

## **Russian Far East on Korean Unification: Perspectives of Non-state Actors**

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The role of non-state actors is becoming more important in achieving, or paving the way for, Korean unification. Based on interviews conducted in Vladivostok in 2017, this research assesses a perspective of non-state actors on Korean unification. Vladivostok is both geographically and strategically significant to the Korean Peninsula. It is the closest European city to the Peninsula and is the place where Russia's New East Policy and South Korea's New Northern Policy concurrently occur. Needless to say, understanding how local experts assess Korean unification is essential. In this research, 'experts' refer to non-state actors, in the field of Korean unification, which consist of an academic, a journalist, a representative of a non-governmental organization and an expatriate residing in Vladivostok. Based on interviews, this research presents analyses on Russia's role, the US role, and South and North Korean perception on Korean unification, followed by a timely policy implication.

**Keywords:** Korean Unification, New East Policy, New Northern Policy, Russian Far East, Vladivostok

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## I. Introduction

Over the past years, the inter-Korean summits and US-DPRK (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) summits have presented a new landscape for the Korean Peninsula. As these summits have made Korean unification a major security issue in Northeast Asia, the nations that are surrounding the peninsula, the US, China, Japan and Russia, have become important players capable of exerting influence on the agenda of Korean unification. Thus, understanding their views on Korean unification has become essential. To this end, the article presents an analysis of expert interviews regarding Korean unification,<sup>1</sup> conducted in Vladivostok, Russia.

The puzzles that motivated this research are the following. What are the perceptions and prospects of the experts in Vladivostok on Korean unification? What are their positions and interests on unification? Before seeking answers to these questions, the two following questions must be answered. What are the rationales for choosing Vladivostok as the case study? What are the values of assessing the perspectives of experts in Vladivostok? In order to answer them, it is important to discuss how Vladivostok is geopolitically similar to Singapore where the first US-DPRK summit took place.

While several places have been considered for the historical summit between the US and DRPK, Singapore was chosen based on several reasons. The primary reason concerns safety. Singapore is known as one of the safest nations in Asia where "security and intelligence services are first-rate."<sup>2</sup> The summit took place in the heavily guarded Capella Hotel on Sentosa Island where twenty million dollars were spent just for security.<sup>3</sup> The second reason

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- 1 'Experts,' in this article, refer to non-state actors (specialize or work in the field of Korean unification and Korean studies but with no affiliation to the Kremlin) composed of an academic, a journalist, an NGO (non-governmental organization) representative and expatriates residing in Vladivostok, Russia.
  - 2 Charlie Campbell, "Why Singapore? 6 Reasons the Asian City-State Is Perfect for the Trump-Kim Summit," *Time*, June 8, 2018, accessed December 20, 2018, <http://time.com/5305717/singapore-perfect-kim-jong-un-donald-trump-summit/>.
  - 3 Lestor Holt, "Trump and Kim Jong-un Shake Hands Ahead of Historic Summit," *NBC News*, June 11, 2018, accessed September 20, 2018, <https://www.nbcnews.com/>

is the Singaporean government's vast experience in hosting summits. It was the place where the first summit between China and Taiwan took place in 2015. With its wealth of experience over the past years in hosting worldwide events such as the annual Shangri-La Dialogue,<sup>4</sup> Singapore, needless to say, was the most adequate place to be chosen for the first US-DPRK summit. Also, Singapore's political neutrality and relations with both nations were additional rationales for hosting the summit. Hanoi, the place where the second US-DPRK denuclearization talk was held, also embraced the similar locational merits presented by Singapore.

Vladivostok also meets some of the criteria mentioned above. First, Vladivostok, translated as the 'ruler of the East,'<sup>5</sup> is located in the Far Eastern tip of the Eurasian continent which is only about 120 kilometers away from the Tumen,<sup>6</sup> the river located in the northeastern tip of the Korean Peninsula between North Korea and Russia. In terms of accessibility and proximity, Vladivostok is the place where North Korea would prefer to hold a summit over any other cities. Secondly, Vladivostok is the place where the two Koreas coexist. Both sea routes and railroads are in operation between Vladivostok and North Korea, facilitating trade between the two regions and allowing an influx of North Korean workers into the city.<sup>7</sup> Such conditions also exist between South Korea and Vladivostok.

Third, Vladivostok is one of the few places on earth where both diplomatic missions of ROK (Republic of Korea) and DPRK are in operation. Finally,

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nightly-news/video/trump-and-kim-jong-un-shake-hands-ahead-of-historic-summit-1253464643879.

4 Campbell (2018).

5 Dmitriy Frolovskiy, "Vladivostok: The Many Lives of Russia's Far Eastern Capital," *The Diplomat*, September 3, 2016, accessed July 29, 2018, <https://thediplomat.com/2016/09/vladivostok-the-many-lives-of-russias-far-eastern-capital/>.

6 Definition of Tumen in Webster Dictionary: "River 324 miles (521 kilometers) long in Eastern Asia on the Border between North Korea, China, and Russia Flowing Northeast and Southeast into the East Sea."

7 Andrew Higgins, "North Koreans in Russia Work 'Basically in the Situation of Slaves,'" *The New York Times*, July 11, 2017, accessed July 18, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/11/world/europe/north-korea-russia-migrants.html>.

Vladivostok is a city where the common interests of Russia and ROK collide. It is the pivotal location of the Moon government's New Northern Policy, and President Putin's New East Policy.<sup>8</sup> In light of President Vladimir Putin's strong drive for the New East policy, Vladivostok hosted the APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) Russia in 2012 and Eastern Economic Forum in 2017. Vladivostok is not only geographically close but also is a strategically significant place where a considerable number of inter-Korean related matters can be met and settled.

