

RELATIONSHIP

How was your date “online?”
Look at them the way they look at you
Bloody Characteristics
Superstition? I’m a Bit Suspicious



KIC THE GLOBE



KIC The Globe

KYUNGHEE INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE

From The Editor

Relationship. What comes into your mind when you hear this word? This is a word which triggers our interest and opinions. You may visualize a relationship you make with diverse people including family, friends, or lover. Since we are living in a highly globalized world, there are always relationships among countries. Moreover, our web-like society makes all social happenings connected with one another.

To put it in a nutshell, the number of relationships in our life is countless. In other words, it is indispensable. It is occurring even in this moment, when you are reading this magazine. This is why we,

as a members of the KIC the Globe, wanted to open a discussion on 'relationship.' We believed that the significance of the KTG magazine would enable the onset of such a debate.

Being the chief-editor of KIC the Globe will be remembered as one of my best memories throughout my college life. Nothing was easy and I felt so pressured at first. However, the experience is all the more meaningful in that it made me mature in all parts, especially responsibility and sedulousness. First, I want to thank the Kyunghee University international College's faculty for making this volume 18 possible. There always have been their support and guidance toward our ultimate goal as one and only academic student press organization. Second, I want to show gratitude to our KTG members for their hard work this semester. Each member's passionate effort brought about high quality magazine. Most importantly, I thank Seung Hyun Park, deputy editor-in-chief, wholeheartedly for cooperating with me since the preparation of this volume. I could not have done it myself and his advice and help contributed greatly.

I hope your 'relationship' with this magazine will act as a starting point for the 'relationship' between you and KIC the Globe. Enjoy reading this magazine and give full play to your imagination about various angles of relationships!!

Best regards,
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Editor-in-chief

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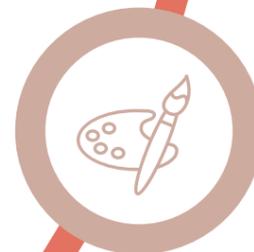
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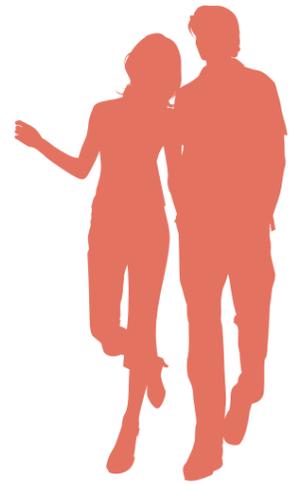
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RELATIONSHIP



HOW WAS YOUR DATE "ONLINE"?



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Do you know anyone who has been in a relationship with someone they met on an online dating service? According to *Online Dating Statistics & Facts*, 91 million people around the world are using online dating apps. In recent years, online dating through SNS has become more common, and it is growing at an incredibly fast pace. Since we are in the age of technology, romance has become possible even through SNS. This can be proven by the Pew Research stating that 5% of marriages in the United States were by those who met online. It is of no doubt that online dating has a massive impact on modern romance, but we also have to keep in mind the risks and dangers of online dating.

There are several interesting research about online dating. According to DateMix statistics, one third of people from online dating apps have never actually gone on a date with someone they met from SNS. Furthermore, anywhere from 50 to 80 percent of people on online dating apps put out false

information about themselves on their profiles. It was found that more women tend to lie about their age, while 40% of men have admitted to deceiving about their jobs. Lying about one's height, weight, and income have become so common online.

Now, what do you think are some advantages of online dating? It is said that online dating provides individuals with access to more potential partners than they could find in their daily lives. This is especially true for individuals who have a particular type and lifestyle in choosing their partners. It is also true for those who live in isolated areas, where there are not many opportunities to meet new people. In addition, since many online dating sites offer various types of personality tests, it can help guide individuals toward their style and match accordingly. Lastly, online dating offers a number of ways to get to know a potential date before actually meeting them in person. This method of "technology-based" communication allows for convenient interaction, since people do not have to make actual time commitments. Those with busy jobs prefer this kind of communication.

However, not all online dating leads to a happy ending. In online dating apps, the choices of partners can be overwhelming and complicated. Many



online daters are likely to get stuck in “shopping” for their perfect partner, rather than actually start a sincere relationship. Furthermore, profiles are limited, which means that it cannot tell everything about a person. Additionally, there are non-verbal behavioural actions that one can only know through direct interactions with a person; the lack of direct communication in online dating makes relationships more unstable. Most importantly, online dating services put the majority of focus on physical attractiveness. It is true that those who “look” more attractive in their profiles get more requests from people- and therefore, have more opportunities for dating. Nonetheless, it is of no doubt that qualities and characteristics of a person are incomparably more significant than physical appearances. Pictures and texts are considered to be strongly narrow and limited that people find it hard to understand the overall aspect of a person.

These risks can be brought to a severe level, as it leads to crime. Every year, 16,000 abductions, 100 murders, and thousands of rapes are committed by online predators. According to *Internet Predator Stats*, 25% of rapists use online dating apps to find their victims. One in 10 sex offenders was found to be on several dating websites. To add on, “Identity theft” has also become a substantial issue. People unconsciously give out their personal information such as addresses, phone numbers, and family information, which is extremely dangerous because it gets more likely for others to steal each other’s identity.

Even though online dating has such risks, it has become a part of people’s daily lives. Then, what are some measures to prevent these dangers? Nick

Tsinonnis, who creates programs designed to prevent scammers from targeting people on online dating sites, offered a range of advice as of how to stay safe while interacting online. It is of utmost importance to take time to get to know someone before actually meeting them-always bearing in mind that “others are strangers” is a good tactic. Next, keep chats and dialogues restricted to the app, and not move on to personal connections such as calling or texting. Finally, block anyone suspicious. Once someone gets inappropriate or abusive, people should not be afraid to immediately block the message system.



All in all, digital technology in particular have transformed many aspects of our society, including how people seek out and establish romantic relationships. The arrival of the Internet and people’s relationship through online dating services can be used “for” people or “against” them. Therefore, it is crucial to keep the advice mentioned above in mind when people are using online dating services.

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Imagine a Couple, What comes into your Mind?

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There is the “Rainbow” flag in the Queer festival. Queer is a term for sexual and gender minorities. Various colors of rainbows represent sexual minorities’ pride and the diversities. However, when we talk about them, we tend to think about only lesbians, gays, or transgenders. Nonetheless, the new word LGBTQIA+ was coined to show the different preferences each sexual minorities have. Gay or lesbian is a homosexual man or woman who likes same sex person. A bisexual feels romantic or sexual attraction toward both males and females. A transgender is a person whose gender identity does not correspond to person’s biological sex assigned at birth. Intersex is a general term used for a variety of conditions in which a person is born with an anatomy that doesn’t seem to fit the

typical definitions of female or male. An asexual person has a lack of sexual attraction to other, or low-interest and desire for sexual activity. There could be more types of sexual preferences, so “+” is added to the term. As various types of minorities, society’s actions to them are diverse as well.

