profits ranging from \$ 18 million and volume reaching \$ 330 million in 1999. Third, South Korean government policies to encourage inter-Korean sports, separate family member exchanges and cultural exchanges between Seoul and Pyongyang, contributed to efforts better understanding between the people of South Korea and North Korea. South Korea's Engagement Policy also contributed to North Korean leader Kim Jong-il's decision to attend the First Inter-Korean Summit in 2000.

After the First High-Level Meeting, economic cooperation and inter-Korean social and cultural exchanges took place. South Korea is increasing its economic and humanitarian assistance to North Korea. In addition, South Korea has also expanded the goal of economic cooperation with North Korea by building the Seoul-Shinuiju railway line, as well as increasing fertilizer and food assistance to North Korea. Furthermore, the South Korean government also increased the number of North-Korea cooperation funds fivefold from 172 billion won in 1999 to 634.5 billion won in 2011. Meanwhile, North Korea has agreed to accommodate South Korean requests related to changes in North Korean economic institutions such as institutionalization investment guarantees, adopting global standards in the resolution of commercial disputes, protection of the private sector and intellectual property rights, as well as the prevention of multiple taxes.

In addition to these efforts, no breakthrough was made in inter-Korean economic exchanges and cooperation. The

South Korean government has from the start relied on the Chaebol group to take economic steps with North Korea, however, only a few, such as Hyundai, are actively seeking economic opportunities in North Korea. While companies included in the Chaebol group such as Samsung, SK, and LG took a wait and see position, Hyundai, which was the main driving force of inter-Korean economic cooperation, experienced financial problems.

After the agreement to promote cooperation and exchanges in the fields of social, cultural, sports, public health and the environment, a group of media executives from South Korea visited North Korea in August 2000 and exchanged media protocols. KBS and SBS broadcast live from Mt. Baekdu and Pyongyang. The Hankyoreh and MBC newspapers also visited North Korea.

In the cultural field, the symphony orchestra of two Koreas held a joint concert in Seoul in August 2000 and the South Korean film JSA (Joint Security Area) was shown in North Korea three months later. Other cultural exchanges including South Korean classical opera appeared in Pyongyang in February 2001 and pop singer Kim Yeon-ja performed at Hamheung two months later. Then, a number of 109 South Korean tourists visited Mt. Baekdu in North Korea in September 2000 and a number of North Korean tourists were scheduled to visit Mt. Halla on Jeju Island, South Korea in 2001. Furthermore, several friendly tennis matches were also held in Pyongyang and an international motorbike rally was held at Mt. Gungang, in July 2000. In September 2000, two Korean two Olympic teams walked together at the opening ceremony of the Olympics Sydney under a banner that describes a unified map of the Korean Peninsula. In addition, in the field of religion, Easter celebrations were held in Seoul, attended by Christians from the South and North, two Buddhist celebrations were also held simultaneously in two Korean capitals to celebrate August 15 Freedom Day and a joint celebration to commemorate the day of the Buddha's birth in 2001.

At the summit at Panmunjom, two Korean leaders committed each other to end the longstanding confrontation of the Cold War and began to open a new era for reconciliation, peace and prosperity, and to promote good relations between Koreans.

The following are some important points in the Panmunjom Declaration:

1. Denuclearization

South Korea and North Korea confirmed the main goal to realize the complete denuclearization program, namely the creation of a nuclear-free Korean Peninsula. South Korea and North Korea understand each other that the North Korean initiation is very meaningful and crucial for the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and agreed to play a role and take responsibility for the matter. North Korea and South Korea agree to gain support and cooperation from the international community for the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula program.

2. Peace Regime

The year 2018 is also a commemoration of 65 years of ceasefire. South Korea and North Korea agreed to hold a trilateral meeting involving the two Koreas and the US, or a quadrilateral meeting involving two Koreas, the US and China to declare a cessation of the War, turning the ceasefire into a peace treaty and creating a permanent and solid peace regime.

3. Pyongyang's visit

The two Korean leaders agreed, through regular meetings and telephone conversations, to hold ongoing discussions on vital issues of the Korean nation, to strengthen mutual trust and to strengthen joint efforts in creating positive momentum through increasing inter-Korean relations including peace, prosperity and unification of the Korean Peninsula. In this context, President Moon Jae-In agreed to visit Pyongyang in the Fall of 2018.