Against this backdrop, without properly understanding what local experts, specializing in Korean politics, relations, or unification, think about Korean unification, the aforementioned rationales would be meaningless. Why is it important to consider local experts' views on Korean unification? The realist school of international relations considers the state actor as the only legitimate agent in international politics. However, schools of constructivism and foreign policy had opened this black box and addressed the important roles played by non-state actors in international politics.<sup>9</sup>

This research employs the constructivist approach, the life cycle of norms created by Finnemore and Sikkink.<sup>10</sup> In this model, Finnemore and Sikkink emphasized the importance of non-state actors in creating, spreading, and internalizing a norm. This model illustrates how a norm is created by one and implemented by another. According to the model, a norm is created in one part of the world, in the process called a norm emergence, and spread in the international society through the process called a norm cascade, and

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8 Timothy Stanley, "The Growing Russia-South Korea Partnership," *The Diplomat*, May 24, 2018, accessed June 24, 2018, <https://thediplomat.com/2018/05/the-growing-russia-south-korea-partnership/>.

9 Valerie Hudson. *In Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory*. Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham: 2007. According to Kenneth Waltz's neorealism, states are black boxes whose interests are based on power distribution of (within) the structure. On the contrary, Alexander Wendt, a constructivist, considers a state's interests based on its own ideas. In this regard, foreign policy analysis (analysts) argues that only human beings have ideas.

10 Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization*, vol. 52 (1998): 887-917.

finally is adopted by the other part of the world by a norm internalization. Democracy, market economy, and human rights are prime examples of the norm cycle.

With this theoretical framework, the research establishes the empirical notion that examining non-state experts in the Vladivostok creates a norm concerning the view regarding Korean unification. Simply put, a norm, a certain view on Korean unification, which emerges in Vladivostok could be applied to other nations and may later be internalized by North Korea. In this regard, although the Russian government's stance and non-state experts' ideas may vary, it is still important to understand how these experts think.

The Russian government's official stance on Korean unification may be different from the various perspectives observed in Vladivostok. Although the Chinese and Russian governments, over the many years, have officially announced their supportive stance on Korean unification, they have also been critical about the excessive role played by the US on the Korean Peninsula. The bottom line is that they do not welcome the US's continued influence in regional politics. However, the Russian government poses a slightly different stance from China regarding Korean unification. Russia believes larger economic cooperation can be achieved through a unified Korea. This would mean a competition between Russia and China in their bilateral relations with North Korea on one hand and implies creation of joint response deterring US influence in the peninsula under contingency on another.<sup>11</sup>

However, a non-state actor's perspective regarding Korean unification is different from the government because it often takes the cosmopolitan stance, quite the opposite of the nationalist stance, which is usually engaged by the government. Thus, non-state actors' perspectives are usually different from the government, especially in Russian society, where non-government organizations are often categorized as spy agencies. However, recent studies have illustrated how non-state actors can be effective concerning North Korean issues and Korean unification.

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11 Duckjoon Chang, "Positions of China and Russia on Changes in North Korea/ Korean Unification and the Prospects for Their Bilateral Relations," *Guk bang Yeon Gu*, vol. 55, no. 4 (2012): 53-76.

In dealing with North Korea's human rights<sup>12</sup> and the capacity-building of the unification of Korea,<sup>13</sup> non-state actors, namely the United Nations, non-governmental organizations, and inter-governmental organizations, have brought about significant changes to the security environment on the Korean Peninsula. Therefore, although differences remain between state and non-state actors' views, it is still important to analyze the works and perspectives of non-state actors concerning Korean unification. In this regard, the research analyzes various perspectives of individuals and groups in Vladivostok.

The research mainly provides an analysis of local experts' views regarding the Korean Peninsula. The experts participating in these interviews were composed of an academic, a journalist, an NGO (non-governmental organization) representative and expatriates who are non-state actors with no affiliation to the Kremlin. Through this analysis, the research claims that non-state actors, namely NGOs and IOs (International Organization) in this research, and their roles have become tremendously important in Korean unification.<sup>14</sup>

After the natural disaster in 1995, North Korea turned to the international society for assistance. In response, UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund), WFP (World Food Programme) and WHO (World Health Organization) established their country offices in Pyongyang.<sup>15</sup> Since then, international society has been heavily

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12 Alex Soohoon Lee, "The Effectiveness of South Korean NGOs in Dealing with North Korean Human Rights: Contribution on Enacting North Korean Human Rights Act 2016," *The Korean Journal of Area Studies*, vol. 35, no. 3 (2018): 45-69.

13 Sung-han Kim, Alex Soohoon Lee and Soo-hwan Hwang, "Aid to North Korea for Capacity Building of the Unification of Korea," *Journal of International Politics*, vol. 23, no. 1 (2018): 5-43, <https://doi.org/10.18031/jip.2018.06.23.1.5>.

14 John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens, *The Globalization of World Politics: an Introduction to International Relations* (New York: Oxford, 2014); Hanseung Cho and A-young Park, "UNFPA's Support for Census in North Korea: Its Necessity and Implications for Korean Unification," *Dispute Resolution Studies Review*, vol. 16, no. 1 (2018): 81-112, <https://doi.org/10.16958/drsr.2018.16.1.81>.; Kim, Lee, Hwang (2018); Kyoungyon Moon, Ji-young Park and Young-hoon Song, "North Korea - Searching for a New Paradigm through Critical Review," *Journal of International Politics*, vol. 23, no. 1 (2018): 103-126, <https://doi.org/10.18031/jip.2018.06.23.1.103>.

engaged in aiding North Korea through these UN agencies. Likewise, the significance of non-governmental actors also has followed the phenomena exemplified by international organizations. The roles of NGOs, such as World Vision, have been essential in aiding North Korea.<sup>16</sup> As the roles of non-state actors, regarding issues on the Korean Peninsula, expanded, analyzing their views and work has also become increasingly essential.

In this light, Vladivostok may not only be the venue for discussing Korean unification but also the place where the two Koreas may work together and engage in confidence-building measures. Following this introduction, the next section reviews the literature that has assessed the Russian perspective on Korean unification followed by a section that examines the convergence of the New Northern Policy of ROK and the New East Policy of Russia. The fourth section analyzes and explains the interview results of the experts, and finally, the last section presents the implications found in the interviews.

## II. Review of the Literature: The Evolving Russian Stance on the Korean Peninsula

It is extremely rare to take on research that specifically focuses on the perspectives of non-governmental affiliated experts in the area of Korean unification, especially ones residing in Vladivostok. Kim Jung-ki's article, "Perception and Implication of the Experts Russia Regarding the Security of the Korean Peninsula,"<sup>17</sup> presented a similar line of research. Kim argues that Korean unification perceived by Russian experts has been a positive factor for Russian economic development. By analyzing perspectives of the Russian experts who work in Russian think tanks, Kim presents a diverse view of the

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15 Kim, Lee, Hwang (2018).

