

KOREAN DELEGATION IN THE ASIAN GAMES 2018

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this research was to identify the reasons why North Korea and South Korea agreed to unite under a united Korean flag at the 2018 Asian Games. With the background of the dark history of these two countries, the unification of South Korea and North Korea is very significant considering These two countries have made peace efforts several times but ended in failure due to various factors, even in 2017 the tension between these two countries had been heated up due to a ballistic missile test conducted by North Korea which was considered to threaten the stability of the South Korean country. The researcher will try to identify why the two countries agreed to appear and compete in one delegation or one flag namely the United Korea flag, the author will identify this issue by using Rational Choice Theory by Graham T. Allison and Concept Soft Power Diplomacy by Joseph Nye Jr.

Keywords : Peace Effort, Korean Unified, Asian Games 2018

INTRODUCTION

When Japan surrendered to the allies in World War II, Allied forces consisting of the United States and the Soviet Union immediately occupied Korea. On the basis of disarming the remnants of the forces of the Japanese army in the North, the Soviet Union began launching attacks and occupying the territory on August 12, 1945.

Meanwhile, US troops only landed in southern Korea in September 1945. The Korean Peninsula Region occupied by two superpowers, the United States in the south and the Soviet Union in the north. 38 ° latitude is the boundary for the area they occupy. United States forces since 1948 have gradually begun to withdraw their troops. Only a small number of military advisers were left in that place (Savada & Shaw, 1990).

The Government of the Republic of Korea (South) was established on August 15, 1948. The center of its government was placed in Seoul. The first president of the Republic of Korea was Dr. Syngman Rhee. The Soviet Union apparently did the same to the territory it occupied in the north. The Soviet Union formed a state of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) on May 1, 1948. The Soviet Union appointed Kim Il Sung as its president (Nur Aini Setiawati Y. S.-Y., 2003).

North Korea also established diplomatic relations with China. The formation of the North Korean Government increasingly heated the political and military constellation in Asia, this was due to the increasing influence of communism in Asia. North Korea is believed to be an ally loyal to China and Russia, this is because North Korea borders regions that are not too far from China and the Soviet Union so that it is easy to direct. The tense atmosphere began to be felt on the Korean Peninsula, after the North began to provoke various violations on the border around 1949. For reasons to reunite Korea on July 25, 1950 North Korean soldiers crossed the demarcation line and invaded South Korea. The South Korean army because of its inadequate weaponry failed to dispel the North Korean army. For North Korea's aggression, South Korea filed a complaint with the UN Security Council (Mas'ud, 2005).

On October 19, 1950 UN forces succeeded in occupying Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea. The

move was carried out by UN forces because according to Mac Arthur security on the Korean Peninsula would occur if the two countries were put together. China, which has diplomatic and ideological relations with North Korea, does not accept the actions of the UN forces. At the end of the month, UN forces detained 135,000 prisoners of war; and they saw a split in the North Korean army (Sejarah, 2017). General MacArthur and several American politicians had proposed to attack the China Communists to destroy the depots of the China People's Army that supplied North Korea's war needs, but President Truman did not agree, and ordered General MacArthur not to cross the China-Korea border. China argues that it is only the United States' strategy to expand its influence in Korea. Because it did not accept the actions of UN forces, China sent its troops and assisted the defense of North Korean troops. On January 4, 1951 UN forces were crushed by joint China-North Korean forces. In fact, the capital of South Korea, Seoul fell to the combined forces.

For the shocking event, the UN Security Council convened again. The UN Security Council decided that China's actions to help North Korea were wrong and as a consequence an economic embargo was imposed on the country. On March 12, 1951 UN forces which had consolidated themselves managed to retake the city of Seoul, South Korea. North Korea's biggest military weakness, although supported by 135,000 troops, is the inability to transport much-needed equipment to keep up with the invasion of the south. North Korea does not have an adequate supply distribution system, South Korea has an army with inferior weapons and an army of only 65,000 (Yang Seung-Yoon, 2003).