4. Family Reunion

South Korea and North Korea agreed to cooperate in resolving humanitarian issues as a result of the separation of Korea and to hold an inter-Korean Red Cross Meeting to discuss and resolve issues including separate family reunions. In this context, South Korea and North Korea agreed to follow up the reunion program for separate families at the National Freedom Day Celebration on 15 August 2018.

5. Join in the Power of Sports

At the international level, both parties agreed to show kindness, talent and solidarity together by jointly participating in international sporting events such as the 2018 Asian Games.

6. Disarmament

South Korea and North Korea agreed to carry out disarmament gradually, eliminate military tensions and achieve substantial progress in military confidence-building.

7. There is no war

The two leaders declared before 80 million Koreans and the whole world that there would be no more war on the Korean Peninsula and the start of a new era of peace.

For some, the historic Panmunjom High-Level Meeting between South Korea's President Moon Jae-in and North Korean leader Kim Jong-un was not surprising and was a repetition of the previous Inter-Korean Summit held at 2000 and 2007. However, there are also differences between the 2018 Summit and 2000 and 2007.

First, in terms of implementation time. President Moon has learned from 2007's predecessor Roh Moo-Hyun's meeting with Kim Jong-il held at the end of the term of office of the South Korean President. President Roh, in the end, was unable to witness the implementation of the meeting resolution in 2007. While President Moon, has prepared an inter-Korean process that can be implemented within a period of four years of his term. Opposition Moon criticized that considering his vote in the 2017 presidential election, Moon lacked the mandate to implement his policies in real action. However, the results of the public opinion survey carried out after the April

2018 Summit actually broke the criticism and showed that 90% of South Koreans supported the Panmunjom Summit and supported President Moon's steps. Second, in terms of the level of North Korea's nuclear and ballistic missiles that have never existed before. In the two previous High Level Meetings, Kim Jong-un's father, Kim Jong-il, did not have enough weapons to threaten the US and could weaken the US-South Korean alliance. However, in the era of Kim Jong-un, North Korea has weapons that can be used to threaten the US and described by him as "a valuable sword of justice".

In terms of denuclearization, this word appeared three times in the Panmunjom Declaration. The North Korean side also released an English version of the declaration in state media which also raised suspicions of differences in interpretation. Based on news in the English language released by the North Korean government, it was revealed that Pyongyang placed their position as a nuclear power force committed to global nuclear disarmament. Even a few days before the inter-Korean meeting, Kim Jong-un promised to stop testing ballistic missiles that reach across continents and close the nuclear test site at Punggye-ri. However, similarities with the previous High Level Meeting were seen in the denuclearization area. The Panmunjom meeting and the declaration it produced were not a preliminary moment for the prospect of mass weapons destruction from both North Korea and the Korean Peninsula.

After the signing of the Panmunjom Declaration the question arose as to the implications of the declaration on regional and international security processes? From the situation of antagonism a few months ago to the April 2018 summit between North Korean leader Kim Jong-un and South Korean President Moon Jae-in, it can be said that the meeting resulted in a positive agreement. However, the agreement needs to be critically evaluated and can be divided into three arguments. First, the argument that the agreement was good for the morale of the Korean nation. Second, the argument that views the agreement will bring lasting positive changes; and

third, the argument that views the agreement as good but not substantial (Nah, 2018).

For the first argument, Seoul and Pyongyang agreed to reunite separate family members during the Korean War, build a representative office in Kaesong, and reduce border violence. This signal can improve North-South relations but cannot be resolved through executive orders in the event of a dispute. For the second argument, both North Korea and South Korea are committed to creating a peace agreement in lieu of armed conflict in the Korean War through multilateral consultations with China and the US. This agreement can be a medium of change on the peninsula which can encourage North Korea to be kind and indirectly guarantee the security of Kim Jong-un's regime. For the third argument, the signing of the declaration by Moon and Kim at the High-Level Meeting showed the commitment of North Korea and South Korea to resolve the issue of denuclearization. Based on Pyoingyang's track record of not being good at complying with nuclear disarmament agreements, there appeared to be skepticism about whether Kim would disarm North Korea and if Kim finally insisted on defending North Korea's nuclear weapons, all progress that had been achieved would fall.