16 According to the "World Vision's Work in the DPRK," World Vision began their operation in DPRK since 1994. For more details, see the reference, "World Vision North Korea."

17 Jung-ki Kim, "Perception and Implication of the Experts Russia Regarding the Security of Korean Peninsula," *Sino-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 38, no. 2 (2014): 163-199.

experts on Korean unification. He argues that assessing their views is essential since they are the ones who would be playing the bridging role in Korean-Russian relations and possibly in Korean unification. This research has been conducted on a similar notion.

While there are several studies assessing Russian policies on the Korean Peninsula, there has not been much research dealing specifically with the view of the Russian Far East on the Korean Peninsula. After the Cold War, Russian foreign policies have mainly focused on Europe. It is only recently that Russia began to gradually shift its strategic interest to East Asia. In this regard, this literature review focuses on reviewing previous research on Russian foreign policy, rather than the views of Vladivostok, regarding the Korean Peninsula after the Cold War. Thus, it will present how Russia has experienced dramatic changes and, over the course of such changes, why the Russian Far East became a geo-strategically important spot.

In the early 1990s, the collapse of the Soviet Union brought tremendous changes and challenges for Russia in foreign policy-making. After the collapse, Russia was no longer a superpower that was capable of exerting much influence on the Korean Peninsula. The Russian Federation wanted a democratically unified Korea potentially balancing China and Japan in the region.<sup>18</sup> This illustrates two dramatic shifts in the early 1990s, on one hand Russia's political stance in the world devolving from superpower to regional power, on the other hand, Russia's policy stance on Korean unification shifting from opponent to proponent.

Such a positive current from the Russian government towards the Korean Peninsula accelerated in the late 1990s. 1996 marks the year that Russia transformed into a free market economy<sup>19</sup> which began to seek strategic cooperation with ROK. Kremlin anticipated capital inflows from South Korea. It was the essential timing for ROK-Russia strategic relations since Russia,

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18 Seung-ho Joo, "Russian Policy on Korean Unification in the Post-Cold War Era," *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 69, no. 1 (1996): 32-48, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2760872>.

19 Vasily V. Mikheev, "Russian Policy towards Korean Peninsula after Yeltsin's Re-election as President," *The Journal of East Asian Affairs*, vol. 11, no. 2 (1997): 348-377.

while seeking economic cooperation from ROK, was unable to assist DPRK due to its own crippled economy. Severely hit by the Asian Financial Crisis, both nations, South Korea and Russia, sought each other for economic partnership. It was the economic motive that had drawn Russia's attention to the peninsula in the late 1990s.

After the war on terror created a power vacuum in Northeast Asia, the US's pivot to Asia filled the gap again. In this regard, Toloraya thought that the Obama administration should have cut a grand bargain with North Korea in exchange for them giving up nuclear development.<sup>20</sup> He believed that if current relations between the US and Russia were smoother, thus, they could have cooperated on a common goal which was the denuclearization of DPRK. While the Obama administration's pivot to Asia was in process, Lo and Hill<sup>21</sup> clarified that Russia was moving from Europe to Asia. According to them, Russia's motivation to engage the east was based on the recent trend of the balance of power shifting towards the east and on the Korean Peninsula as well.

In the research that dealt with Russia's Northeast Asia policy and its prospect on Korean unification,<sup>22</sup> Lukin claims how Russia's policy on Korea is closely related to its Asian strategy. He argues that Russia's policy on East Asia concerns its internal issue of developing the Far East regions. Nonetheless, in his view, Russia will support, regardless of the US's stance in the Peninsula, the peaceful denuclearization of North Korea and Korean unification. According to Lukin, for the Russian government, the Korean issue is a part of Russia's east Asia policy, and they definitely support unification.

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20 Georgy Toloraya, "Russian Policy in Korea in a Time of Change," *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, vol. 21, no. 1 (2009): 67-84, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10163270902745695>.

21 Bobo Lo and Fiona Hill, "Putin's Pivot: Why Russia is looking East," Brookings, accessed August 30, 2018, <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/putins-pivot-why-russia-is-looking-east/>.

22 Alexander Lukin, "Russia's Policy in Northeast Asia and the Prospects for Korean Unification," *International Journal of Korean Unification Studies*, vol. 26, no. 1 (2017): 1-19.

Kim Sung-han introduces some of the pluses that Russia would find after Korean unification. Among many pluses, Kim argues that economic cooperation, such as connecting the Trans-Siberian Railroad and Trans Korean Railroad, will be the primary one followed by the "development of the Far East and Siberia."<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, Lee Sang Joon points out the importance in the "Development of the Russian Far East and a Triangular Economic Cooperation between ROK-KNDR-RF."<sup>24</sup> Lee argues that the economic cooperation created among South Korea, North Korea and Russia may lead to prosperity on the Korean Peninsula and eventually become the foundation for achieving Korean unification.

As explained in the previous research, Russia's stance on the Korean Peninsula has changed over time under varying rationales. The initial rationale regards politics in the early 1990s after the Cold War; the second rationale concerns the economy in the late 1990s during the Asian Financial Crisis; the third rationale relates geopolitics around 2009 during the US pivot to Asia; and the last rationale involves both geopolitics and economy until nowadays. In respect to the last rationale, the following chapter discusses the recent policy intersection between South Korea and Russia, namely the New Northern Policy and the New East Policy respectively.

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23 Sung-han Kim, "The Day After: ROK-U.S. Cooperation for Korean Unification," *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 38, no. 3 (2015): 37-58, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2015.1099024>.

24 Sang Joon Lee, "Development of the Russian Far East and a Triangular Economic Cooperation between ROK-KNDR-RF," *Russia Research*, vol. 25, no. 2 (2015): 229-252.

