



Looking Back upon Inter-Korean Exchange and Cooperation Projects on Cultural Heritage, and Future Prospects

Introduction

This article aims to examine the inter-Korean exchange and collaboration efforts that took place in the field of cultural heritage and to seek future collaboration methods in the era of inter-Korean cooperation. Those exchange efforts are meaningful in reinforcing cooperation between the two Koreas sharing the same ethnic culture, activating further exchanges, diagnosing the differences in cultures between the two Koreas that have persisted since the division, and confirming commonality, thereby contributing to the formation of one cultural community of the Korean Peninsula.

Exchanges in the field of cultural heritage began in earnest after 2000. As exchanges in various fields were promoted in accordance with the inter-Korean reconciliation mode, various forms of exchange made progress in the field of cultural heritage as well. The two Koreas were able to confirm the differences in cultural policies as well as the similarities, experiencing how to understand differences and confirming cultural homogeneity beyond differences at the same time. The inter-Korean exchange and cooperation projects in cultural heritage can assist mutual understanding of the cultural differences between the two Koreas, substantiation of common values, enhancement of motivation for reunification of our society, and accumulating energy of peace on the Korean Peninsula. It was confirmed that even though many social and cultural features have changed due to different political systems since the division, the basic foundations of ethnic culture can resonate with each other. The continuous exchange and cooperation projects in ethnic culture, that is, inter-Korean cultural exchange, should be understood as a process of establishing a spiritual unification.

The exchange and collaboration projects in the field of cultural heritage served as the outset of forming a community that can revive the values of the common ethnic culture shared by the two Koreas, confirming their long history together. The collaborations in this field have been more active and continuous

than any other field because of its notable significance.

The potentials of exchange and cooperation in the field of cultural heritage are tangible, and the range of related projects is extensive. This is because cultural heritage, or cultural properties, is a tangible or intangible product made through a lifestyle.

North Korea's cultural heritage policies have also changed. In particular, interest in intangible culture (non-material heritage) has increased since when the Kim Jong-un¹ regime inaugurated in 2012. Previous tangible culture-centered policies began to focus on intangible cultural heritage. With the revision to the Cultural Heritage Protection Act enacted in 2012, intangible cultural heritage has been included in the subject of legal protection.² In 2015, it was revised to the National Heritage Protection Act.³ The number of non-material cultural heritage designated by the state is increasing through deliberation. After several legal amendments and changes in protection policies, there is no significant difference in the cultural heritage policies of the two Koreas. It is necessary to discover more cultural properties, to actively promote the value of Korean ethnicity through more active exchange and collaboration and to contribute to the development of humanity through participation in the World Heritage convention. This article examines the history of inter-Korean exchange and cooperation projects in cultural heritage, and based on this, the direction and specific projects for future inter-Korean cooperation are also suggested. It is necessary to actively discover and promote exchange projects in the field of cultural heritage through cooperation of the new Korean Peninsula in the horizon of its new era agreed upon by the two Koreas.

1. For non-English words including Korean ones, the new (revised) Romanization convention established by the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism is basically used in the *Review of Korean Studies*. However, for the place or person names and cultural heritages in North Korea in this manuscript, the Romanization convention of North Korea is exceptionally adopted since it has been already worldwide known and used.

2. The Cultural Heritage Protection Act enacted in 2012 was adopted by Ordinance No. 2584 of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly on August 7, 2012. The Cultural Heritage Protection Act, composed of 6 chapters and 58 articles, replaced the Cultural Relics Protection Act of 1994. In this Act, "cultural heritage" was divided into "material heritage" and "non-material heritage," and the legal measures for protection and transmission of non-material heritage were institutionalized.

3. The National Heritage Protection Act was adopted by Ordinance No. 538 of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly on June 10, 2015. The National Heritage Protection Act, made up of 6 chapters and 62 articles, subdivided the existing provisions of the Cultural Heritage Protection Act and expanded the protection target to include natural heritage.

Assessment of Inter-Korean Exchange and Cooperation in the Field of Cultural Heritage

Progress and Cooperation in the Field of Cultural Heritage

It was in the 1970s that an agreement on cultural heritage exchange was signed between the two Koreas. With the end of the Cold War, an ambience of international reconciliation led to the changes in the relationship between the two Koreas. The two Koreas set out to establish new relations after the Korean War and long ideological confrontation, but concrete results could not be drawn out at once.

Cultural exchange first began with reunions of dispersed families between the two Koreas in 1985. On July 7, 1988, the Roh Tae-woo administration announced the July 7th Declaration to open a new era of self-reliant national pride and unification and promoted Nordpolitik actively. Accordingly, the "Pan-national Reunification Concert" and the "Year-end Unification Traditional Music Concert" were held in 1990 and in December 1991, respectively, and the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement was finally signed. Although the authorities declared the establishment of friendly international relations and new inter-Korean relations, it was difficult to overcome the long-persisting conflict and confrontation in a short period of time.

It was after 1998, with the inauguration of the Kim Dae-jung administration, that substantial exchanges on cultural heritage took place between the two Koreas. In North Korea, the Chosun Asia-Pacific Peace Committee was launched as an organization to promote civilian exchanges according to the ambience of reconciliation. Some significant exchange projects include Hyundai Group's Geumgangsan Mountain Tour project, performance of the Little Angels in Pyongyang, the 1st Yun I-sang Unification Concert, Pyongyang Circus Performance in Seoul, Pyongyang Student Youth Arts Troupe Performance in Seoul, and the Inter-Korean Symphony Orchestra Joint Concert.