The Panmunjom Declaration signed by Moon and Kim on April 27, 2018 was set forth in broad and general points. Fundamentally, the spirit of national reconciliation stated in the Panmunjom Declaration is essentially the same as the declaration produced at the previous High Level Meetings in 2000 and 2007. However, there are several parts that need to be highlighted in the Panmunjom Declaration namely statement: "both sides agreed to fully implementing all existing agreements and declarations adopted between the two sides thus far ". This statement can be interpreted that Pyongyang has renewed its commitment that was stated in the 1992 Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. This can be used in future nuclear negotiations to prevent the North Korean delegation from buying time for negotiations.



Figure 3.1: Unified Korea Flag

Source: <https://classe-internationale.com/2018/02/12/north-and-south-korea-reunited-by-the-olympic-games/>

Another important subpoint is confirmed in the statement that "South and North Korea agreed to carry out (conventional) in a phased manner, as military tension is alleviated and substantial progress is made in military confidence building". From South Korea's national security standpoint, this statement can be troubling given South Korea's military strength, in terms of quantity, is inferior compared to North Korea's military strength and any attempt to reduce military weapons will weaken South Korea's military strength and actually benefit North Korea. For Pyongyang, the "military first" policy or "Songun policy" launched by Kim Jong-un's father, Kim Jong-il, raised skepticism about the sincerity of North Korea's predecessor in reducing the number of military weapons, including the number of troops, tanks and artillery. In addition, the statement also requires high requirements, is difficult to verify, and difficult to realize. Finally, the Panmunjom Declaration strengthens Moon's agreement to attend other High Level Meetings in Fall 2018 where this provides a five-month chance of stability for South Korea considering North Korea will behave well in the short term. This certainly will have an effect on increasing self-confidence for business people in South Korea.

In addition, it can be assumed that Kim Jong-un attempted to get the results of the lifting of sanctions, and that

failure to reach concessions within a certain period of time would result in North Korea's antagonistic policies. In this case, it would be wise if President Moon advised US President Donald Trump not to underestimate Kim Jong-un and should offer a fair denuclearization agreement. In addition, considering that Moon will meet Kim again in the fall, Moon should offer Trump to communicate and support every updated proposal from the US to North Korea, which is also part of securing South Korea's national interests, so that the denuclearization process does not fail halfway.

In the context of the unification process, one controversial issue is creating peace on the Korean Peninsula and realizing unification. Those who support the creation of peace on the Korean Peninsula emphasize the easing of military tension and the peaceful settlement of the Korean Peninsula. Their aim to realize de facto unification can be through the creation of peace on the peninsula, peaceful coexistence and cooperation. Conversely, for those who want the achievement of unification first emphasize the fact that unification is a fundamental step to eliminate military tension on the Korean Peninsula and eliminate North Korea's nuclear threat. They claim that the transition on the Korean Peninsula towards a peace regime is a dream if it is considered with all the factors associated with the realization of a peace regime on the Korean Peninsula, North Korea's strong stance, and possible cancellation of the North Korean agreement. Not only that, they also argue that North Korea uses arguments to create peace to achieve unification of Korea under the leadership of North Korea and the withdrawal of US military forces from South Korea. However, to achieve unification it cannot be denied that it must go through an uncertain process while creating peace on the Korean Peninsula is an issue that must be realized immediately.

In this case, South Korea and the US need to build a consensus where issues must be addressed first. One thing that wants to be realized is to build peace on the Korean Peninsula by overcoming North Korea's nuclear issue, building mutual

confidence in the military sector between the two Koreas, implementing weapons control, and creating a peace regime on the peninsula. Another important effort is to promote a comfortable environment for peaceful unification by creating peace on the Korean Peninsula.

