

## GSAPS THE SUMMARY OF DOCTORAL THESIS

### The Role of Non-State Actors in the Formation and Evolution of the Regime on Food Aid to North Korea: The Case Study of the National Agricultural Cooperative Federation (NACF) in South Korea

4015S006

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The international community has implemented food aid to alleviate poverty in underdeveloped countries. This food aid has evolved from a regime into a form of humanitarian aid, progressing towards development cooperation. However, international food aid to North Korea has undergone a cycle of cessation and resumption due to the aid motivations of neighboring countries, South Korea's North Korea policy, and North Korea's nuclear experiments. Through a case study examining this aid progression, this research aims to explore the effectiveness of aid to North Korea.

This study focuses on the Regime on Food Aid to North Korea and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime, which is perceived as a significant obstacle to food aid to North Korea. Given the tensions between these two regimes, the theory of regime complex was applied to analyze how State Actors and Non-State Actors (NSAs) processed these conflicts.

This study has two primary aims. First, it applies the regime complex theory to aid towards North Korea, showing that opportunities for forum shopping within the regime occur when the Regime on Food Aid to North Korea conflict with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime. Secondly, by analyzing the case of National Agricultural Cooperative Federation (NACF), a prominent Non-State Actor in South Korea, the research seeks to explore the role and contributions of NSAs in North Korean aid processes with respect to the conflicts between these two regimes.

The temporal scope of the analysis ranges from 1995, when North Korea requested aid from the international community, until 2019, before North Korea closed its borders due to COVID-19. The main body of the study is organized into chapters, each examining an aspect of the regime complex: these include Regime, No Clean Slate, Forum Shopping, and Regime Development through Implementation.

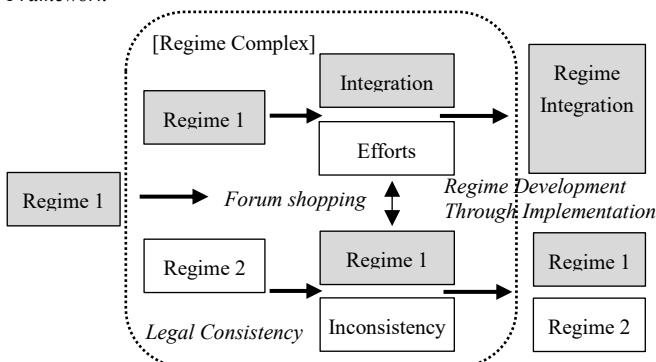
Food Aid to North Korea and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime. The conflict between the two Regimes erupted from 2005 to 2010. Aid participants had opportunities to partake in forum shopping to select their preferred regime. The South Korean government had no restrictions on aid to North Korea as the Sunshine Policy was continued. However, the US stopped aid to North Korea after the nuclear experiment, and UN sanctions against North Korea were enacted. The South Korean government believed that aid to North Korea could bring about peace to the Korean Peninsula, so it maintained development cooperation following the Regime on Food Aid to North Korea. While support for food aid to North Korea decreased among South Korea's NSAs, they continued to promote and implement aid to North Korea. The NACF conducted development cooperation through a pig farming project between 2005 and 2007. Thus, the NACF stands as an example of an entity that actively participated in the Regime on Food Aid to North Korea, supporting South Korea's forum shopping.

The period from 2011 to 2019 was marked by practical adjustments in response to the conflicts between the two regimes. Following North Korea's nuclear test in 2016, as the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime strengthened, the South Korean government shifted its regime to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime. The discourse surrounding the Non-Governmental Organizations' (NGOs) humanitarian activities in North Korea, as well as their advocacy for the lifting of sanctions, contributed to the practical adjustment within the regime complex. The NACF's choice during this period contributed to maintaining the Regime on Food Aid to North Korea by performing humanitarian aid without opposition from the government or international community and transitioning to internal activities.

Through the analytical framework of the regime complex theory, the study made the following findings. During the conflict between the two regimes, the South Korean government had the opportunity to engage in forum shopping. The activities and discourse of NGOs guide the formation of the Regime on Food Aid to North Korea and contribute to the practical adjustment process during conflicts with other regimes. The NACF's activities expanded the scope of aid to North Korea by South Korean NGOs and ultimately supported the South Korean government's forum shopping.

<Figure>

Framework



Notes : Regime 1 (Regime on Food Aid to North Korea), Regime 2 (Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime)

Between 1995 and 1999, the Regime on Food Aid to North Korea was being established in North Korea. The period between 2000 and 2004 marked the period leading up to the conflict between the Regime on

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