The society’s first type of reaction is “hostility”. For example, when Seokchen Hong, a famous Korean celebrity, disclosed his homosexual trait, he couldn’t keep up his entertainer life and the number of customers in his restaurant decreased noticeably. Other examples are television dramas or movies about sexual minorities’ love, like ‘The Handmaiden’ or ‘Just Friends?’ which have endless disputes. Fortunately, there is a gradual change in Korean

society today. There were not any discourse or media about sexual minorities 10 years ago, but today those exist alongside with harsh reactions. There are always many opponents who dissent annual Queer festival. They neglect Queer more than beasts, threaten them insanely, and discriminate them. Although a bill was made to prevent discrimination towards the Queer, it failed due to massive resistance. The reasons for refusals are numerous. First is religion based on sentences in scriptures that oppose same-sex love. Second is the psychological gap they feel to sexual minorities without particular reasons.

The next type of reaction is “indifference”. Most of the indifferences arise in the field of politics. During the general election in 2016, nine sexual minorities associations and individuals who advocate the minorities gathered and started the “Rainbow Vote” campaign. They proposed eleven political demands which composed of “Banning discrimination law”, “Legalizing homosexual marriage” and etc. In spite of this, none of those eleven bills led to a success. Moreover, suggestions for sexual minorities are few. The public has low interests to them as recognition of human right is the lowest in the sexual minority. Asan Policy Research asks, ‘do you know how much

minorities’ rights are suffering?’. Rate of the public who answered ‘I do not know how much sexual minorities’ rights are suffering’ is 28 percent. This shows public’s disinterest. Even the government emphasizes national economy or security more than sexual minority issues. Also, sexual minorities are not easy to be unified as voting bloc, because they do not confidently show up and live far from each other. Hence, politicians have no reason to take responsibility for them.

The last type of reaction is “acceptance”. Even though people have different standpoints toward sexual minorities, “there should not be any discrimination against the minorities’ is a statement that cannot be changed. Beyond non-discrimination, people who are not classified as minorities try to reduce the discrimination and achieve the minor’s rights. In addition, the younger generations are more open-minded towards the disadvantaged than the older generations. This can be proven by the survey of Asan Policy Research which asks about the generosity to sexual minority. More than 40% of the twenties have benevolence to the weak while the percentage is less than 10% in the sixties. Nowadays many young generations are social activists and make great efforts to alleviate the denial to the minors. What they do is not something extra special, rather it is quite simple, as they try to lessen the expressions that indicate hatred and discrimination. Furthermore, they try to narrow the psychological gap that non-sexual minorities feel to minor. As a result, Hyundai includes minorities in an advertisement and domestic beer brand launches limited edition ‘LGBTQ’ beer to advocate the minors.



Imagine a boy-and-girl couple. Unless one of them has an extremely peculiar personality or has many exes, there’s no reason to gossip. People would naturally take it. Yet, what if that couple is boy-boy, girl-girl, or some new types that people have never been exposed to? The reaction is interdependent on various components such as situation and countries, but it is of no doubt that the reaction will be different from the former one. They will talk about that couple and show various reactions. Some might dislike and have negative views on them, while others could just be indifferent to them, and the other part of the people would advocate. Someday these reactions should be eliminated and the public should just treat the

latter couple same as the former couple. The term ‘sexual minority’ should also be eradicated and each individual must be treated just the same.

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PSYCHOPATHS & SOCIOPATHS



BOUND BY THE HEAD OR THE SOCIETY?

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“I’m not a psychopath, I’m a high functioning sociopath.” – Sherlock Holmes

Yoo Yeong-Cheol, Kang Ho-Soon, and Cho Doo-Soon. Which common features do you see among these people? The very first term that is likely to come up into our mind is ‘psychopath’, notorious criminals who would not hesitate their acts at absence of any empathy or remorse. Interestingly, a somewhat-similar term ‘sociopath’ is used in a broader way, sometimes as a synonym to psychopath, or at times as a cold-hearted, extremely egoistic character (who is not necessarily a criminal) such as Yoo-Jung in a well-known webtoon ‘Cheese

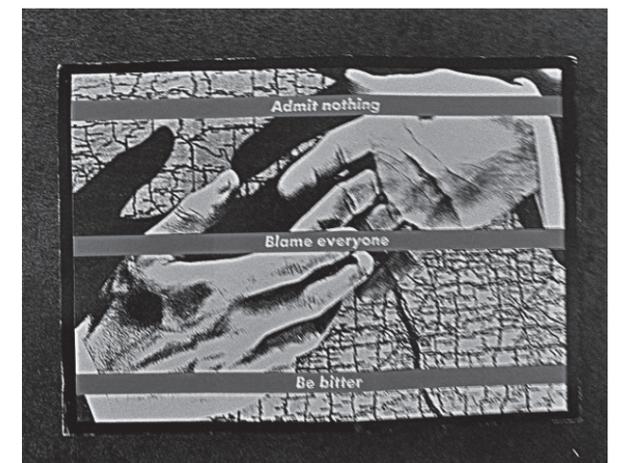
in the Trap’. Not only individuals, but also media and booklets, seem to have confusion with these two terms, using them interchangeably or misleadingly. If so, what makes us so confused about the two seemingly similar words? How do they differ? How should we treat these people in our society?

The two terms at many times bring confusion to people due to some of their common features. In fact, they do share some degree of similarities. Medical science, based on the DSM-5 booklet which classifies mental disorders, allocates both terms into a single category of ‘antisocial personality disorder’. They tend to share common symptoms of failing to follow social norms, repeated deceitfulness, aggressiveness, irresponsibility, and lack of remorse. In general, both symptoms can be explained by ‘extremely self-centered, lacking empathy, and willing to yield violence to achieve their objectives’. Such similarities may be some of the reasons why the official website and the press

each described the same antagonist from the Korean drama ‘My Love from the Star’ with two different terms, psychopath and sociopath, respectively. However, just as Sherlock’s quote suggests, these two symptoms have significant differences in many aspects: innateness, a degree of feeling sympathy, and their reliance on calculation and impulsiveness.