In 1970 South Korea and North Korea reached a stable period in terms of the economy. But South Korea's economic orientation is slightly different, North Korea prefers to improve the military sector at that time so that the death rate in North Korea increases because

the people there experience a lot of food shortages (Raisamaili, 2011). In this phenomenon North Korea requested assistance from other countries and South Korea was no exception. In the same year, South Korea and North Korea have begun to dare to appear on the international stage because the economic growth of the two countries has increased with a relatively short time. Not only from the economic sector of the two countries that are in the spotlight of the world, but even more sharp disputes in both countries have also become the spotlight of the international community.

As a result of the incident the Seoul Asian Games was canceled and moved to Bangkok, the capital of Thailand with full funding from the South Korean side. South Korea was only able to hold the Asian Games in 1986 or the 10th Asian Games. In a very long period of time several athletes from both countries appeared in one delegation but in their togetherness in one team it was not as imagined, even the athlete has never greeted each other when they are in a team (Wirayudha, 2018).

And the top is during the 2018 Asian Games held in Jakarta-Palembang, Indonesia. All eyes and media from all corners of the world are highlighting the same thing, the very thing that the world really wants is the realization of Reunification. With a long history of North Korea and South Korea's feud that even in the same event North Korea threatened South Korea which eventually affected the 1970 Asian Games in Seoul to be relocated in Bangkok, Thailand, finally in the 2018 Asian Games delegates from Korea were able to perform under the Korean Unification Flag.

THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

To make a proper analysis, this undergraduate thesis also is supposed to use the proper theory. By using the

theory, itself, it can be said that this is an undergraduate aimed for analysis. Thus, the author chose the concept of national interest, rational choice theory, and soft power concept as the theoretical framework.

a. *Rational Choice Theory*

In the context of international relations, there are several ways the state can fulfill national interests. Whether it's in terms of foreign policy, military, economy, security and so on. This then makes the decision makers must be careful, in making all the decision formulations. Formulating foreign policy is one of the most important things in achieving the interests of a country (Guzman, 2008. Perwira, Adhie Putra. Skripsi. 2017:8).

Rational Choice Theory by Graham T. Allison can explain how the reasons for foreign decision making. According to Graham T. Allison, rational choice can be explained as a choice that is consistent and maximizes to value (value-maximizing), within the prescribed limits. So that decision makers must decide rationally in choosing policy alternatives. The alternatives proposed in policy making are very diverse and also by considering the positive and negative consequences (profit and loss) that will be generated. Therefore, policies issued as rational choices have several components in them, including goals and objectives, alternatives, consequences and choices.

Basically rational choice theory sees that in understanding international actions or phenomena depending on the individuals involved in them or decision-making, goals, contexts, and their relationship with decision makers. In rational choice theory, analysis techniques and profit and loss

calculations are very useful before the policy maker determines the choice or takes an action chosen. The choice that will be taken or chosen by the policy maker must be rationality where the choice will surely result in a profit and loss that previously must have been calculated in advance so that when carrying out a choice there will be no obstacles or problems that hinder the policy maker.

Table 1.1
Analysis of Advantages and Disadvantages in
Choosing Rational Options

Information	Choice Option I	Choice Option II
Advantages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advantage I • Advantage II • Advantage III 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advantage I • Advantage II • Advantage III
Disadvantage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disadvantage I • Disadvantage II • Disadvantage III 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disadvantage I • Disadvantage II • Disadvantage III

The table above is a table that is used to analyze a choice that will be chosen which later this choice will produce an impact or effect in the form of profits and losses, therefore a policy maker must analyze in advance in order to maximize the benefits

obtained so that it can also be an option rationality that can also be chosen by a policy maker.

By way of calculating the profits and losses obtained then it can be found an option that can be said to be a rational choice, can be of a nature rational if the choice has more advantages than the losses that will be obtained. These advantages and disadvantages can be obtained from the existence of factors that are influenced as well as economy, politics and other factors.