After the inter-Korean summit in 2000, the cultural heritage exchange and cooperation projects between the two Koreas were carried out on a large scale and in a direct fashion. A new channel for social and cultural exchange between the two Koreas has also been established.⁴ Apart from the Chosun Asia-Pacific Peace Committee, which was in charge of international projects in North Korea,

the National Reconciliation Council was established additionally. The National Reconciliation Council has played a central role in social and cultural exchanges between the two Koreas by inviting South Korean social organizations to the 55th anniversary of the Workers' Party of Korea on October 10, 2000, for instance.⁵

With the creation of the channel dedicated to social and cultural exchanges, such projects could proceed intensively and densely. For cultural exchanges, the two Koreas have jointly established organizations for the Gyeongju keunsajeon Inter-Korean Joint Compilation Project (Gyeongju keunsajeon Dictionary Compilation Committee) and Kaesong Manwoldae Excavation Project (Inter-Korean Historian Association). In brief, long-term and institutionalized projects were initiated instead of short-term and event-like projects.⁶

Since the inauguration of the Lee Myung-bak administration in 2008, inter-Korean relations have begun to crumble due to the denuclearization issue of the Korean Peninsula. Inter-Korean exchanges, in particular, were severed due to the May 24th Measures following the murder of a tourist in Geumgangsan Mountain. Despite the severed situation, some projects, including the Manwoldae Excavation Project, temporarily resumed, but they did not last long.

Due to the stagnation in inter-Korean relations and North Korea's nuclear development, inter-Korean relations went beyond severance to a crisis. When the Moon Jae-in administration was inaugurated in 2017, the situation began to change. The Moon administration, expressing its will to improve inter-Korean

relations, actively promoted the "Peace Process on the Korean Peninsula" with the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympics as a momentum. The Moon administration's policy toward North Korea was targeted at a fundamental problem between the two Koreas intending to convert unstable peace regime into safe and lasting peace, further aiming to achieve shared prosperity. A new framework for cooperation and easing tensions between the two Koreas has been created. The 2018 Panmunjom Declaration was a declaration of agreement and action between the two Koreas to create a peaceful environment on the Korean Peninsula. At the same time, it was a strategy to gain international support for peace on the Korean Peninsula through a series of notable events from the inter-Korean summit to the North Korea-United States summit. The fruitful results of the inter-Korean summit led to the 2018 North Korea-United States Singapore Summit. The North Korea-United States Summit was held for the first time in history. However, with the end of the 2nd North Korea-United States Summit in 2019 as a no-deal, inter-Korean relations also entered the state of an uneasy calm.

The Moon administration's Peace Process on the Korean Peninsula is a policy aimed at establishing a stable peace system by changing the political terrain of the Korean Peninsula. A new peace regime will be established between the two Koreas, and inter-Korean relations, which were tainted by the Cold War and conflicts, will form a new phase different from the previous one. Not only aiming for improvement and transformation of hostile inter-Korean relationship, it is an initiative to establish a peace system in Northeast Asia through active cooperation of the relevant countries and to move forward on a path of common prosperity.

A peaceful state of affairs on the Korean Peninsula has to start from scratch, transforming hostile relations into relations of reconciliation and prosperity. With the Cold War frame still in operation in the international community and the fierce competition for supremacy between the United States and China, there will be considerable adversities (Park 2018). It is indisputable that inter-Korean relations have faced an opportunity to actively resolve issues on their own.⁷

4. As can be seen from the title of the Social and Cultural Exchange Department—the department in charge of cultural exchange between the two Koreas under the Ministry of Unification—it is collectively referred to as "social and cultural exchange" rather than strictly distinguishing between cultural and social exchanges. However, since social exchange and cultural exchange are very different in areas and roles, if inter-Korean exchange resumes in the future, two categories should be more clearly differentiated in the process of policy-making and exchange projects in the field of culture.

5. Minhwahyeop is an organization in charge of inter-Korean social and cultural exchange. The North Korean Minhwahyeop is an abbreviation of the National Reconciliation Council (Minjok hwahae hyeopuihoe), and the South Korean Minhwahyeop is the National Reconciliation and Cooperation Council (Minjok hwahae hyeopryeok beomgukmin hyeopuihoe). The two Koreas call these organizations as Minhwahyeop, but their official names are different.

6. Since 2000, exchanges in various fields have progressed according to the changes in inter-Korean relations. The exchange projects conducted between the two Koreas provided an opportunity to strengthen mutual understanding and served as a communication channel between the two Koreas. However, there were also limitations such as underprepared and insufficient systems, so sometimes, events were canceled or delayed. For further details, see Lee and Choi 2002.

7. In this regard, the second inter-Korean summit held at the Tongilgak Hall of Panmunjom on May 26, about a month after the first 2018 summit on April 27, 2018, was of great importance. It was the first step of the Panmunjom Declaration, which promised to meet with each other in an informal meeting

Agreement for Inter-Korean Exchange and Cooperation in the Field of Cultural Heritage

July 4th Inter-Korean Joint Communiqué

The first agreement between the two Koreas in relation to cultural heritage exchange was the July 4th Inter-Korean Joint Communiqué in 1972. Released on July 4, 1972, it was the first agreement between the two Koreas since the division.

In order to “solve the misunderstandings and distrust between the two Koreas as a result of long-maintained severance, alleviate the tension, and further promote the unification,” the two Koreas have agreed on the “preparation for principles of independent resolution for unification, tension relief and prevention of military collision, active measures to promote mutual understanding and peaceful unification, and establishment of a permanent hot line between Seoul and Pyongyang.” In addition, they agreed to “constitute and operate an inter-Korean coordination committee co-chaired by Director Hu-Rak Lee and Young-joo Kim as co-chairs in order to promote agreements, resolve all lingering issues between the two Koreas, and solve the issue of unification based on the agreed principle of national unification.”

The relevant section on cultural heritage exchange in the July 4th Inter-Korean Joint Communiqué is in Paragraph 3: “the agreement to carry out multidisciplinary exchanges between the two Koreas.” In accordance with the agreement, the two Koreas held a follow-up meeting to form the Inter-Korean Coordinating Committee to implement the agreement, and on November 4, 1972, the “Agreement on the Composition and Operation of the Inter-Korean Coordinating Committee” was signed. Paragraph 3 of this agreement stipulates that “the political, military, diplomatic, economic, and cultural subcommittees will be established within the Committee.” The Cultural Subcommittee has the right to discuss specific issues of exchange and cooperation in the field of culture. The agreement between the two Koreas has not been promoted due to the stagnant relationship.

Inter-Korean Basic Agreement

It was the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement signed in 1992 that allowed a new discussion on cultural heritage exchanges between the two Koreas while exchanges had been interrupted amid the stiff political situation. At the 5th Inter-Korean High-Level Meeting held in Seoul in December 1991, the “Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-Aggression, Exchange and Cooperation between South and North Korea,” also known as Inter-Korean Basic Agreement, was announced.