To begin with, psychopaths do not naturally possess the concept of conscience. Feelings of empathy, guilt, or remorse are voided from birth, with underdeveloped parts of the brain responsible for emotion regulation. This makes psychopaths difficult to form genuine relationships with families, friends, or anyone else. Instead, they form artificial relationships with others, which they later manipulate to pursue their own interests. Psychopaths are likely to see others as no more than ‘pawns’, whose pains are not important at all if psychopaths can achieve their goals at the cost of others’ sufferings. Interestingly, such features of psychopaths rebut the public’s prejudice of equalizing psychopaths to mass murderers. While

they may feel no guilt for their illegal actions, psychopaths have an extremely calculative nature. Hence, they are likely to avoid committing explicit crimes that may interfere with their interests and threaten their current position. This characteristic allows psychopaths, in general, to possess a stable career, and difficult to be identified (they even are at times seen as attractive!). However, once psychopaths decide to commit a crime, they become



extremely hazardous, carefully planning their crimes to minimize costs and traces, and to avoid arrest. What we may have known about ‘sociopaths’ actually seems to resemble psychopathic qualities.

Sociopaths are to a great degree different from psychopaths as their traits tend to be more environmental. Likely to be outcomes of physical or emotional abuse, childhood trauma, or a negative household atmosphere, sociopaths tend to act more impulsively and spontaneously. They, unlike their counterparts, do possess a sense of consciousness, and can make some degree of attachments with their close people. However, what differs sociopaths from psychopaths is the fact that while they can feel some degree of remorse and guilt, their sudden impulse overwhelms such empathy. This unique quality of sociopaths makes them to be more involved in unplanned crimes, not considering detrimental outcomes they might face in the future. Such feature better explains numerous crimes of opportunity, where one commits a crime at that very moment due to sudden emotional changes. Moreover, such impetuous nature may contribute to sociopaths having relatively unstable jobs and education, as majority of people are not likely to accept such capricious attitudes of sociopaths. Due to their nature, sociopaths and their crimes are relatively easier to be identified.



Should all psychopaths and sociopaths be considered as potential criminals? Statistics have shown that around 1% of the general population are psychopaths, and 4% are sociopaths. However, neither 5% of sociopaths and psychopaths in our society all commit crime, nor all criminals are categorized under psychopaths or sociopaths. This resembles that while some may be engaged in unlawful activities, many of these people actually are law-abiding citizens like us. In fact, researches have shown that psychopathic and sociopathic symptoms are likely to decrease with age; very few people are likely to maintain such traits until their 40s or 50s. Moreover, as sociopathic traits are usually learned, greater care by the society can significantly reduce the number of potential sociopaths. Some degree of caution is indeed necessary in our lives; however, this does not mean that completely expelling sociopaths and psychopaths from our society is an optimal solution. Not only efforts to minimize the number is important, but also to help them to successfully adapt to our society is.



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CALM DOWN.
THEY ARE YOUR
FAMILIES

How close are you with your family? These days, there are a number of families who are living through their days with a huge amount of stress. Regardless of children’s ages, conflict between parents and children can exist any time. Because, family are the members who we are living with, it is common to have a disputes. Have you ever heard the discord between 70th couple that man murdered his wife and suicided? Do you know that the number of families who visit consultant are increasing? Besides these cases, there are several incidents that arise due to family trouble. Then what would be the main cause of these conflict?

In South Korea, there is a famous show called annyonghaseyo where ordinary people come out and share their stories that they can’t resolve themselves. Most of the stories are complaints regarding their family. To share one of the popular stories, there was a mother who was upset about her son continuously throwing spoons to the ground and kicking the door violently. She added that once, they had a huge physical fight which result in the mother’s rib crack. The son insisted that, because of her mother’s affronting words, he is left with a trauma that still bothered him today. This story represents a conflict that occurred between parents

and children when there is miscommunication. It is of no doubt that most of the parents try their best to be a good parents. Thus, they endeavor to make their children successful and make them happy, and educating them would be necessary to achieve their objective. Wise parents have the responsibility to discipline their children even though, their children do not conform to their words. Sometimes harsh saying could possibly be required to control them, despite the fact that it can bring a negative impact on the child. Just like the story mentioned earlier, the mother did not have much choice but to say those hard words to correct her son from not behaving well.

The collision between parents and the child do not only occur when the children are youthful which means children’s maturity plays a role in the clash between the parents and the children. For example, according to a recent article from Hankook Ilbo, Mr. Choi leaves the living room when political issues are broadcasted in the television. Since his father and sister supports different parties, he had to witness countless fights at home. He added “Conversation about politics often degenerates



into unilateral speech. So for my family's harmony, I do not have a controversy about politics at all". Mr. Choi's father does not even try to listen to the younger generation's voice. Hence, he decided to avoid having a conversation with his father rather than facing the tensioned circumstance. However, would this be the only way to make the family peaceful? This only would be temporary solution, and someday in the future, they would have to face the conflict. It will never be settled unless they pay attention and understand each other. The issue is not about persuading each other, but about considering others' opinion and accepting their thoughts. It is unlikely for all members in the family to have same ideas. However, it does not mean that they have to argue with each other to unify their thoughts. What would happen if there are little or no conversation between the family members?

There are plenty of disagreements that can't be solved with ease. Moreover, disagreement between the family members must be more difficult to find the middle ground. Nonetheless, not solving the conflict could lead to a terrible ending. For

instance, in 2018, 20 year-old son stabbed his mother and bullied his father with a blunt weapon. This resulted from a small conflict

regarding the son's allowance. The son did not want to have a conversation any more and consequently threatened his father to give him the allowance by taking his mother as a hostage at the same time. Lack of conversation within a family led to this kind of awful story.

In the children's point of view, hearing sharp words could lead to the cause of their stress. Instead of scolding them for the purpose of education, listening to their opinion would be important. Although the children are too young to process rationally, asking them for their own reasons of actions and then adding on the parents' opinions would soften the tension between them. What measures could be taken to reduce the conflict between the parents and the grown-up children? It is not easy to embrace all the cases, but the essence is to not stick to one's opinions, and listen to each other sincerely. The concept of "family" is different with "strangers". There is a huge chance of being ungenerous and straightforward because family members feel comfortable. However, family are partners to spend whole lives with. An ideal family would be achieved if all people around the world respect their family a little more.

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RELATIONSHIP



A TALK ABOUT DENUCLEARIZATION

One of the key political events of the international society in 2018 is the spring in Korean Peninsula, with 3 inter-Korean summits and the first ever North Korea-United States summit in history. While these summits have raised positive foreign press comments on the progress of two Koreas, they have also raised negative views claiming that there were no tangible results about denuclearization. The essence of the joint declarations between Seoul and Pyongyang is a declaration of the end of the Korean war and a promise of denuclearization in the Korean Peninsula. However, the question of which - denuclearization or alleviation on sanctions - should come first is still an ongoing debate.