Table 1.2

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 	<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

<p>war on the Korean Peninsula</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 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 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 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 	<p>and China, where the two superpowers are countries that North and South Korea have been supporting for decades.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Enabling there will be more friction in decision making caused by differences in ideology of North Korea and South Korea.
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because it is united with South Korea that it is possible to restore the country's economic stability	
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But at the beginning of 2018 the two countries began to show their wise attitude, even the two leaders of the Korean Peninsula held their first meeting. The two leaders met for the first time since 10 years ago, this meeting was held in the border area of South Korea and North Korea as a manifestation of the beginning of peace between the two countries. Then earlier on February 9, 2018, when the opening ceremony of the Winter Olympics in Pyeong Chang was held, there was a look of peace from the two countries because it could be seen on the VIP bench when the opening ceremony was attended by representatives from North Korea namely Kim Yo-jong who was the younger brother of the South Korean leader Kim Jong-Un. Then on August 18, 2018 at the opening ceremony of the 2018 Asian Games it was seen that the Korean delegation carried the flag of the Union of Korean Peninsula. Surely the leaders of the two countries determined that attitude because showing that they had returned to building peace to the world was the most rational thing with all the benefits and losses of consideration.

b. Soft Power Concept

Power is an important thing in the international world. By having power, a country can get the results it wants. Joseph Nye explains power as "the

ability to influence behavior to others to get outcomes one wants". Furthermore, explains that power is not only in the form of commands and coercion. More power can be felt when we can make other parties do things they don't want if they don't get influence from us. Power can change even when the context changes (Nye, 2004). For example, a child who has power in the playground and can order his friends can lose power in the classroom. Power is always influenced by context a relationship. Power is generated by power sources. However, having many sources of power, or power resources, does not guarantee that we can get the results we want. The source of power is not money that can be exchanged directly with the desired item. One source can produce the power needed to solve a problem, but it may not be used to solve other problems. Having the right power source also does not guarantee we can get the desired results, especially if we do not understand how to use it.

Nye explained that there are other ways to practice power other than by ruling, rewarding, and forcing, namely by luring. By 'spreading charm', we can make people others justify our views and finally agree with our opinions. If the other party agrees, then we can get what we want without having to govern or force it. The ability to lure other parties is called Soft Power by Nye.

Nye defines soft power as "the ability to get through what is rather than through coercion or payments". Soft power is based on the ability to shape the preferences of others (Nye, 2004). In making decisions, we must make friendly and interesting rules so that people want to help us to achieve our common goals.

Soft Power will explain that culture (including sport events) is another way to achieve interests by not using threats or coercion that South Korea and North Korea might not be effective in, so they use or choose a softer, unified path. the two countries are in a 2018 Asian Games delegation.

Results and Discussion

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 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).

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.

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.

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

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.

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.

A. 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
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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.

CONCLUSION

North Korea and South Korea were hostile countries since 1949 after the end of World War II, then with the

influence of each of the camps namely the US walked with South Korea while the Soviet Union was running with North Korea. Then the strong influence caused the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950-1953 and at that time the two countries decided to end the war and at that time the two countries agreed on that. But this peace tip did not last long because the North Koreans did not heed the agreement that had been agreed upon.

Peace efforts do not stop there, the South Koreans are always looking for opportunities to enter and realize peace for South Korea and North Korea but various kinds of rejection even attacks in the form of missiles, ballistic weapons and even nuclear weapons are often accepted by South Korea. Until arriving in 2000 the Korea Summit was held for the first time and produced several agreements, namely the Establishment of the Peace Regime, Denuclearization, Separate Family Reunion, etc. But again the effort did not last long, and the relations between the two countries returned to normal when they were not at peace, again attack by attack was received by South Korea, although only in the form of bluff.

Until the beginning of 2018 the world was shocked by the news that there would be a diplomatic meeting between North and South Korea to be held on Panmunjom to discuss the peace of the Korean Peninsula, then soon there was news that North Korean leader Kim Jong Un planned to meet with US President Donald Trump and then it was truly realized with the meeting of the two leaders in Singapore. Back at Kim Jong Un's meeting with President Moon Jae In at Panmunjom, the meeting re-discussed the ideas that had emerged during the first Panmunjom meeting. But interestingly, one of the discussions at the meeting was about the union of the two countries in the 2018 Asian Games in order to follow up on peace tips and because the two countries had previously appeared together at the Pyeongchang Winter Olympics.

The Asian Games were chosen by North Korea and South Korea to show the world that the Korean Peninsula was not at war and was forming a peace regime, and the two

countries agreed that achieving interests was no longer effective when using hard power. Not only that, the decision to reconcile is taken not without a long preparation and dynamics, of course, the two countries also consider the advantages and disadvantages to be gained. After going through various kinds of dynamics, a decision is made as to what has happened.

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