The Inter-Korean Basic Agreement consists of a preface, 4 chapters, and 25 articles. The preface reaffirms the “three principles of unification,” specifying the joint efforts for national reconciliation and peaceful reunification such as preventing armed conflict, easing tensions, ensuring peace between the two Koreas, and promoting common prosperity through exchange and cooperation. The exchange and cooperation between the two Koreas are stated in Article 16 of the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement: “the two Koreas will exchange and cooperate in various fields, including science and technology, education, literature and art, health, physical education, environment and newspapers, radio, television, and publications.”

It was an agreement that contained more specific details than the July 4th Inter-Korean Joint Communiqué. An organization for execution was also stated. Article 23 of the agreement says that “a subcommittee on inter-Korean exchange and cooperation shall be formed to discuss specific measures to implement and comply with the agreement on inter-Korean exchange and cooperation.” By establishing the Inter-Korean Exchange and Cooperation Subcommittee, it was agreed to establish a permanent organization to discuss inter-Korean exchange and cooperation and to promote stable and continuous exchange projects.

Following the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement, the two Koreas began to improve inter-Korean relations amid a reconciliation mood. The documents of the agreement were officially exchanged at the 6th Inter-Korean High-Level Meeting held in Pyongyang in February 1992. On September 17, 1992, the Annex Agreement for the Implementation and Compliance of Inter-Korean Exchanges and Cooperation was prepared, and its second chapter on social and cultural exchange and cooperation included detailed items regarding practical implementation. The agreement between the two Koreas was to promote mutual exchange of information, multilateral cooperation including technical cooperation, exchange of human resources, research, investigation, compilation

anytime, anywhere, and discuss the important issues of the Korean Peninsula, indicating the possibilities for occasional meetings.

projects, and exchange exhibitions. At the 8th Inter-Korean High-Level Meeting in August 1992, three annex agreements were adopted and became effective.

The two Koreas agreed on detailed provisions for exchange and cooperation, but a follow-up agreement was not secured. Like the Cultural Subcommittee of the Inter-Korean Coordinating Committee in the 1970s, the Inter-Korean Social and Cultural Exchange and Cooperation Joint Committee became ineffective without practical activities.

June 15th Declaration

It was the June 15th Declaration of 2000 that entailed a transition in inter-Korean relations. With the inauguration of the Kim Dae-jung administration, the improvement of inter-Korean relations was actively promoted, and finally, the first inter-Korean summit was held in history.

In June 2000, this first inter-Korean summit was held. After the summit, the leaders of the two Koreas announced the June 15th Declaration. Paragraph 4 of the June 15th Declaration signed by South Korean President Kim Dae-jung and North Korean leader Kim Jong-il stated that “the two Koreas will develop the national economy through economic cooperation, and we agree to strengthen mutual trust by promoting exchange in various fields such as society, culture, sports, health, environment, etc.” The two Koreas have agreed to promote comprehensive exchange and mutual cooperation in the field of social and cultural fields. Paragraph 5 is on the promotion of institutionalized system for practical matters; “the two Koreas will hold a dialogue between the authorities as soon as possible in order to implement the above agreements.”

Subsequently, the authorities pursued follow-up projects and decided to “review the issue of establishing the Inter-Korean Social and Cultural Cooperation Subcommittee” at the 11th Inter-Korean High-Level Meeting on July 12, 2003.

October 4th Declaration

Following the Kim Dae-jung administration, the Roh Moo-hyun administration also promoted a policy to actively improve inter-Korean relations. An inter-Korean summit was held again between South Korean President Roh Moo-hyun and North Korean leader Kim Jong-il. The leaders of the two Koreas held a summit on October 4, 2007, and announced the Declaration for the Development of Inter-Korean Relations and Peaceful Prosperity (October 4th

Declaration). Inter-Korean cultural exchange was mentioned in paragraph 6 of the October 4th Declaration: “The two Koreas agreed to develop exchange and cooperation in the fields of social and cultural fields such as history, language, education, science and technology, culture and arts, and sports in order to bring glory to the long history and excellent culture of Korean people.”

After the October 4th Declaration, the two Koreas held a meeting with the prime ministers to carry out the agreement. At the first prime minister meeting, “the two Koreas agreed to form a Promotion Committee for Inter-Korean Social and Cultural Cooperation headed by the Ministerial Level.” The authorities have formed a consensus that “extensive exchanges in the social and cultural fields” will improve inter-Korean relations and contribute to reconciliation and peace on the Korean Peninsula. Therefore, they agreed on the formation of a consultative body. However, when the Lee Myung-bak administration was launched in 2008, inter-Korean relations were severed, and the Promotion Committee for Inter-Korean Social and Cultural Cooperation could not be operated.

After the Lee Myung-bak administration came into power, the inter-Korean relations crumbled, and practical activities could not be carried out. The stagnancy of the inter-Korean relations continued into the succeeding Park Geun-hye administration, and there was no exchange or institutionalized agreement between the two Koreas during this time period.

Cases of Inter-Korean Exchange and Cooperation in Cultural Heritage: State Level

Retrieval of Pukkwon Victory Monument

An example of state-level exchange and cooperation in relation to cultural heritage is the retrieval project of Pukkwon Victory Monument. It was a monument established in Immyeong-myeon, Gilju-gun county, Hamgyeongbuk-do Province, in honor of Jeong Moon-bu, a military official who raised loyal soldiers during the Japanese Invasion of Korea in 1592 and defeated the enemy. It had been lost during the Russo-Japanese War, and the whereabouts were unknown. Meanwhile, in March 1978, Korean-Japanese historian Choi Seo-myeon discovered it at the Yasukuni Shrine in Japan, and a project to return the monument was planned by diplomatic channels and private organizations in negotiation with the Japanese government and Yasukuni Shrine.

On June 23, 2005, at the 15th inter-Korean High-Level Meeting, the issue of returning the Pukkwan Victory Monument was discussed, and the South and North Korean authorities agreed to “retrieve of the Pukkwan Victory Monument from Japan and take steps for this.” On October 20, 2005, the Pukkwan Victory Monument was finally returned through joint efforts between the two Koreas. At the 17th inter-Korean High-Level Meeting held on December 16, 2005, “the two Koreas agreed to take measures to relocate the Pukkwan Victory Monument retrieved from Japan to the original location in North Korea as soon as possible.” According to the agreement, it was delivered from Kaesong to the location on March 1, 2006, and on March 23, 2006, it was re-erected in Immyeong-dong, Kimchaek-si, Hamgyeongbuk-do Province. In addition, its replica is displayed in Gyeongbokgung Palace.