### III. Convergence of the New Northern Policy and the New East Policy

Recently, President Putin's New East Policy and President Moon's New Northern Policy both pointed to the Far East. In a speech during the 3<sup>rd</sup> Eastern Economic Forum held in Vladivostok on September 9, 2017, President Moon Jae-in described the Russian Far East as "full of potentials."<sup>25</sup> He also added that a successful Far East development through the cooperation of Northeast Asian nations could be a breakthrough for resolving the North Korean nuclear issue because North Korea will eventually realize that joining the cooperation would only be a net gain.<sup>26</sup>

In the Forum, President Moon held summit meetings with President Putin and Prime Minister Abe. In the ROK-Japan Summit, both leaders agreed on strengthening the ROK-US-Japan cooperation for resisting recent North Korean nuclear and missile tests. For the ROK-Russian summit, the two leaders "shared an understanding that resolving the North Korean nuclear issue is a top priority for development in East Asia."<sup>27</sup> It is important to notice that, even in this 'Economic Forum' setting, the leaders still discussed the North Korean nuclear issue.

Introducing the New Northern Policy initiative in the forum, the ROK government proposed the nine bridges program between the two nations. The nine bridges are "natural gas, railroads, seaports, electricity, Arctic shipping routes, shipbuilding, labor, agriculture and fisheries."<sup>28</sup> The initiative is aimed at building a new engine for growth that would connect South Korean and Russian economies while laying out the framework for peace and prosperity

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25 Cheong Wa Dae, "Address by President Moon Jae-in at the 3<sup>rd</sup> Eastern Economic Forum in Vladivostok, Russia," Seoul, accessed June 30, 2017, <http://www.korea.net/Government/Briefing-Room/Presidential-Speeches/view?articleId=149834>.

26 Ibid.

27 Reuters staff. "South Korea's Moon Says He and Putin Share Understanding on North Korea," *Reuters*, September 6, 2017, accessed August 6, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-northkorea-missiles-southkorea-moon/south-koreas-moon-says-he-and-putin-share-understanding-on-north-korea-idUSKCN1BH0PO>.

28 Cheong Wa Dae.

in the region. By following the example of the European Coal and Steel Community after World War II, President Moon's new initiative aimed to defuse "tensions on the Korean Peninsula through economic cooperation among nations and attaining mutual growth."<sup>29</sup>

The ROK government's engagement in the New Northern Policy initiative implies that the Russian Far East may one day become a platform for regional economic cooperation and peace-building. In this regard, discussions on ROK-Russian cooperation were held on multiple levels. Russia's Deputy Prime Minister, Yuri Trutnev, who also was the Presidential Envoy to the Far Eastern Federal District, visited Seoul to attend a Joint Committee on Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation. In this committee meeting, the then South Korean Prime Minister Lee Nak-yeon emphasized that the cooperation between the two countries "will also contribute to the prosperity of the two Koreas."<sup>30</sup>

The joint committee meeting between the two nations had agreed upon three actions; consolidation, innovation and advancement. The consolidation implies strengthening economic ties between the two nations by establishing a comprehensive plan for the nine bridges. The innovation refers to the preparation for the fourth industrial revolution by collaborating on enhancing information and communications technology. The advancement, lastly, is about enhancing the quality of lives of both nations through exchanges of medical systems, culture and sports.<sup>31</sup> Most of all, as Prime Minister Kim commented, cooperation would bring mutual prosperity only if North Korea joins in such an endeavor.

In light of the ROK's New Northern Policy and Russia's New East Policy converging in the Far East, President Moon and President Putin agreed that

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29 Ibid.

30 "PM Expresses Hope For Greater Cooperation With Russia's Far Eastern District," *Yonhap News Agency*, June 7, 2018, accessed June 10, 2018, <https://en.yna.co.kr/view/AEN20180607010000315>.

31 Kyoung-won Kim, "ROK-Russia, Beginning 'Economic Cooperation' in 3 Areas. Seeking Prosperity of South & North Korea and Russia," *Newsis*, June 7, 2018, accessed August 7, 2018, [http://www.newsis.com/view/?id=NISX20180607\\_0000329807&cID=10401&pID=10400](http://www.newsis.com/view/?id=NISX20180607_0000329807&cID=10401&pID=10400). [In Korean]

regional peace and economic prosperity would only be met under one condition, North Korea's involvement. While neither the Cheongwadae nor the Kremlin hitherto initiated any solid project on the ground yet, it is important to assess how the convergence of the two policies has been acknowledged by the local experts regarding the issues of the Korean Peninsula. In this light, the next chapter deals with the expert interviews conducted in Vladivostok during the summer of 2017 shows how non-state actors are important and valuable players in the process of Korean Unification.

## **IV. Analysis of Experts' View on Korean Unification**

### **4.1 Structure of the Interview**

The following structured interviews were designed to assess experts' views on Korean unification. Group interviews, composed of experts on Korean issues in the Russian Far East, were conducted during July 3-7, 2017 in Vladivostok. One-to-one standardized interviews, given by anonymous experts—an academic, an expatriate, a journalist and a non-governmental organization representative in Vladivostok—were conducted. Academics were experts in the field of political science and international relations who specialize in Korean issues. The expatriates were Korean descendants in Vladivostok who have work that is relevant to North Korea. The journalist was from one of the major newspapers in Vladivostok, which has been covering various issues on the Korean Peninsula. The NGO representative visits North Korea on a regular basis due to their respective businesses in Wonsan and Pyongyang.

Interviewers answered the following questions listed in table 1. The interview questions were composed of four parts. The first part considered their knowledge of Korean issues. The second part assessed their views on the prospective roles of the US in the Korean unification. The third part dealt with their views on the Korean unification. The last part questioned their understanding of Russia's role in the Korean unification. The result of the interviews is analyzed to explain common perceptions and prospects of the experts regarding Korean issues.

<Table 1> Questionnaire for an Expert Interview on Assessing Korean Unification

Expert Interview on Assessing Korean Unification	
Interviewees	Experts in Korean Issues (academics, expatriates, journalist and NGO representative)
Location	Vladivostok
Date	July 3-7, 2017
Questionnaire	
1	How do you assess inter-Korean relations?
2	How much do you know about the current situation in North Korea?
3	How do you foresee President Trump's policy on North Korea?
4	Do you expect any changes in Russia-US relations in the next 4 years?
5	What do you think is the most important factor for Korean unification?
6	What do you think is the biggest stumbling block for Korean unification?
7	How much does Russian media cover inter-Korean relations?
8	Do Russian people give much attention to inter-Korean relations?
9	What do you think is President Putin's policy on North Korea?
10	Do you think Russia will play a significant role in Korean unification?