North Korea claims that denuclearization would be achievable only after the international society eases the sanctions. As a matter of fact, in July, North Korea actually did repatriate corpses of American soldiers as they consented in the Singapore summit. Moreover, it claimed that it has stopped nuclear and intercontinental ballistic missile(ICBM) tests and shut down the Punggye-ri nuclear testing site, where nuclear tests were carried out 6 times over the last decade. Thus, North Korea stresses out that it is America's turn to take steps to alleviate and criticizes Washington for not doing so. China and Russia possess a common stance with North Korea. Xi Jinping, who had 3 summits with Kim Jung-Un supports North Korea in order to boost Chinese influence on Asia over America for the possibility of the United States Forces Korea(USFK) withdrawing from the Korean Peninsula. Furthermore, Putin enforced Russia's relations with North Korea by resuming exports via North Korean Najin port, which can potentially bring huge economic

benefits. Hence, now there is a confrontation between 2 poles: one that consists of North Korea, China, Russia and another that includes the US and Japan. North Korea criticizes the coercive foreign policies of the US that do not conduct any reciprocal steps. Overall, North Korea asserts that denuclearization and mitigation on sanctions should come together, while the US maintains that denuclearization should always come first. In the sight of North Korea, it pursues 'cooperative denuclearization', while the US doesn't get out from the inertia of 'coercive denuclearization'. The US only wants submission of North Korea with no interest in exchanging options whatsoever.

The US stresses that lifting sanctions would be taken into account only when the North demonstrates verifiable and irreversible steps to denuclearization, based on the concept of "the final, fully verified denuclearization(FFVD)". Washington shows skepticism towards the shut down of the Punggye-ri nuclear testing site, since Pyongyang only allowed the press to watch it, not the nuclear experts. Also, since the United Kingdom and France, which are the permanent members of the UN Security Council, are against mitigating sanctions towards North Korea despite the diplomatic efforts of President Moon, there are no means to reverse the already-adopted 9 resolutions of the UN Security Council. In October, Stephen Biegun, the United States Special Representative for North Korea, visited Moscow, Paris and Brussels to make clear that they should not relax the sanctions. Not only UN, but also EU is on the same stance, stressing that denuclearization is a prerequisite of economic aids. In this respect, Washington believes that the sanctions played a role in enforcing Pyongyang to be on the negotiating

table, and declares that 'sanction' and 'dialogue' are two different matters. The US requested exhaustive implementation of the sanctions by holding a session in the UN Security Council, as the application became somewhat loose by China and Russia. While some foreign experts prospect the possibility of the phased easing of sanctions, the US at status quo holds a hard line. Furthermore, the Trump administration expresses its concern to South Korea about the speed of progress in inter-Korean relations. It emphasizes that the speed must go with that of denuclearization.

South Korea has become a mediator between North Korea and the US, but nowadays it seems as if it lost its balance by representing the former. By visiting and dispatching envoys to those countries, President Moon tried to maintain dialogues between them continuously. Beyond that, hurrying to improve ties with the North, he is heading for a different direction with other countries. The South is planning economic cooperation by railway project, building railroads and linking its territory with the North. Also, it is trying to defuse tension on the Korean Peninsula by disarmament in the Joint Security Area(JSA) and through the withdrawal of 11 Guard Posts. Foreign press, including The Guardian and AP News, are skeptical about this, stating that President Moon is gambling with North Korea and it could make America unsettled. Furthermore, the permanent members of the UN Security Council such as France and the United Kingdom both went separate ways with South Korea, even though President Moon requested to ease the sanctions. Also, the Asia-Europe Meeting(ASEM) leaders practically did the same by adopting Chair's Statement stating CVID on presidential statement.

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After all, the problem is that the series of actions to ease military tensions cannot guarantee the safety of Korean Peninsula, because North Korea can disturb the peace phase anywhere anytime. Recall that it has dozens of nuclear bombs and technology that can convey them as far as the US mainland. Besides, the economic cooperation such as building roads and railways can be useless if provocation of the North occurs. We must keep pace with the international society in step, and not be led by the North. The issue is that the foreign policy on progress puts priority of the North's interests rather than the South's. Most countries including the US do not allow appeasement of the sanctions. Considering the North's armed provocations and its nuclear tests violating UN resolutions, the South should not delude themselves that permanent peace is nearby. Under Article 4 of the Constitution of South Korea, the president has a duty to pursue unification and it is crucial to maintain peace in this golden opportunity. However, the South must doubt if its current policies really did contribute greatly to a permanent peace. We must guard against inflated optimism. Hence, is peace truly achievable in this status quo?



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1. Cooperative denuclearization - North Korea's stance on denuclearization step by step, through a mutual participation of give and take. Coercive denuclearization - The United States' stance that easing sanctions is possible only after North Korea completes its denuclearization.
2. Previously known as "the complete, verifiable and irreversible dismantlement(CVID)", FFVD is another terminology used after the Singapore Summit to avoid arousal of Pyongyang.

KOREAN-CHINESE. ARE THEY REALLY DANGEROUS?

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Korean-Chinese are the people who initially lived in Yanbian, China, but have the same ancestors as Koreans. Today many of them are living in Korea. The influx of population was made in the 1980s for the purpose of finding jobs. According to the ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the number increased to 470,000 in 2015. Although they are part of our society, they tend to have the negative image. For example, before the personal information of Gangseo-gu PC room case's offender was opened to the public, there were ongoing rumors that the crime was committed by Korean-Chinese laborers. This gossip illustrates how our society tends to see Korean-Chinese workers as potential criminals, which shows "xenophobia characteristics".

However, throughout the history of Korean-Chinese workers' crime, these xenophobia characteristics are such an understandable phenomenon. For instance, 'Won Chun Oh case' which is the mutilation murder, stirred up Korean's hatred toward the Korean-Chinese. Furthermore, numerous news on conflicts between the Koreans and Korean-Chinese in Daerim-dong made us have prejudices against Korean-Chinese that they are dangerous group of people. In addition, statistics reported

by National Police Agency in 2016, which show that 61.3% of foreign crimes were committed by Korean-Chinese, enhance the hostility against them.

Nonetheless, this bitterness seems to be unfair to the Korean-Chinese. According to the National Police Agency statistics in 2016, the rate of criminal per 100,000 Korean-Chinese accounted for only 3% which is a similar level compared to other foreign groups. According to Korean Immigration Service, in 2016, Korean-Chinese population takes up more than the half of the foreigners in Korea. Therefore, it is no wonder that their number of crimes accounts for more than half the percentage out of the total foreign crime statistics. This rate demonstrates that the Korean-Chinese are not that much detrimental to our society as we recognize. Thus, from this analysis, it is obvious that the pessimistic stereotype on Korean-Chinese was framed by our misconception.