Joint excavation, investigation, and protection of cultural heritage

The joint excavation, investigation, and conservation of North Korean cultural heritage was a matter agreed upon by the two Koreas at several meetings. The first area prioritized was Kaesong. As the capital of Goryeo, Kaesong has many historical remains, including Manwoldae, the main palace of Goryeo. At the 17th inter-Korean High-Level Meeting in 2005, “the two Koreas agreed to cooperate with each other on the UNESCO World Heritage nomination, conservation and management of Historic Monuments and Sites in Kaesong.” At the 18th inter-Korean High-Level Meeting held on April 24, 2006, it was also agreed to “promote cooperation projects in various fields such as conservation of cultural relics.”

On October 4, 2007, at the first inter-Korean Prime Ministers’ Meeting on the implementation of the “Declaration for the Development of Inter-Korean Relations and Peaceful Prosperity,” they agreed on a project to excavate and protect historical remains and materials. In accordance with the agreement between the authorities, an excavation, investigation, restoration, and conservation project for Manwoldae in Kaesong was promoted under the supervision of the Inter-Korean Historians Association. As the main palace of Goryeo, Manwoldae—located at the southern foot of Songaksan Mountain in Kaesong—is a cultural heritage designated as a national treasure of North Korea. Through a series of excavation projects in 2015 and 2016, a number of relics were unearthed, including six metal type blocks. The joint excavation project at Manwoldae was conducted from 2007 to 2018.

Joint compilation of Gyeoremal keunsajeon Dictionary

The Gyeoremal keunsajeon Dictionary project is a project to compile a dictionary containing 330,000 words agreed upon by the two Koreas based on the language spoken on the two sides. It started when North Korean leader Kim Il-sung and Pastor Moon Ik-hwan, who visited North Korea in 1989, agreed to compile a “Unified Korean Dictionary.” In March 2004, when inter-Korean relations improved, South Korea’s organization Tongilmaji and North Korea’s Minhwahyeop signed a declaration of intent. The project was launched in Geumgangsan Mountain with the ceremony of forming the joint compilation committee on February 20, 2005.

At the 16th inter-Korean High-Level Meeting held on September 16, 2005, discussions on the Gyeoremal keunsajeon Dictionary were made, and the two Koreas agreed to actively support the joint compilation project. Its significance was also acknowledged at the first inter-Korean Prime Ministers’ Meeting on the implementation of the “Declaration for the Development of Inter-Korean Relations and Peaceful Prosperity,” and it was agreed to jointly conduct the project. Following this agreement, with the support of the Inter-Korean Cooperation Fund, an organization dedicated to the Inter-Korean Joint Compilation Project for the Gyeoremal keunsajeon Dictionary was launched. In April 2007, the Special Act for Compilation of the Gyeoremal keunsajeon Dictionary was enacted, enabling stable project implementation. In 2009, writing was begun in earnest, with 125,000 words agreed so far, and follow-up steps are in progress.

Cases of Inter-Korean Exchange and Cooperation in Cultural Heritage: Private Sector

Inter-Korean exchange and cooperation projects in the field of cultural heritage can be differently categorized before and after 2000. Projects that took place before 2000 include video production, joint symposium, joint investigation, data-archiving projects, exhibitions, and excavation and restoration of historical relics. The major cases of inter-Korean exchange and cooperation related to cultural heritage are as follows.

Video production

There was a joint project between South Korea’s MBC and North Korea’s

Geumgangsán Tourism Company for a “TV Program for Natural Landscape and Historic Sites of North Korea” in 1998. In October 1997, a preliminary survey was conducted, and in 1998, four reporters of MBC conducted documentary coverage at the Baekdusan Mountain. Also, “Producing a Content of North Korean Historical Relics and Pungmul Trip” was a project promoted by a joint project between Sports Art of South Korea and the Chosun Asia Pacific Peace Committee of North Korea, and it was aired on the Seoul Broadcasting System (SBS) with a title of “Pyongyang Report.”

Symposium

Starting with the International Conference on Goguryeo Culture—the first inter-Korean joint symposium held in Ji’an, China in August 1993—a number of academic conferences were held. There have been the “Academic Conference on Rediscovery of the Primitive and Ancient Civilizations of East Asia, Joint Symposium” on Dangun and Gojoseon by South and North Korean historians, “Joint Symposium for Return of Plundered Cultural Heritage by Japanese,” “Joint Inter-Korean Symposium in Commemorating the World Heritage Inscription of the Complex of Goguryeo Tombs,” “Joint Symposium among South Korea, North Korea and Russia,” and “Inter-Korean Joint Symposium for the World Heritage Inscription of the Historic Monuments and Sites in Kaesong” were held in North Korea, China, Japan, and Russia.

The joint investigation project was conducted by the JoongAng Daily Company in 1997 to explore and survey North Korean cultural heritage. The Center for Cultural Unification Studies of the JoongAng Daily from South Korea, the Chosun Asia Pacific Peace Committee from North Korea, and the Chosun Central History Museum participated. It began on September 23, 1997, when four South Korean investigation team members arrived in Pyongyang. Until they returned to Korea on October 4th, they toured cultural heritage sites for 11 nights and 12 days, and the outcomes were published in 1998 as Yoo Hong-jun’s *My North Korean Cultural Heritage Survey*.