In the context of the High-Level Meeting between Kim Jong-un and Moon Jae-in, the two Korean leaders signed a peace agreement which affirmed that the two countries jointly implemented a denuclearization program. This was an important advance in inter-Korean relations since the ceasefire that ended the Korean War in 1953. The first real opportunity for inter-Korean dialogue actually emerged when South Korea hosted the Winter Olympics in Pyeongchang in February 2018. In the international sporting event, the two Koreas agreed to hold a joint march at the opening ceremony of the Winter Olympics under a Korean unification flag. In addition, the two countries agreed to bring down one female hockey team. This is a historical moment where for the first time two Korean countries united in a sports team at the international Olympics.

Among Korean analysts, several theories emerged. Some analysts argue that Kim's government began to open up for fear that economic sanctions would pose a serious threat to North Korea. While others argue that the North Korean regime's weapons program is currently equipped with strong guarantees that the program can prevent serious threats. The third theory argues that US President Donald Trump's approach in the unpredictable world makes North Korea must be vigilant.¹⁶ But what needs to be underlined, whatever the stimulus is, North Korea begins to look more diplomatic. When Pyongyang first contacted Seoul about the possibility of a meeting at the Winter Olympics, at that time it was unclear how a Summit could be held in a short period of time. The meeting usually requires long planning and negotiations, but in the end the two countries were able to carry out it in preparation for only a few weeks.

Although Kim and Moon's declaration is committed to realizing denuclearization, it is not clear how the two parties interpret denuclearization in the same sense. Whether Pyongyang wants to accept its military capability reduction program is still unclear, even if North Korea wants to be fully involved in the denuclearization program, its weapons program cannot be changed considering North Korea already knows how to produce the weapon and even knows how to produce it if its weapons are destroyed.

In addition, the Panmunjom Declaration also emphasized the second commitment of the Korean leadership to actively meet both the US and with the US and China. This shows an undeniable reality that any discussion of inter-Korean relations can never take place bilaterally. Although the Korean Summit is of historical value, issues regarding the separation of Korea cannot be resolved without the direct involvement of the US and China. China will not accept being marginalized by the US and will do various ways to ensure that the next step is through four-way dialogue. Similarly, North Korea will need the support of a significant economic partner if it wants to rebuild its economy.

In the end, China's interests are represented through peaceful coexistence between the two Koreas rather than reunification, which will be a buffer state between China's borders and US military allies. Therefore, China President Xi Jin Ping will continue to support Kim and provide assistance for economic development rather than pushing for a formal solution to the North Korean border problem with South Korea. Meanwhile, concrete progress cannot be achieved without US contributions. In this case, South Korea needs Washington's security guarantees and various priorities North Korea is centered on guarding itself against possible US military action.

Therefore, it can be said that, although the High Level Meeting between the two Korean leaders is historical, in reality, the two leaders do not hold the key to the future of their country. However, it is not wise to downplay the

meaning of the meeting. That the two Korean leaders were in dialogue was a progress in its own right and if in the future they continued to dialogue and build mutual trust is the best that inter-Korean relations can hope for.

Table 3.1
Analysis Of The Advantages And Disadvantages Of
Korean Reunification

Advantages	Disadvantage
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The creation of a peaceful Korean regime which is indeed contained in the Panmunjom agreement 2. Realize North Korea and Hyundai agreements regarding expansion of tourism business 3. The creation of stability in the East Asia Region, especially the Korean Peninsula, because it has been declared that there will be no more war on the Korean Peninsula 4. North Korea can stabilize again the economic conditions that are experiencing a contraction that is quite severe and even said to decline compared to when in 1997 which had caused the incidence of poverty of North Korean society. 5. Providing a new image to the world that Korea is 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. It is very difficult for North Korea and South Korea to escape from the influence of the US and China, where the two superpowers are countries that North and South Korea have been supporting for decades. 2. Enabling there will be more friction in decision making caused by differences in ideology of North Korea and South Korea.

<p>not in a state of war so that it can expand cooperation with the outside world, especially for North Korea which was previously famous with the country with its Political Isolation</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Join the 2018 Asian Games and get 4 medals for the debut of the participation of a united Korea delegation in the Asian Games 7. North Korea is no longer dependent on China in terms of improving the country's economy because it is united with South Korea that it is possible to restore the country's economic stability 	
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If viewed from the advantages and disadvantages of the two countries from reunification as stated in the table above, the reunification carried out by North Korea and South Korea is a very appropriate decision because it can encourage these two countries to increase cooperation in many fields and return unite into a family that has long been separated and in accordance with the optimism of the two countries, they are confident that they will be able to master the Asian economy later in their long-term relationship.