After all, what puts us into looking through blue glasses on the Korean-Chinese is mass media. Many movie directors of the noir genre tend to use Korean-Chinese as aggressive characters and roles. This trend is well depicted in movies such as 'The Yellow Sea' and 'The Outlaws'. To attract the audiences through

provocative scenes, directors and supervisory groups relate Korean-Chinese to human trafficking. Although it's far from the truth, this leads people to judge Korean-Chinese as inhumane and dangerous killers.

These misunderstandings need to be broken because Korea's industry heavily depends on the Korean-Chinese. First, most of the small or medium sized businesses consist of Korean-Chinese laborers because of the local's 3D(Difficult, Dangerous, Dirty) avoidance phenomenon. Furthermore, by hiring Korean-Chinese laborers, the corporations reduce the production costs leading to improved competitiveness. If Korean-Chinese stop working and go back to their hometown, Korea's industry will suffer from the manpower shortage and an increase in expenses. This will affect big corporations like SAMSUNG or LG because they are connected with those subcontractors. Second, Korean-Chinese can act as a bridge for the Korean corporation's expansion in China. Since Korean-Chinese can speak both languages, they can serve a role as a translator which is



necessary for the communication between the two companies. For example, many small-sized companies are hiring Korean-Chinese to make their way to Chinese market. Moreover, their personal connections and understanding of Chinese culture can contribute to the firm's successful settlement in China.

To consistently carry out the advantages mentioned above, it is essential for Koreans to keep a positive and stable relationship with

the Korean-Chinese. To achieve this goal, the Korean government has to change the method of multicultural education because the Korean government today educates the Korean-Chinese to just accept the Korean culture ignoring their own. The side effect of this system may cause grievances of the Korean-Chinese. Therefore, multicultural education should be changed into a two-way method. In this way, both native Korean and Korean-Chinese can make a great harmony by learning each other's lifestyles and ways of thinking. Hence through this fusion of two cultures, we can expect a diverse culture to flourish, which will abundantly contribute to Korea becoming a multicultural society.

In order to establish a harmonious society, the most important element would be our way of treating Korean-Chinese, who consist the majority of foreigners in Korea. The native Koreans tend to have a prejudice that the Korean-Chinese are uneducated and uncivilized because most of them were poor and unskilled laborers in the past. In the march of time, however, their educational level have increased and many of them have become skillful workers. In this way, it is time for us to break our misconceived stereotypes. Recognizing the essential role and the fact that we all are in the same ethnic group can be a milestone to a peaceful society.

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ANOTHER PATRIOTISM



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Imagine you are a teacher in elementary school. In a class, you are supervising a class meeting. Before starting a meeting, all students should pledge allegiance to the nation, but there is an obtrusive girl who do not pledge. So the class president points out a girl's act and writes her name to give a penalty. Then she cries quietly and says she can't pledge because of her religion. Finally, class president withdraws penalty and apologizes to her. In this situation, you, as a teacher, have a duty to teach your students' activities. Will you praise the president's

actions? Or will you scold it? When you hear this story, you will probably say that it's appropriate to praise the act of the president for understanding the religion. But in October, 2017, the same thing happened in Windfern High School of Texas and a student by the name of "India Landry" was expelled because she refused to stand up for national rituals. So she and her family took a lawsuit against the decision of expel. In a court, she insisted that the flag does not represent freedom, justice, and the current country does not function as

government to protect people's right. So she said that rejecting the Pledge of allegiance is a protest of silence and the expulsion decision is an infringement on the freedom of expression. In this respect, the attorney general of Texas, Ken Paxton, advocated the decision of the school, saying that "Requiring the pledge to be recited at the start of every school day has the laudable result of fostering respect for our flag and a patriotic love of our country."

This story between patriotism and Pledge of Allegiance began last year

when NFL players protested the Trump government, which tolerates racism. In this respect, the Trump government criticized the rejection of the salutation to the national flag, saying that it is not respecting everything in the United States. The demonstration, which started with a protest against racism, caused heated controversy. What makes these series of stories interesting is that the protest against racism, the kneeling protest, has suddenly changed into a clash of patriotism and personal freedom over the Pledge of Allegiance.

Surprisingly, however, the controversy has existed from the birth of Pledge of Allegiance. The Pledge of

Allegiance was written by Francis Bellamy on Columbus Day with the aim of healing the reunification and fragmentation of the divided federations after the Civil War of 1861 and assimilating immigrants who were beginning to flow in at that time. It was mandatory for public schools to pledge by the state law during the American-Spanish War in 1898, and in 1942, it became the official covenant of the Commonwealth. In 1954, the federal government added the phrase “under god”, which was defined the complete form of pledge. This “under god” phrase was added to create a distinction from atheistic communism under pressure by Catholic institution, ‘The knights of Columbus’. From this point of view, the debate surrounding the Pledge of Allegiance has been

controversial about the freedom of expression and freedom of religion from the beginning of the establishment. After the amendment in 1954, controversy about the violation of establishment clause, which prohibits to enforce religion by government, rose.

There is a representative example of Jehovah’s Witnesses in the controversy about Pledge of Allegiance. In 1933, when Jehovah’s Witnesses in Germany were imprisoned for refusing Hitler’s Nazi salutations, they designated Pledge of Allegiance as worship of idols, insisting freedom of conscience and religion in the United States. But the core of debate is a conflict between patriotism and individual liberty with Pledge of Allegiance. The most prominent claim supporting the pledge can be seen from Trump’s words about recent kneeling protest. Trump said, “The act of not respecting the heritage of the United States means not respecting everything in the United States.” In other words, the supporter of the pledge understands



the Pledge of Allegiance as patriotism itself and equates the flag with the state. This is in line with the 1937 and 1938 state court rulings in Georgia and California that Pledge of Allegiance is patriotic event which do not infringe the fundamental rights of the people. Moreover, the proponents argue that oath on national flags was established and widespread during wartime, and since the 1954 amendment also has the historical context of anti-communism, the connection between Pledge of Allegiance and Patriotism must take account of this historical context. On the other hand, the opponents insisted that current pledge does not include all of the American people owing to the white-based values that exclude Native American Indians from the base of oath to the flag, such as the day of Columbus, the Knight of Columbus. In addition, after the 1954 amendment, the phrase “under god” is contrary to the principle of segregation of church and government, which claims to be an attack on the conscience of non-religious people.

The controversy over the salutation of these flags is still in progress, and it seems difficult to come to a

conclusion. But the most important thing in this controversy is that the argument about saluting the flag should never be judged by patriotism. A good example is the behavior of a class leader in our previous example and our assessment of it. When we exclude the argument between pledge and patriotism, we can think that the act of the president apologizing and respecting the behavior of the girl who did not pledge for religious reasons was right, for the reason that it is democracy to acknowledge and respect differences. The recent issue on Pledge of Allegiance is also



in the same context. Rejecting the pledge was not to deny and ignore the country. The original reason of resistance against the pledge was because the state could not keep the most basic democratic values that people should not be judged by their skin color. Isn’t trying to correct what the state ought to do when it doesn’t, a patriotism?