Data-archiving

One of data-archiving projects was the “Informatization Project for North Korean Cultural Heritage Sources,” which was conducted by Kyunghyang Shinmun Company’s Korean Culture Network Research Center and North Korea’s Chosun Asia-Pacific Peace Committee in 1998. Kyunghyang Shinmun

Company’s Korean Culture Network Research Center signed an “exchange contract for cultural heritage sources” with the Chosun Asia-Pacific Peace Committee in February 1998, and the investigation team visited North Korea twice in August and October for investigation.⁸

The Joint Compilation Project for the Encyclopedia of North Korean Geography and Culture by the Institute for Peace Affair helped to grasp the overall status of local materials and historical relics. In November 2001, the Institute had a meeting with the North Korean working group. After that, the joint compilation project was discussed for a long period of time. Finally, in 2003, the joint implementation was agreed between the two Koreas through a direct contract. According to the agreement, a joint compilation committee of *The Encyclopedia of North Korean Geography and Culture* was formed to promote the project. This encyclopedia consisted of a manuscript of 200,000 pages, 15,000 photographic illustrations and maps, and a total of 350,000 headwords. Other than the existing data, newly photographed materials were also added. In 2004, a total of 20 volumes of *The Encyclopedia of North Korean Geography and Culture* was published by the Institute for Peace Affair of South Korea and the Science Encyclopedia Publishing Company of North Korea.

Exhibitions

Exhibition projects were mostly held in South Korea, exhibiting North Korean historical artifacts including national treasures. The first exhibition of North Korean historical relics in Seoul was the “Special Exhibition: Goguryeo!” in December 2002. Minhwaheop, SBS, and JoongAng Daily Company participated in this exhibition. Exhibited materials, a total of 311 pieces, include 250 artifacts brought from North Korea and 61 pieces from the Museum of Korean University in Japan, including the model of a mural painting in the tomb of Goguryeo.⁹ Photographs of the mural paintings of the Goguryeo tombs in Pyongyang were also exhibited for the first time. In addition, there were the “Our Land, Living Goguryeo” exhibition held at the Hansol Dongui-

8. About 10,000 pieces of North Korean national cultural assets collected at that time include 50 pieces of unpublished materials (videos, publications, CDs, etc.) and 3,000 pieces of national treasure cultural heritages sent by the Chosun Asia Pacific Peace Committee. The Korean Cultural Network Research Center and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism released information on the website of the Inter-Korean Integrated Cultural Center in October 1999.

9. This model of a mural painting was produced by North Korea and donated in 1985.

bogam Convention Hall from April 9 to June 20, 2004, and the “Photography Exhibition in Commemoration of the UNESCO World Heritage Inscription of the Goguryeo Tombs” hosted by the Inter-Korean Historians Association in 2004, the “Exhibition of Goguryeo Artifacts in Commemoration of the 5th Anniversary of the June 15th Joint Declaration and 60th Anniversary of the National Liberation” in 2005, and “Treasures from the Korean Central History Museum, Pyongyang” held by the Inter-Korean Historians Association, the National Museum of Korea, and Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation in 2006.

Excavation and restoration of cultural heritage

One of the major excavation and restoration projects was the project on the ruins of Kaesong. From June 24 to July 31, 2004, the survey was conducted on the first phase site of the Kaesong Industrial Complex. The Land and Housing Museum of South Korea and the Archaeological Research Institute of the Academy of Social Sciences in North Korea participated in the trial digging and excavation/survey project following surface investigation of the Kaesong Industrial Complex. Starting with this project, a joint excavation survey project between the two Koreas was conducted, focusing on the excavation of historic sites.

In July 2005, the Goguryeo Research Foundation conducted a joint inter-Korean academic research on the remains of Goguryeo Kingdom in Pyongyang. In 2006, the Goguryeo Research Foundation participated in the “Anhagung Palace Excavation Survey” project in the Daeseong area of Pyongyang, and other projects include the “inter-Korean joint investigation on the current situation of the Goguryeo tombs” in which the Inter-Korean Historians Association participated, “the inter-Korean joint excavation of Kaesong Manwoldae for the World Heritage nomination” in which the Inter-Korean Historians Association and the National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage participated, and the “emergency joint excavation survey of Kaesong Manwoldae for the World Heritage nomination.”

In addition, the inter-Korean Joint Conservation Project for the mural paintings of the Goguryeo tombs in 2007, the conservation and management project of excavated artifacts of Manwoldae in 2009, and the safety diagnosis and flood damage restoration project for the ruins of Kaesong Manwoldae in 2011 were conducted. The inter-Korean joint excavation project at Kaesong Manwoldae has been continuously promoted until recently as a representative cooperation project of the two Koreas.

Prospects of Inter-Korean Exchange and Cooperation in Cultural Heritage

Panmunjom Declaration and a New Environment

All exchange and cooperation projects between the two Koreas have been directly influenced by the relationship between the two Koreas. Exchange projects in the field of cultural heritage were no exception. For a stable and long-term implementation of exchange projects, political stability must be established first. Although there were various agreements at the level of the South and North Korean authorities, they were not yet implemented due to the lack of secure environment.

After the inauguration of the Moon Jae-in administration, inter-Korean relations have entered a new phase, and a new channel for inter-Korean cooperation has been established. It was the Panmunjom Declaration that brought about a change in inter-Korean relations. On April 27, 2018, the inter-Korean summit was held at the Peace House in Panmunjom, and “Panmunjom Declaration for Peace, Prosperity, and Reunification of the Korean Peninsula” (hereinafter, the Panmunjom Declaration) was announced.

The two leaders affirmed “the principle of determining the destiny of the Korean nation on their own accord” and agreed upon “the improvement of inter-Korean relations by fully implementing all existing agreements and declarations adopted between the two sides thus far.” Its contents include specific practical details such as alleviation of the acute military action, strengthening mutual trust, peace regime, and denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.¹⁰ This declaration will also positively influence social and cultural exchange. The agreement on the Panmunjom Declaration was included in the North Korea-United States Joint Statement agreed at Sentosa, Singapore on June 12, 2018.¹¹ Inter-Korean relations will proceed based on the Panmunjom

10. The main contents of the Panmunjom Declaration are “to hold dialogue and negotiations in various fields including at high level,” “establish a joint liaison office with resident representatives of both sides in Kaesong,” “encourage more active cooperation, exchanges, visits and contacts at all levels in order to rejuvenate the sense of national reconciliation and unity,” and “resolve the humanitarian issues such as the reunion of separated families.”

11. The June 12th Sentosa Agreement, announced on June 12, 2018, includes four main articles: establishment of New US-North Korea relations, establishment of an enduring and firm peace regime

Declaration, and it is expected to unfold into a new level beyond expansion of exchange and cooperation. Of course, this prospect presupposes smooth progress and resolution of denuclearization.