Source: The table is created by the author.

The results of the six interviews are bundled into several sub-topics in the following analysis and divided into five parts. First, NGOs' status and roles in Russia have been clearly articulated during the interviews. How NGOs have been categorized by Russian law is explained in this part. The second part deals with how experts see Russia's prospective role in Korean Unification. The third part explains experts' views on the US's prospective role in Korean unification. The following part assesses experts' perceptions on North and South Korea regarding Korean unification. The last part sums up experts' views on Korean unification.

#### 4.2 NGO Status and Roles in Russia – Foreign Agent

One of the common findings from most of the interviews was that, in Russia, non-governmental organizations concerned with human rights and human security cannot exist, at least on the surface. The Russian law labels NGOs as foreign agents<sup>32</sup> who must report their activities to the government. This is largely due to the previous democratic movement(s) in Ukraine and Georgia, according to one anonymous interviewee.<sup>33</sup> NGOs have played important roles in the process of democratization in both Ukraine and Georgia and, in this regard, the Russian government enacted a law that restricts the activities of NGOs. NGOs, especially the ones that had worked secretly on North Korean human rights, have kept themselves low key so that they are never revealed.

In Russia, against this backdrop, international NGOs, based in different parts of the world “with a broad geographical reach,”<sup>34</sup> are known to be more capable in handling issues concerning North Korea. Most of the NGOs dealing with North Korean issues consist of overseas Koreans who reside in countries and regions like the US, Japan and Europe. Holding eligible passports to enter North Korea, these internationally based NGOs run various programs and businesses on North Korean soil. On the contrary, difficulties arise for Korean-based NGOs. Korean-based NGOs are known to have difficulties accessing North Korea due to their mandatory report to the ROK Ministry of Unification following assistance to North Korea.<sup>35</sup> According to this anonymous individual

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32 According to the Justice Ministry of Russia, under the 2012 law, foreign agents are groups which “receive even a minimal amount of funding from any foreign sources, governmental or private, and engage in ‘political activity.’” See Human Rights Watch, “Russia: Government vs. Rights Groups,” <https://www.hrw.org/russia-government-against-rights-groups-battle-chronicle>.

33 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts [expatriate] in Vladivostok by the author, July 4, 2017.

34 General consultative status is reserved for large international NGOs whose area of work covers most of the issues on the agenda of ECOSOC and its subsidiary bodies. These tend to be fairly large, established international NGOs with a broad geographical reach. For more information, see The United Nations, “Consultative Status with ECOSOC,” <http://www.un.org/esa/coordination/ngo/about.htm>.

in the unidentified NGO, North Koreans do not want such assistance and aid to go public. In the end, North Koreans worry about their image where they do not want themselves to be portrayed as poor people.<sup>36</sup>

The bottom line is that the ones who are free from mandatory reports and affiliation are adequate NGO entities doing work in North Korea. Whether they are based in Russia or South Korea, as long as they have obligations to report to their respective governments, they face restrictions in operating assistance or business in North Korea. The Foreign Agent Law of Russia, aimed at NGOs, "is used to make life difficult for them. Many of the organizations targeted under the law have had to shut down because of harassment and steep fines."<sup>37</sup> This naturally downsizes the candidates to only a few entities who are basically low key, operating secretly, and financially capable.

#### 4.3 Russia's Prospective Role for Korean Unification – Apolitical to Strategic

As one of the powers surrounding the Korean Peninsula, Russia's perspective on Korean unification has roundly altered over the last couple of decades. The dramatic changes following the collapse of the Soviet Union, which signaled the end of the Cold War, reshaped Russia's foreign policy agenda. The Soviet Union, one of the two most powerful nations in the world during the Cold War, had worldwide outreach through foreign policy during this era of great power politics. Dissolved in 1992, however, Russia's sphere of influence compared to its good old days has tremendously decreased under the dominant US-led liberal international order. Against this backdrop, Russia's

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35 The interviewee had worked for transferring North Korean defectors to South Korea via the Tumen River during the 1990s. Back then, he worked for an NGO in Yon-byun. Currently, he works for an unidentified NGO based in Vladivostok which operates businesses in transportation, soybean and bread in the area of Hamkyung-bukdo.

36 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts [NGO] in Vladivostok by the author, July 5, 2017.

37 Helen Simpson, "Russia's Foreign Agent Law: An HPR Explainer," *Harvard Political Review*, November 30, 2017, accessed August 20, 2019, <http://harvardpolitics.com/world/russias-foreign-agent-law-an-hpr-explainer/>.

general stance on the Korean Peninsula can be explained based on three accounts; socialist nature, identity, and team play.

Although Russia is transforming into a more advanced and modern nation, the vestiges of its socialist nature are still traceable. While tremendous efforts have been paid by the young generation for escaping "the indoctrination and habituation by the communist system,"<sup>38</sup> the generation from the 'old empire' cannot let go of the vestiges from the USSR. The conservative-minded people, fueled by their nationalism, have an imperative to go back to the glorious days of the Soviet Union. These old guards in Moscow are in favor of North Korea, which puts Korean unification in line with this ideology. According to the interview, these people are appointed as high-ranking public officials in the Russian government, especially to the posts that are relevant to North Korea. The old guards are known to endeavor to preserve old values where they consider South Korea and North Korea in the same context, implying their ignorance of liberal democracy.<sup>39</sup>

In this regard, it is worth observing the Valdai Discussion Club in Moscow. The Valdai Discussion Club is, in its external form, the Russian equivalent to the Davos Forum which consists of eminent scholars, bureaucrats, and media. Its objective is to "promote the dialogue of Russian and international intellectual elites and to deliver independent an objective scholarly analysis of political, economic, and social developments in Russia and the world."<sup>40</sup> Having close relations with the Russian government and its President, the Valdai Club has been representing Russian elites' perspective on international relations. The interview given by its president, Andrey Bystritskiy, during his visit to Seoul, clearly illustrated the Valdai Club's perspective on the Korean Peninsula. He insisted on minimizing the ROK-US military exercises in response

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38 Stefan Paun, "The Vestiges of Communism and the Transformation of Party Systems in Post-Communist States," *Management and Financial Markets*, vol. 30, no. 1 (2009): 231-235.