B. Asian Games 2018 as a Event (tool) for Socialization of the Reunification of Korea Peninsula`

The history of the Asian Games has been engraved since 1951, which at that time was held in New Delhi, India

for the first time. At that time international stability was still unstable because after the end of World War II, especially the stability of the Korean Peninsula region. The split of the Korean Peninsula had colored the history of the 1970 Asian Games journey, which at that time would be held in Seoul, South Korea, which was eventually forced to be moved to Bangkok due to security threats carried out by North Korea when the 1970 Asian Games were held in Seoul. Therefore, the transfer of location to Bangkok must be carried out, but the implementation of the 1970 Asian Games in Bangkok was fully funded by South Korea.

The opposite happens in 2018, the international conversation is focused on the unification of North Korea and South Korea under one flag during the opening ceremony of the 2018 Asian Games at Bung Karno Stadium even the Korean delegation is united in 3 sports. The table below is the name of the sport and the following details the number of athletes who participated:

Table 3.2
Table of Sports and Details of the Number of
Athletes Who Participating in a Unified Korea Contingent
in the Asian Games 2018

Sport	Men		Women	
	North Korea	South Korea	North Korea	South Korea
Basketball	0	0	3	10
Dragon Boat (Canoeing)	8	8	8	8
Rowing	6	7	1	1

Table 3.3
Table of Achievement of Unified Korea Contingent

Sport	Event	Medal
Dragon Boat (Canoeing)	Women's TBR-12 500m	Gold Medal
Basketball	Women's Tournament	Silver Medal
Dragon Boat (Canoeing)	Women's TBR-12 200m	Bronze
Dragon Boat (Canoeing)	Men's TBR-12 1000m	Bronze
TOTAL		4 Medal

This is a very good start after the 2018 Panmunjom Declaration in which it initiated the peace of the Korean Peninsula. This is a serious step taken by North Korea and South Korea as a venue to show that the path of peace was truly taken and lived by the two countries.

The 2018 Asian Games are Korean delegates' debuts appearing throughout the history of the Asian Games. The joint Korean delegation did not return empty-handed, but the joint delegation pocketed 4 medals which is, 1 gold medal, 1 silver medal and 2 bronze medals. However, this will not happen if previously the two leaders of the country did not hold a meeting at Panmunjom. On April 27, 2018, the North Korean and South Korean leaders held a diplomatic meeting which was one of the discussions on the 2018 Asian Games. At the meeting, the two leaders agreed to send a joint delegation to participate in the 2018 Asian Games, this time the joint delegation also participated in some sports, there were initially 7 sports which were rumored to be followed but at the time of implementation there were only 3 sports. Kim Jong-Un and Moon Jae-in discussed this because it was a

follow-up to the Pyeongchang Winter Olympics. At that time North Korea and South Korea joined, but only during the opening ceremony, the two leaders agreed to send a joint delegation at the 2018 Asian Games to take part in competitions in several sports (Harsono, 2018).

Based on the theory of Soft Power by Joseph S. Nye, Jr. used in this study, what North Korea and South Korea did at the 2018 Asian Games is a way to lure the world community with a spell of charm given the history of these two dark and long countries Their 2018 Asian Games show a new image and atmosphere to the world. And the tips being carried out by the two countries are to shape public preferences and with this they indirectly, especially North Korea, show that they have begun to open doors that have been closed tightly even before that meeting between Donald Trump and Kim Jong Un has been held in Singapore. The ability to form other people's preferences tends to be associated with invisible assets, such as attractive personalities, culture, political institution values, and policies that are seen to be based on correct law and have moral authority (Nye, 2004). The concrete evidence in the competition above illustrates that even though the United Korea delegation has just joined the Asian Games in one team, the medal acquisition remains unavoidable and proves that this delegation is able to compete in very prestigious events such as the 2018 Asian Games.