The 2018 Panmunjom Declaration was an agreement that made a positive change in inter-Korean relations. It is expected that the agreements of the June 15th Joint Declaration and the October 4th Joint Declaration would be implemented, serving as an opportunity to achieve a positive turning point in the inter-Korean relations. The contents related to cultural heritage exchange and cooperation are stated in Article 1, Paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Panmunjom Declaration.¹²

Paragraph 3 of Article 1 is an agreement on the inter-Korean joint liaison office. The two Koreas decided to set up the official liaison office as an organization in which representatives of both sides reside in order to “facilitate close consultation between the authorities as well as smooth exchanges and cooperation between the peoples.” The Inter-Korean Joint Liaison Office was to be the channel for unifying private-level exchanges and cooperation. As an organization at the level of the government, its role is to guarantee and promote social and cultural exchanges in various fields. Apart from the private-level exchange projects, state-level social and cultural exchange and cooperation was to be implemented by this organization.

The establishment and operation of the Inter-Korean Joint Liaison Office received attention as a practical matter of institutionalization to promote stable inter-Korean exchanges. The necessity for an organization to establish a

stable foundation for inter-Korean exchanges had been noticed from an early age. Although an agreement was reached between the two Koreas for social and cultural exchanges, the fact that there was no institution to promote the exchanges was considered preemptively. Through the Panmunjom Declaration, it was agreed to establish an organization at the government level to secure private-level exchange and cooperation. Accordingly, the cultural exchange between the two Koreas opened a new chapter.

The mid- to long-term projects at the government level will be able to proceed smoothly. However, it is important which level and scope of authorities should be in charge. “The government level to secure private-level exchange and cooperation” can be interpreted as a level to enable fairly comprehensive and full-scale exchange and cooperation. Exchanges in various fields solely centered on the Ministry of Unification previously can still be carried out with the Ministry of Unification at the center but with a wider cooperative network. In the new Korean Peninsula regime, private-level exchange in multiple layers will contribute to unification. As it is predicted to proceed in a complex structure of government-related ministries, local governments, and private organizations, it will be able to serve as a channel for all relevant departments.

Social and cultural exchanges, including inter-Korean cultural exchanges, are diverse in areas, and there are many fields in which the private sector is the main operating body. There is also a perception that it is not desirable to involve the central government for such cultural exchange and cooperation. It is desirable to expand and revitalize various private-level exchanges. However, as confirmed in the process of social and cultural exchanges that took place during the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun administrations, some point out that it is critical to establish an appropriate system for stable implementation of exchange projects. In fact, while the recent inter-Korean relations have become stagnant, some also argue that private organizations should play a certain role in inter-Korean relations. It is necessary to discuss how to establish the status of the private sector as a subject of cultural exchange and its relationship with the government authorities in the future.

North Korea's Cultural Heritage Policies and Current Situation

The objective of the initial national cultural policies of the two Koreas was to discover lost cultural heritage and restore its original form. During the Japanese

on the Korean Peninsula, reconfirmation of the Panmunjom Declaration and realization of complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, and recovery operation and repatriation of missing US soldiers. The fact that the Panmunjom Declaration was mentioned again in the US-North Korea talks suggests that the future inter-Korean relations will proceed around the Panmunjom Declaration.

12. The Article 1 says that “South and North Korea will reconnect the blood relations of the people and bring forward the future of co-prosperity and reunification led by Koreans by facilitating comprehensive and groundbreaking advancement in inter-Korean relations.” The Paragraph 4 says that “South and North Korea agreed to encourage more active cooperation, exchanges, visits and contacts at all levels in order to rejuvenate the sense of national reconciliation and unity. Between South and North, the two sides will encourage the atmosphere of amity and cooperation by actively staging various joint events on the dates that hold special meaning for both South and North Korea, such as June 15th Declaration, in which participants from all levels, including central and local governments, parliaments, political parties, and civil organizations, will be involved. On the international front, the two sides agreed to demonstrate their collective wisdom, talents, and solidarity by jointly participating in international sports events such as the 2018 Asian Games.”

colonization period, a considerable amount of Korean culture was damaged, so the emphasis was placed on excavation and restoration. Since then, protection policies for cultural heritage of the two Koreas have developed with significant differences in their perception of traditional culture.¹³

South Korea's national culture policy was promoted with the aim of faithfully discovering and conserving the original form so that the lives of the time period can be thoroughly reflected.¹⁴ The basis of the cultural heritage policies is conservation of the original form. When the original form of each cultural heritage is conserved, it is possible to inherit and develop traditional culture based on the original form and also to promote a national culture with cultural and historical identity (Song 2009, 71).

On the other hand, North Korea's cultural heritage policies put stress on the current functions and roles of traditional culture. The national culture that developed in the past may have been wonderful in those days, but it was considered old-fashioned, so not applicable to the present. Accordingly, the priority was to revive the original national culture to meet the needs and purposes of the present.

North Korea's cultural heritage policies have changed with the times. The first regulation regarding the protection of cultural heritage was the "Decree on the Conservation of Treasures, Historic Remains, Scenic Sites, and Natural Monuments," announced by the Interim North Korea People's Committee in 1946. It was a measure to protect the national culture damaged during the Japanese occupation. Since then, starting with the excavation of cultural heritage such as the Anak Tomb in 1949, North Korea has been promoting policies to preserve the national culture. In 1974, the Tomb of Tongmyong was investigated and excavated, and in the early 1990s, while claiming the Daedonggang River culture as one of the ancient civilizations, 14,000 dolmen tombs were unearthed near Pyongyang. In the mid-1990s, projects such as excavation of cultural relics in the Gangdong-gun county of Pyongyang, the Tomb of Dangun, the reconstruction of the Tomb of Tongmyong, and the

excavation of the Balhae ruins in the Maritime Province were conducted.

North Korea's cultural heritage policies were centered on tangible cultural heritage until the mid-1990s. In 1994, the Cultural Relics Protection Act was enacted as an ordinance for the protection of cultural heritage. As its title indicates, it was solely on the protection of tangible cultural heritage such as relics, ruins, and artifacts. There were no regulations on intangible heritage.