39 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts [expatriate] in Vladivostok by the author, July 4, 2017.

40 See Valdai Club Foundation, "About Valdai Club Foundation," accessed May 20, 2018, <http://valdaiclub.com/about/valdai/>.

to North Korea's giving up of their nuclear missile development.<sup>41</sup> This undoubtedly represents the Russian elites' stance on the Korean Peninsula.

Another enlightening fact found from the experts' interviews in Vladivostok was that Russians consider themselves Europeans. Even in a brief interview, it was not difficult to catch this sense of European identity that is embedded in their hearts and minds. While 77 percent of the Russian territory is part of Asia, the "vast majority of the population lives in the European portion."<sup>42</sup> Although the city Vladivostok is in the East end of Russia, surrounded by the Asian continent, it is still considered geographically and culturally part of greater Europe. In other words, Russians identify themselves as Europeans and with its massive land bordering several Northern and Eastern European countries, Russian foreign affairs have mostly been concentrated on Europe instead of Asia. Russians, in the past, wanted the Korean Peninsula to stay in peace because they simply prefer a peaceful neighbor over a troubled one.<sup>43</sup> However, such foreign policy attention has been sensibly relocated to Asia, especially towards China and the Korean Peninsula. With President Putin's initiative on the development of the Russian Far East and the establishment of the Eastern Economic Forum, Russia's strategic interests on the Korean Peninsula have undoubtedly intensified.

This phenomenon, the pendulum of Russian foreign policy swinging to the Far East, has been partly due to China's growing influence in the region. According to the experts, this is called a Russian-Chinese team play. The team play of Russia and China is organized into; "Eastern Europe for Russia, the South China Sea for China and Central Asia for both."<sup>44</sup> This is also confirmed

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41 Min-joon Seo, "Chairman of Valdai Club Foundation, There is No Reason for ROK to Give Up Nuclear Plant (Wonjeon)," *Seoul Gyungjae*, November 27, 2017, accessed August 27, 2017, <http://www.sedaily.com/NewsView/1ONQREJ1WM>. [In Korean]

42 Natalya Nosova, "Is Russia European or Asian?" *Russia Beyond*, January 19, 2018, accessed June 19, 2018, <https://www.rbth.com/arts/327309-is-russia-europe-or-asia>.

43 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts [expatriate] in Vladivostok by the author, July 5, 2017.

44 Paul Strongski, "China and Russia's Uneasy Partnership in Central Asia," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, March 29, 2018, accessed June 20, 2018.

by one of the experts in Vladivostok. According to him, for European issues, Russia stands in the forefront with support from China, whereas for Asian issues, China leads the team with Russian support.<sup>45</sup> This not only indicates a strong bond between the two nations, but also suggests that Russian policy on the Korean Peninsula will be contingent upon China. Recently President Putin and President Xi met at the SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organization) summit meeting where they mutually agreed upon working together for the stabilization of the Korean Peninsula and the Northeast Asian region.<sup>46</sup>

The analysis of these experts' view on Russia's attitude towards Korea's unification left much to be desired. However, two conclusions can be drawn at this point based on media and the experts in the field. First, President Putin's initiatives in the Far East have placed the Korean Peninsula as a very high-stakes matter. Regardless of the stumbling-blocks, namely the vestiges of a socialist nature and the concentration of foreign policies on Europe, the Russian government decided to put their economic and strategic interests on the Far East which is extremely relevant to the Korean Peninsula. This implies that the Korean Peninsula has become strategically valuable for President Putin. Second, this momentum created by President Putin would likely be largely influenced by the Chinese foreign policy direction. Regarding Korean unification, Russia's apolitical stance in the past has become more strategically engaging nowadays.

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45 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts [expatriate] in Vladivostok by the author, July 4, 2017.

46 Byoung-han Park, "Putin-Xi, Discussing Korean Issues and Declaration of the End of War," *YTN*, June 9, 2018, accessed July 9, 2018, [http://www.ytn.co.kr/\\_ln/0104\\_201806090602024077](http://www.ytn.co.kr/_ln/0104_201806090602024077).

#### 4.4 US Role in Korean Unification

The experts' view on the US's prospective role in Korean unification was twofold. Some experts viewed the US's position in Korean unification as extremely disturbing while some held a cautiously optimistic view. Irrespective of who is in the White House, Russian foreign policies on both North and South Korea remain status-quo,<sup>47</sup> and this is due to the fact that Russia, by nature, seldom changes its foreign policy.<sup>48</sup> In their views, the aim of US foreign policies such as 'pivot to Asia' and 'strategic patience' during the Obama administration was to focus on Asia before they lose their strategic advantage due to their preoccupation with the war on terror.

However, some experts agreed on several accounts that Russia-US relations may remain in tension for the foreseeable future. They fundamentally believe that Russia and the US never agree, or that the US never understands Russia, on issues regarding the Korean Peninsula. A classic, albeit ongoing debate on the legitimacy and necessity of the USFK (United States Forces in Korea) has been voiced by several experts.<sup>49</sup> The opponents of the USFK stationing in South Korea argue that the only reason for the US having their troops on the Korean Peninsula is for their own strategic interests which would never be beneficial to Korean unification. Moreover, the US has no interests in Korean unification because once the peninsula is unified, the US will lose its strategic interests both on the Korean Peninsula and the Northeast Asian region.<sup>50</sup> Against this backdrop, they considered the US as a stumbling block for the unification of the Korean Peninsula.

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47 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts in [all] Vladivostok by the author, July 4-7, 2017.

48 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts in [expatriate] Vladivostok by the author, July 4, 2017.

49 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts in [media] Vladivostok by the author, July 4, 2017.

50 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts in [media] Vladivostok by the author, July 4, 2017.