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Look at them the way they look at you

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Compare to most of the western societies, owning companion animals is a new trend growing up in South Korea. Prior to this boom, animals had a very utilitarian purpose in people's daily lives. After industrialization and economic development, increase in their disposable income encouraged people to adopt companion animals as part of their families. This new trend has affected not only the pet industry, commercialization, and medicalization, but also the integration and relationship that humans build with their companion animals.

Considering owners' attitudes towards their companion animals today, it is visible that their relationships with animals are highly close to those with a child or another member of the family. Some might concern how human beings can form such a strong bond with their animals, but embracing them as part of people's lives can possibly contribute to different formations of a relationship. According to the *Companion Animal Death*, there are three main streams

for achieving a substantial relationship with their pets: the animal into one's primary support system, the animal having unique personality characteristics, and having gone through salient life circumstances together. When an animal

fulfills human attachment needs, its emotional support and companionship can foster one's insight and development. This now further leads to the interdependence of them. The interdependence insists that this is not a one-way relationship where owners simply take care of them, but is a mutual influence in which they interact and build the sense of bond together.

Human benefits that come from companion animals are countless, and are highly noticeable in our society today. Dog companionship has a high correlation with the increased levels of physical activity, which fosters a healthier lifestyle by encouraging outdoor activities. Recognition of the companion animal keeping advantages has led to animal-assisted therapies at schools, hospitals, nursing homes, and prisons.

Moreover, strong attachment to their animals made owners provide better treatments, thus leading to increased availability of pet products and services. Along with the increased disposable income, their willingness to invest in their pets boosted the commercialization of the pet industry. In order to fulfill the customers' demands to offer a wide range of foods and treats for their animals, pet foods have changed from standard tins and flavors to premium products tailored to specific breeds, groups or to their nutritional requirements.

Animals were only taken to vets in serious cases, but today's veterinary services mirror the medical services available to human. Preventative



treatments such as vaccinations for pets are more than required for their longevity, and regular appointments for their health check-ups seem common. The increase of pet caring costs has led to the advent of the pet insurance industry, which ensures that owners get their animals covered for costly medical treatments in the future.

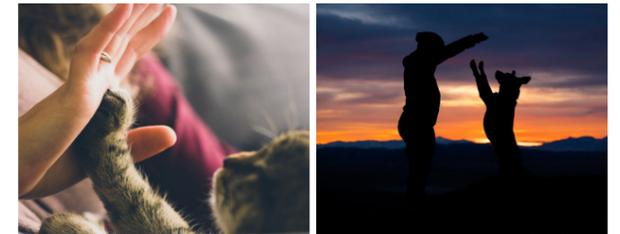
Being accompanied by pets in humans' daily lives also yields some side effects that seem out of place. One of the social issues that has risen recently in the number of pet ownership is the popularity of specific breeds regarding the trend and their looks. Those who are interested in adopting companion animals make an impulsive decision without careful research on how certain the animal fits into their lifestyles. The media or perceptions are very risky in terms of providing the wrong image and information of certain breeds. For instance, in England, when Jonathan Ross was featured with a French Bulldog, suddenly, the number of enquiries about French Bulldogs had increased (Fox, Rebekah R, and Nancy R. Gee). This also reflects that people seem to choose a breed at a whim, rather than considering more practical factors into adopting them. It most certainly is too late for owners to give up their animals after they bring them home because once being left out, it will be more than simply traumatic for animals.

Furthermore, in order to meet the consumer's demand for puppies, there are puppy mills, also known as the "Dog Factory", in Korea. Illegal breeders keep dogs and puppies in small, filthy cages amid their own waste to produce as many puppies as possible. Many perceive this as one of the biggest social issues that deteriorates a healthy companion animal environment by abusing and exploiting the innocent animals. Puppy mills serve as key puppy providers for the pet stores not only in



Korea but also in numerous Asian countries. Excessive breeding will soon bring about millions of animals who will later be abandoned and die in animal shelters.

A relatively closer relationship and attachment with animals today increased understandings of animal behaviour and training that is greatly crucial for their pleasant coexistence. This phenomenon is evident in the social pressure to be the responsible dog owners not only in Korean society today, but also in a global society as a whole. Ensuring that animals are well-behaving in a humanized world posing no harm, and taking a good care of their animals are expected.

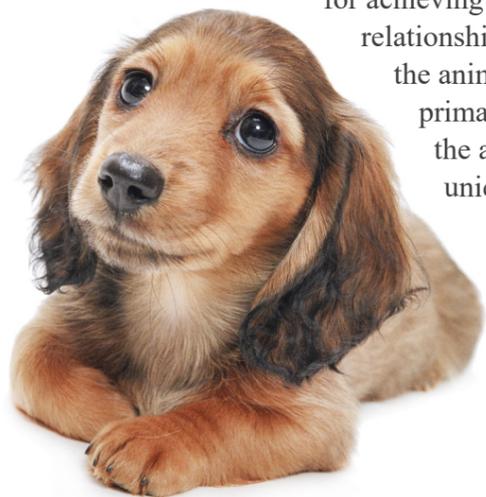


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Hello DANGEROUS stranger: the hazards of internet relationship

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Do you know the movie, ‘Searching(2018)’? This film tells the story of a father looking for his missing daughter. Okay, this might be a very predictable and normal story. Then, what’s so special about this movie? It’s that the father tracks his daughter through the internet, the social media. The entire story is told through a Macbook monitor from the beginning to the end of the film, and the father finally succeeds in finding his daughter through the internet. This is the world we are currently living, in the year of 2018. The advent of the internet has brought a brand-new world to us, especially in the field of relationships. Compared with the previous age when we had to make relationships in person, the internet has introduced a simpler way to make

friends. And this new type of exchange is called ‘internet relationship.’

Internet relationship is a relationship consisting of two or more people on the internet ‘who have never met in real life’. Then, exactly where on the internet does this relationship form? As more and more people get access to the internet through the computer, smartphones and so on, various platforms for internet relationships have been created. We call them ‘Social Networking Service’, for examples Facebook, Kakaotalk, Twitter, and Instagram. Through these online services, we can create internet relationships easily and simply. Along with these advantages, unfortunately, there also came some side effects which are the crimes through them.