The Cultural Relics Protection Act was amended in August 2012 and renamed as the Cultural Heritage Protection Act. As the title changed from "cultural relics" to "cultural heritage," the scope of protection was expanded to include intangible cultural heritage. Legal regulations on intangible cultural heritage were prepared, specifying the protection of "material cultural heritage" and "non-material cultural heritage." Legal provisions on the protection and transmission of intangible cultural heritage (non-material cultural heritage) were established. On June 10, 2015, the Cultural Heritage Protection Act was again amended by the standing committee of the Supreme People's Assembly's Order 538. The National Heritage Protection Act came into effect. The National Heritage defined by this act was "a precious asset of a country that contains the long history and brilliant cultural tradition of our nation and that has the spirit of our people, historical, artistic, academic, and landscape values." According to this act, national heritage is an umbrella term that encompasses tangible cultural heritage, intangible cultural heritage, and natural monuments. This comprehensive term also contributed to the establishment of a comprehensive legal system.¹⁵ The National Heritage Protection Act was amended in January 2019, and now it consists of 6 chapters and 73 articles.¹⁶

13. Cultural property is a concept that includes both tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Rather, "cultural heritage" is based on tangible cultural relics. The regulations on cultural properties in international conventions also present the fairly broad concept of cultural properties.

14. See Song 2009, 71: "The Cultural Heritage Charter enacted in 1997 in celebration of the Cultural Heritage Year refers to cultural heritage as 'a precious treasure filled with the foreknowledge and breath of our people's lives and an asset of human culture.'"

15. The concept of "national heritage" contains natural heritage. In North Korea, natural heritages include scenic sites and natural monuments such as famous mountains, lakes, waterfalls, valleys, caves, ocean, islands, unusual flora and fauna, fossils, natural rocks, minerals, and outcrop. Although natural heritage was included in the national heritage, another law for natural heritage, the Protection Act for Scenic Sites and Natural Monument, is also maintained.

16. The National Heritage Protection Bureau is in charge of the protection and management of cultural heritage in North Korea. Under the guidance of the Cabinet, it is the central national heritage protection guidance agency. The National Heritage Protection Bureau is based on the former institution called the Museum and Cultural Relics Conservation Department, established under the Ministry of Culture in 1960. It was reorganized into the Cultural Relics Conservation Bureau in 1963 and the Cultural Conservation Bureau in 1974. As the concept of national heritage was expanded, it was promoted from the department of the Ministry of Culture to the central agency under the Cabinet.

Directions and Tasks of Inter-Korean Exchange and Cooperation in Cultural Heritage

Directions of inter-Korean exchange and cooperation in cultural heritage

First, the immediate task for inter-Korean cultural heritage exchange and cooperation is to change the perception of national cultural heritage. National cultural heritage is a unique cultural asset formed in the long history of the Korean Peninsula, and the two Koreas are obligated to preserve it well and pass it on to future generations. Therefore, projects regarding cultural heritage should not be decided based on policy decision or political situation. To this end, agreement and cooperation between the two Koreas is necessary. The two Koreas should jointly establish and share a long-term “basic plan.” According to the basic plan, the scope of exchange and cooperation on cultural heritage, the steps of implementation, and specific methods can be determined.¹⁷ As part of a process for bettering inter-Korean relations which would hopefully lead to unification, inter-Korean cultural heritage exchange and cooperation is a field that requires expertise. It is necessary to clarify the subject of the basic plan, establish an exclusive system, and continuously implement it.¹⁸

17. An example is the Inter-Korean Social and Cultural Exchange Promotion Act, which was promoted by the National Assembly in 2005 in relation to the entity that establishes and operates the basic plan for inter-Korean cultural heritage exchange and cooperation. This act was proposed in 2005 under the name of 22 members of the National Assembly. It dealt with the establishment of the Inter-Korean Social and Cultural Exchange Promotion Committee within the Ministry of Unification, the establishment of the Inter-Korean Social and Cultural Exchange Promotion Agency, the assistance of relevant projects, and the appointment of related professional personnel training institutions. This law was abolished due to the expiration of the term, and discussions on social and cultural exchanges have been lackluster.

18. See Jung et al. 2013 for further information on promotions of inter-Korean cultural exchange projects. In his study, *A Study on the Legislation for Promotion of Inter-Korean Cultural Exchanges*, he suggested the Ministry of Culture and Sports as the main body of the basic plan for inter-Korean cultural exchange. This study focused on the legal system for promoting inter-Korean cultural exchange under the awareness that a new legal system is crucial for sustaining cultural exchange and promoting common assets of national culture. He suggested an extensive list of regulations, including the purpose, definition, responsibilities of the state and local governments, relations with other laws, basic plans, annual implementation plans, special cases of inter-Korean cultural exchange projects, inter-Korean cultural exchange committee, its registration, investigation works, establishment of database, public awareness of common cultural assets, promotion agency, support for cultural content production, support for inter-Korean cultural exchange activities, cultural exchange through international organizations, and funding.

Second, institutionalization is necessary for stable exchange and cooperation in the field of cultural heritage. Based on the agreement of the South and North Korean authorities, stable implementation of exchange projects through a consent between all parties would be an efficient way of conducting mid- to long-term projects. It is necessary to make use of the Kaesong Inter-Korean Liaison Office as an administrative channel for cultural exchanges at the national level. Based on this, a cultural exchange agreement should be made for institutional stability that will be ultimately obtained through exchanges by sector (Park 2015, 101-19), and it is crucial to establish a cooperation system through which private entities and ministries can discuss specific exchange and cooperation projects. As in the joint compilation of the Gyeoremal keunsajeon Dictionary, legal stability is an essential factor for the stable promotion of inter-Korean cooperation projects.

Third, an international cooperation network should be established and utilized. Cooperation projects can be promoted by utilizing the international network related to heritage of national culture shared by the two Koreas. Exchange projects through international cooperation are in line with the “globalization” cause emphasized by Kim Jong-un. North Korea under the Kim Jong-un regime is pursuing World Heritage nomination projects, stepping further from looking at national culture from a materialistic point of view in the past to including “material (tangible) heritage,” “non-material (intangible) heritage,” and “natural heritage” in the category of national heritage. At the same time, it is ordered to actively utilize cultural assets for product development and international tourism.