Nevertheless, some experts see the US's role in Korean unification as cautiously optimistic. Yet, this is only possible under the condition that Russia-US relations are normalized and such conditions can only be met under a shared goal between the two nations, deterring China.<sup>51</sup> The experts were well aware of the fact that President Trump will have to settle the ongoing domestic investigation regarding "Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent US Elections."<sup>52</sup> If the US, partnering with Russia, deters China, the normalization between the two nations would be realized and will possibly create some creative and harmonious policies on the Korean Peninsula.<sup>53</sup> Yet, this argument stated by an anonymous academic may be too ideal considering the current honeymoon relations between Russia and China. The experts' view on the US's prospective role in Korean unification diverges into two sides, and the clear distinction found based on interviews was that, even within such an expert group, academics tend to be more optimistic than journalists in their views concerning Korean unification.

#### **4.5 Perception on North and South Korea regarding Korean Unification**

The experts' opinions diverge on various accounts except for one issue: both Koreas want unification to be realized.<sup>54</sup> That is to say, not only in an emotional sense but on the strategic end, both desire for unification of the peninsula. However, their objectives and means for unification are different. Most experts said North Korea is not going to give up its nuclear development. One of them said that North Korea will not "give up nuclear weapons unless they get the security guarantees from the US."<sup>55</sup> Even in the midst of ongoing

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51 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts in [academic] Vladivostok by the author, July 6, 2017.

52 See the reference, Intelligence Community Assessment, "Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent US Elections," accessed September 6, 2018, [https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/ICA\\_2017\\_01.pdf](https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/ICA_2017_01.pdf).

53 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts in [academic] Vladivostok by the author, July 4, 2017.

54 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts in [all] Vladivostok by the author, July 4-7, 2017.

economic sanctions, the Kim Jong-un regime will not give up its nuclear arms, which are its lifeline. Only the security guarantee by the US would extend the lifeline of the Kim regime. If nuclear and security guarantees are exchangeable, then denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula can be achieved which would mean a step closer to achieving Korean unification. This perspective of the expert denotes that Korean unification cannot be achieved solely by the two Koreas. Instead, involvement from the surrounding powers is necessary.

Others argued that the possibility of North Korea giving up their nuclear development, even with sufficient exchanges with the US, is slightly less likely than what the previously mentioned expert believed. These experts anticipated Russia and China to step in as mediators convincing North Korea to give up their nuclear development.<sup>56</sup> They expected Russian engagement to be the major driving force, among surrounding powers, for Korean unification. If the Kim regime will never give up its nuclear program, Russia and China may step in. In the end, since North Korea does not have incentives to give up its nuclear program upon Russian and Chinese demand, the experts argue, then North Korea's nuclear armaments will eventually bring a bleak future to the Korean Peninsula.<sup>57</sup> The same experts further argued that, in this case, the collapse of the Kim regime will be the only remaining outcome. Then, the stakeholders may as well pay great attention to North Korean internal affairs.

The experts' perception on South Korea regarding Korean unification is rather optimistic aside from the US factor. Russians do not like THAAD (Terminal High Altitude Area Defense) deployed in South Korea. There are two reasons for this. First, Russians do not like the fact that THAAD's sights are aimed northward, including Russian territory. Even though there is a maximum parameter that the X-band radar of THAAD can cover, Russians

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55 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts in [academic] Vladivostok by the author, July 4, 2017.

56 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts in [academic] Vladivostok by the author, July 6, 2017.

57 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts in [academic] Vladivostok by the author, July 6, 2017.

are still disturbed.<sup>58</sup> Second, one of the experts mentioned the possibility of Taiwan adopting THAAD based on the case of South Korea. According to him, this would certainly be a challenge to the nations with strategic missile units in the region, namely Russia and China. From his point of view, the deployment of THAAD in South Korea has set precedent for other countries in the region, creating a domino effect, although this has not been the case yet.

Most of the experts have a good image of President Moon.<sup>59</sup> Akin to his predecessors Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun, President Moon's North Korea policy is believed to be dovish in its nature. In this regard, the experts anticipated President Moon to influence the views of the Russians who have anti-South Korea sentiment and turn their views into pro-South Korea. In general, all of the experts in the group believed President Moon would be a good facilitator in carrying out the unification agenda. Most of the interviewees considered South Korean prospective economic endeavors in the Russian Far East to be a great asset to Russia and a solid foundation for unification. As South Korea engages deeper in the development and prosperity of the Far East, both Russia and China will be more committed to the issue of Korean unification. In this case, the Russian Far East will eventually be a prime location for the two Koreas to meet and trade. In other words, with repeated meetings and trade, the barrier between the two Koreas will be lowered and the 38<sup>th</sup> Parallel will eventually be torn away.

#### **4.6 Experts' View on Korean Unification**

Limiting actors into just two Koreas, the experts expected Korean unification to be achieved sooner or later. Among multiple reasons supporting the claim, the two variables, common language and sense of brotherhood, are the core motivators for unification.<sup>60</sup> Sharing the same language, according

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58 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts in [academic] Vladivostok by the author, July 4, 2017; Anonymous, interview with Korean experts in [academic] Vladivostok by the author, July 6, 2017.

59 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts in [all] Vladivostok by the author, July 4-7, 2017.

to the NGO representative, will be the foundation of Korean unification. A common language not only makes the two Koreas more intimate neighbors; it could also make the whole process of unification easier. In this light, the experts, in one voice, addressed the common language factor as a building block for Korean unification. Experts, moreover, anticipated brotherhood between the two Koreas to be a significant factor in achieving unification.<sup>61</sup> This NGO expert described North and South Korean relations as the brotherhood. In his explanation, since North Korea is the poor, younger brother, and South Korea is the bigger and rich brother, he must take care of his younger one. Put simply, South Korea helping the North will shorten the unification process.

In this globalized world, however, Korean unification is no longer an issue of two Koreas alone. A complex matrix has been formed by surrounding nations. This is largely due to the strategic interests they seek in each other as well as on the Korean Peninsula. In this regard, the view from Vladivostok on Korean unification can be summarized into three aspects: Russia's limited position, the US's excessive position, and unified Korea as a threat.