The first problem to the internet relationship is cyber-stalking. According to the Act on Promotion of Information and Communication Network and Information Protection, cyber-stalking is an online crime that uses SNS to contact others repeatedly in ways that cause fear or anxiety. The violations of this law could result in imprisonment for up to one year or fine up to 10 million won. A famous Korean private broadcaster ‘BJ Kim Eve’ was cyberstalked. An anonymous man had been so obsessed with her that he sent obscene messages for the past five years through Instagram. Although ‘BJ Kim Eve’ told him to stop his cyber-stalking, he did not stop until she warned that she was going to sue him. According to the National Police Agency, the number of cyber-stalking crackdowns exceeded 500 in 2017 from 312 in 2013. However, the actual number of cyber-stalking cases is expected to be higher

because it is an antragsdelikt, which cannot be prosecuted without a complaint by the victim. Cyber-stalking often leads to offline crimes, which cause fear upon victims. In addition, the juridical punishment on the perpetrator is far less than the pain the victims suffer.

The second problem of internet relationship is that it leads to the exposure of teenage sex crimes. There are some smartphone applications like ‘Gaga Live’, or ‘Chat With A Stranger’, where one can chat with anonymous people selected randomly. Due to the fact that anyone can sign up with little or no personal information, the random chat applications guarantee stronger anonymity of their users. Thus, it becomes a medium for illegal activities regarding sex crimes. Moreover, it is exceptionally related to sex crimes of teenagers. According to a survey conducted by the ‘Ministry of Gender Equality and Family’, more than half of the total number of sex trafficking routes among teenagers was found to be related to the random chat applications. They reported that because random chat applications guarantee anonymity and barely require certification processes, they are thought of as having the best environment for prostitution of teenagers. There is no doubt that prostitution itself is already a flagrant offense. However, it becomes more severe if it is committed with teenagers and crimes would be punished by ‘Children and Young Boys and Girls Sex Protection Law’. Thus, preventing these crimes by deliberating harmfulness in anonymous conversations is the best, but it is said to be difficult because it violates the Communications Secret Law. This is the reality, where it is difficult to prevent crimes even on teenagers.

Through internet relationship, we can further contact people on the opposite side of the earth quickly and efficiently. However, there are so many side effects of an internet relationship.

Cyber-stalking and easier exposure of teenagers on sex crimes are just part of the many other problems and one characteristic found in both crimes is that the anonymity of internet relationships is misused. The government should confront these crimes squarely by providing strong policies. In particular, to prevent second convictions, criminals must be punished more strictly than they are now. Also, random chat applications should be designated as a youth-hazardous application, only limited to adults. Not only that, individuals need to be careful when forming relationships on the internet as well. The primary precaution for internet crimes is to avoid spilling one’s own data to strangers online. With these governmental and individual efforts, the crimes emerging through the internet relationship can be reduced.

The advances in internet technology have given us numerous benefactions such as convenience and expanded freedom of expression. However, it is our responsibility for the problems that have arisen from the misuse of the internet. Therefore, the efforts of many people are necessary to deal with these problems and make healthy internet relationships.



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<https://m.post.naver.com/viewer/postView.nhn?volumeNo=5206932&memberNo=11291600&vType=VERTICAL>

<아시아경제: “한 번만 더 이딴 짓 해봐”...bj 김이브 5년간 ‘사이버 스토킹’ 시달려...처벌 규정 강화될까>
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RELATIONSHIP

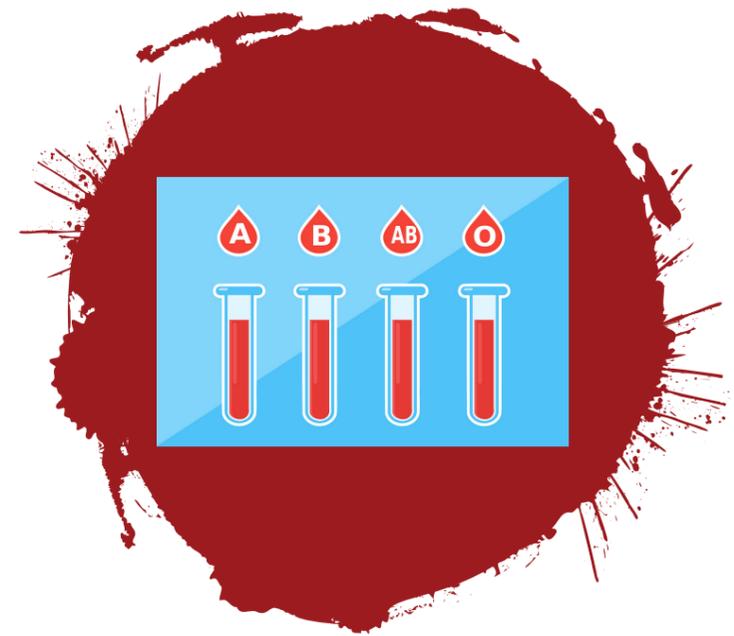


BLOODY CHARACTERISTICS

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There are 4 blood types consisting of this world, A, B, O, and AB. People believe that each blood type has different personality traits which make each person unique in their own ways. This superstition is quite similar to how astrological signs are supposed as influencing factors in a person's life in other countries. The blood type personality indicator theory established in Japan was made in response to contrary to ethnic stereotypes coming from Europe. The widespread belief originates from publications in the 1970s by Masahiko Nomi. The interest about blood types faded in the 1930s. However it was revived in the 1970s with a book by Masahiko Nomi, a journalist with no medical background. Few Japanese psychologists critiqued him at that time, so he continued to statistically demonstrate significant data in various fields and published several books with these results. In some countries, blood type is just one thing out of many that bonds the human races together, and most of us don't think much about our blood group unless we need a transfusion. In eastern Asian countries like Korea and Japan, however, blood type has big implications for work, life, and love. "What's your blood type?" is a common key question in everything from job applications to matchmaking.

Let's take a deeper look at Korean beliefs of blood types. In Korean culture, Type A is said to be considerate of others and loyal to a



fault. They can also be secretive and reluctant to share their feelings. Apparently, they don't hold their liquor well, either. Ever since early times type B men did not have the best reputation in Korea. They are not considered by many to be a good husband material and repeatedly described as 'players'. An unexplainable reason but type B women do not share the same traits or have the bad reputation, despite the fact that they are both type B. According to standard beliefs, type As are sensitive and good team players, but over-anxious. Type Os generous but stubborn while, ABs are mysterious and unpredictable, lastly, type Bs are cheerful but individualistic and selfish. In a population, about 40% are type A, and 30% type O, while only 20% are type B, with a minimum of 10% for type AB.