Fourth, the participation of various stakeholders related to cultural heritage exchange and cooperation should be encouraged. Organizations with expertise and stability in various areas of cultural heritage should be promoted first, but in order to preserve the characteristics of each field, it is necessary to establish the system for participation of various stakeholders.

Fifth, the field of cultural heritage is a field that has shown fruitful collaborative outcomes between the two Koreas. It is necessary to expand its influence and scope in related fields while prioritizing resumption of existing projects.

Tasks of inter-Korean exchange and cooperation in cultural heritage

First, digitizing accurate information on North Korean cultural heritage

is required. The current status of North Korea's cultural heritage serves as fundamental data for determining the direction and project setting of inter-Korean exchange projects. Through a joint survey of North Korea's designated cultural heritage and general relics or artifacts, a database of designation status, location, conservation status, and photographic data should be established. The digitized information in the form of an online museum should be used as a policy material for the research of North Korean cultural heritage and the relevant exchange projects.

Second, the scope of joint excavation and research projects on cultural heritage should be expanded. Various types of projects are feasible, including those conducted before. Excavation and investigation of the royal tombs of Joseon in Kaesong, Jereung (Tomb of Queen Shinui) and Hureung (Tomb of King Jeongjong and his Queen), additional nomination for the World Heritage sites, joint investigation of cultural properties in the DMZ,¹⁹ and investigation of *geumseokmun* (epigraph on stone or metal) and other major architectural cultural properties in North Korea should be prioritized. Repair and restoration projects are also needed, in particular, for conservation of architectural cultural heritage. Collaboration projects for the preservation of North Korean cultural relics or the Complex of Goguryeo Tombs can be promoted as well.

Third, cooperation for intangible cultural heritage needs to be activated. Recently, North Korea has been pursuing an active protection policy for intangible cultural heritage and has been registering national intangible cultural heritage since 2012. Those intangible heritages reflect culture and history shared by the two Koreas, so joint study and protection of their values are necessary.

Fourth, the establishment of human infrastructure is crucial. Human resources and administrative infrastructure related to research, investigation, human resource training, and technical education are needed. With a systemized infrastructure, it will be possible to flexibly respond in allocating the "Inter-Korean Exchange and Cooperation Fund" for research, investigation, and education projects.

Fifth, it is necessary to secure organizations and spaces related to cultural heritage exchange. Administrative stability is absolutely critical in order to promote exchange projects in a flexible and stable manner. It would be possible

to form a joint organization between the two Koreas, or to have a separate organization in each corresponding government department, or additional departments in the relevant agencies. In addition, there is a need for a space to preserve and manage the achievements of exchange and cooperation for national culture.²⁰ This should be managed and systematized at the national level. There is a concern over losing considerable data—valuable historical data of inter-Korean relations—as they are not thoroughly managed.²¹

Conclusion

For all exchange and cooperation projects between the two Koreas, background and settings are important. Previous exchange and cooperation projects in the field of cultural heritage were made upon early understanding of their necessity and significance. However, as it failed to establish a stable environment for continuous exchange and cooperation, their status swayed according to the political situation. Even in recent years, when an atmosphere of reconciliation and cooperation has been created between the two Koreas, active exchange and cooperation could not be implemented.

The competition for supremacy between the United States and China is intensifying, and recent pandemic situation has become another obstacle. In complex situations, we need to think about the fundamentals. We confirmed the necessity of cultural exchange between the two Koreas through various collaboration projects in the field of cultural heritage. Inter-Korean authorities need to acknowledge that exchange projects in the field of cultural heritage are

20. Jung Sang-woo once stated in his study that "it is necessary to recognize the importance and expertise of cultural exchange, prepare a plan to secure political independence and sustainability in this field, further develop a system that can comprehensively manage North Korean content, and cultivate professional human resources." He also added that "in particular, the inter-Korean cultural exchange system must be developed into an independent sector so that the characteristics of cultural exchange can be fully reflected, and for this, specialized organizations such as the 'Social and Cultural Exchange Committee' agreed in 2007 are necessary." For further information, see Jung et al. 2013.

21. As symbolic and spatial bases for inter-Korean social and cultural cooperation, the "Inter-Korean Exchange and Cooperation Office" and the "Gyeongju Cultural Center" were suggested. The Ministry of Unification is conducting a project to collect and archive data related to inter-Korean exchanges. However, data collection rather aims for storing data of past projects than for practical use. It is necessary to manage a separate space where the public can access materials related to inter-Korean exchange and actively utilize the materials for further studies.

19. For information on cultural properties in the DMZ, see Cho 2019, 67-94.

those to be promoted in preference to lingering political matters.

The communication channel for cultural heritage should be restored. Private organizations such as the Inter-Korean Historians Association and the Minhwahyeop are also necessary. It is also critical to establish a protection system against the potential risks and contingencies during project implementation. In consideration of the peculiarities of inter-Korean relations, a system of public-private partnerships sponsored by the government should be established, and exchange projects should be voluntarily promoted by the private sectors and public institutions as well as the major projects led by government authorities.

Cooperation in the field of intangible cultural heritage, which was relatively underrepresented until recently, should also be encouraged. With the enactment of the Cultural Heritage Protection Act in 2012, North Korea is actively discovering and protecting intangible cultural heritage. About 100 traditional cultures have been designated as intangible cultural heritages. It is striving to protect cultural heritage in accordance with the norms of the international community by reorganizing laws and regulations related to the protection of cultural heritage, improving the management system, and actively pursuing research and investigation. In these days, fruitful performance of inter-Korean cooperation is highly expected as the two Koreas must proceed with steps of accurate evaluation and value-finding of cultural heritage together.

Although achievements through active exchange and cooperation projects between the two Koreas are important, it is necessary to establish a stable and sustainable infrastructure. An administrative support system, an institutionalized space, and data-archiving that would enable further academic cooperation, and fostering of experts should be considered. Then, the value and significance of inter-Korean cultural heritage exchanges obtained through systematic structure and stable cooperation system should be socially spread and shared with the public. To this end, there will be a limitation to depend upon the government's capacity alone. A cooperative structure in which the government, academia, and the private sector participate together should be considered.

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JEON Young-sun (multifriend@hanmail.net)

Konkuk University

Translated by Uri CHAE