First, whether in a passive or an active form, Russia's role regarding Korean unification will be limited. Simply put, from Russian's view, Korean unification is a 'problem' for the Korean people, not for Russians.<sup>62</sup> Again, most of Russia's foreign interests are still on the western border. China will conduct proxy diplomacy on the Korean Peninsula. This explains why Russian media, in general, seldom covers Korean issues on a daily basis. Notwithstanding the Kremlin's official position on the Korean Peninsula, the experts' overall prospect on the Korean Peninsula is that Russia will play a limited role in it. As one of the experts noted, under the circumstance of North Korea being

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60 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts in [NGO] Vladivostok by the author, July 5-6, 2017.

61 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts in [NGO] Vladivostok by the author, July 5-6, 2017.

62 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts in [academic] Vladivostok by the author, July 6, 2017; Anonymous, interview with Korean experts in [all] Vladivostok by the author, July 4-7, 2017.

annexed by South Korea, Russia can send troops to the border, yet hoping that Russian-US relations will not deteriorate. Recent inter-Korean and US-DPRK summit meetings may influence Russian foreign policy. It should be noted that Russia, however, rarely changes its foreign policy stance. Overall, the point is that without sufficient national interests from Korean unification, Russia's limited position on Korean unification may not change. As one expert recalled, "it would be abnormal for Russians to talk about Korean unification."<sup>63</sup>

Another prospect noted by the experts is that the US is playing an unnecessarily excessive role in Korean unification. As some of the experts stated, unification should be carried out by the two Koreas since it is their issue. The US interfering in the deal would be neither welcomed nor helpful for Korean unification. The US would want to preserve the status-quo on the Peninsula because they "do not want to lose their foothold on the Peninsula."<sup>64</sup> Thus, for Korean unification, only a limited role by the US would be adequate, the experts argued. An interesting observation was that even though Russia has minimal interest in the Peninsula, according to most experts, Russia is the one that wants Korean unification the most because of its pure interests.<sup>65</sup> In other words, surrounding nations—the US, China and Japan—are not interested in unification. Among them, Japan will be the one that opposes unification the most since a unified Korea may become a powerful rival to Japan.<sup>66</sup> It is only Russia that purely wants Korean unification to be achieved, according to this expert from academia.

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63 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts in [academic] Vladivostok by the author, July 6, 2017.

64 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts in [academic] Vladivostok by the author, July 6, 2017.

65 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts in [all] Vladivostok by the author, July 4-7, 2017.

66 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts in [academic] Vladivostok by the author, July 6, 2017.

## V. Conclusion and Implication

The analyses on the experts' perspective on Korean unification have drawn two meaningful points: a perspective on Russia's stance on Korean unification and the strategic importance of Vladivostok for future talks regarding Korean unification. First, Russia's stance on Korean unification will remain the same unless some significant follow-up actions are taken after the talks between the US and South and North Korea. Rigidity of Russia's foreign policy is based on its heritage and nationalism. As long as Russians are nostalgic for the Soviet empire, its foreign policy will remain focused on Europe.

There is a saying that "Russia without Ukraine is a country, Russia with Ukraine is an empire."<sup>67</sup> Russia would consider its foreign policy options based on the good old days. This is what Nobel Laureate Svetlana Alexievich referred to as "collective Putin" which is, according to her, "the deep sense of wounded national pride and contempt for liberal values that now runs so deep in both Russia and Belarus."<sup>68</sup> Without major changes on the Korean Peninsula, Russia will not be deeply committed to unification issues.

But this city in the Far East may become a cornerstone for Korean unification. Several reasons support this contention. First, its proximity to the Korean Peninsula attracts non-governmental organizations setting up their liaison offices. Regardless of the 'Foreign Agent' law prohibiting NGOs activities, these liaison offices are valuable as long as they remain clandestine. Second, President Putin's New East Policy and its Eastern Economic Forum are ongoing agendas that would likely be buttressed by surrounding nations.

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<sup>67</sup> Mas Fisher, "9 Questions About Ukraine You Were Too Embarrassed to Ask," *The Washington Post*, June 30, 2017, accessed July 30 2018, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2014/01/30/9-questions-about-ukraine-you-were-too-embarrassed-to-ask/?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.123726e93ebe](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2014/01/30/9-questions-about-ukraine-you-were-too-embarrassed-to-ask/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.123726e93ebe).

<sup>68</sup> Guy Chazan, "Nobel Laureate Svetlana Alexievich on Her Fears for Russia's 'Collective Putin,'" *Financial Times*, June 16, 2017, accessed June 18 2018, <https://www.ft.com/content/3bd17f26-4f5b-11e7-bfb8-997009366969>.

In this light, Vladivostok is slowly becoming a strategic place for sharing thoughts on the future of the Korean Peninsula. In fact, Vladivostok is already an extremely important city for Korean unification. It is one of the few places in the world where students from both South and North Korea study international relations together.<sup>69</sup> It is a place where many Koryo people live.<sup>70</sup> By all means, the fact that Koryo people still live in this area certainly plays as the last, but not the least, the rationale for categorizing Vladivostok as a strategic place for Korean unification.

As President Moon previously spoke in the Lower House of the Russian Parliament, "when a peace regime is established on the Korean Peninsula, economic cooperation between the South and North Korea will take off and will be expanded to three-way cooperation with Russia."<sup>71</sup> The best way to draw Russia's attention to the Korean Peninsula is by promoting economic cooperation. In this light, the ROK government's consistent effort in enhancing relations with Russia seems inevitable.

What the ROK government could immediately do is to initiate public diplomacy with the abovementioned experts residing in Vladivostok. As these experts are up-to-date with the economic and social status of North Korea from their frequent visits to the country, building relations with them may be a productive way of understanding North Korea. If the network of experts regarding Korean unification operates in a proper manner through public diplomacy, it may become the backbone of Korean unification.

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69 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts in [academic] Vladivostok by the author, July 6.

70 Anonymous, interview with Korean experts in [expatriate] Vladivostok by the author, July 6.

71 See the reference, "Moon Underscores Joint Efforts in Historic Address at Russian Parliament," *Yonhap News Agency*, June 21, 2018, accessed June 30, 2018, <https://en.yna.co.kr/view/AEN20180621012500315>.

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