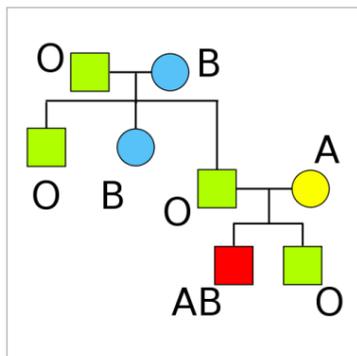
Through this it can be inferred that blood type also depends on which gender you are. Type AB's are referred to as 'humanists' and are said to be measured more by their heads, rather than by their hearts. They are rational, good with money, but unpredictable. Some consider them two-faced, and therefore untrustworthy. Type O's are referred to as 'warriors', and are seen as leaders or natural athletes. They tend to be outgoing, expressive and passionate, but can also bigmouth others with their obsessive drive

for success attached with their absolute beliefs that they are winners.

There have been books describing the different blood groups characteristics that became a massive publishing sensation, selling more than five million copies. Television shows, newspapers and magazines frequently publish blood type horoscopes and debate relationship as well as friendship compatibility. Many dating agencies and sites provide to blood types.

Additionally, popular anime, manga, and video games often mention a character's blood type so you can relate and picture the character more in your head. For an example, there was a popular film in Korea called, "My boyfriend is type B". The basic foundation of this film comes from the blood type personality theory, which claims that a person's blood type can determine their personality traits. The protagonist, Han-Mi is type A, making her conservative and introverted while her love interest is type B. In this film, type B is played by a young man who is handsome, but obnoxious. Throughout the movie, the heroine's cousin and professional dating consultant constantly warns Ha-mi against dating a type B men because they have player traits.

It's interesting how people can see you differently which can affect the blood type they assume you are. In the U.S blood types are not important compared to East Asian countries



like Korea and Japan. Therefore, unless an individual specifically gets it checked, nobody tells one when a baby is born. An

estimate of 70% of Americans do not know their blood type whereas only 3% of Koreans do not know theirs. Blood typing is not a normal process in the states, while in Asian culture it is asked in a great amount of places. Unless one is extremely ill and in need of a blood transfusion, typing is never done in the U.S. Yet, it should be smart for any individual to know their blood type before getting into an emergency situation. Blood types is a fun topic to talk about with your peers and discuss different relationships you had with each blood type. Although there have been assumptions and theories about blood types there are still no positive facts about them. One shouldn't think about this topic too hard because at the end of the day this should be talked about for fun. Nobody should be judged off by of a blood type because every individual has unique traits.



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FANDOM CULTURE, WHERE ARE YOU HEADING?

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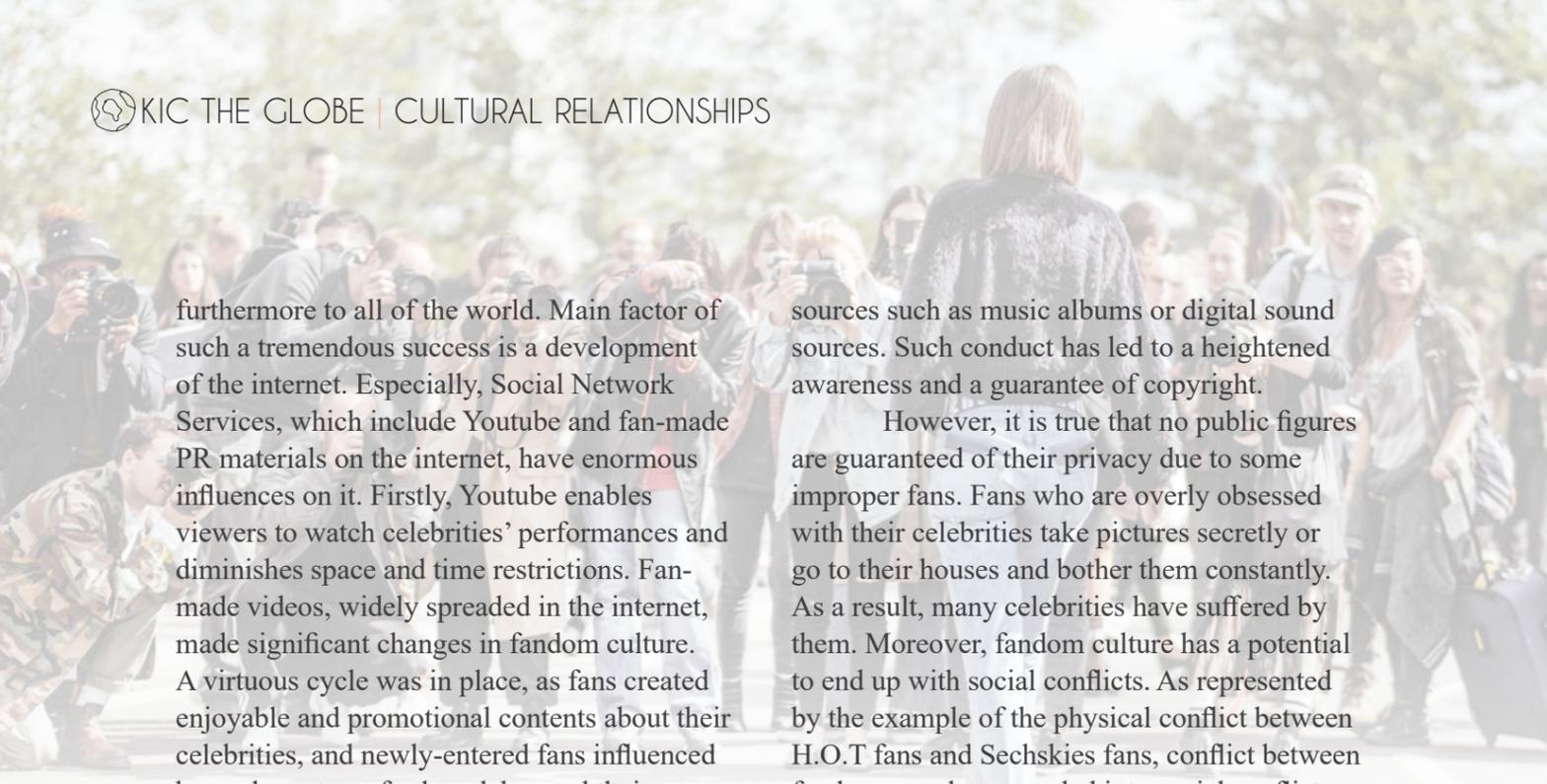
Do you know what fandom is? The word 'Fandom' is a Portmanteau, a combination of two words 'fanatic' and 'kingdom.' In this regard, fandom can be defined as a kingdom of people who are fanatic to the same object. It is commonly used to describe a group of fans who are fanatic to celebrities, often referred as 'idol' in South Korea. From singer Cho Yong-pil's 'oppa' unit in the 1980s to the current fandom structure, it has been believed that the fandoms will continuously grow and be more active in the future.

The first generation fandoms are composed of teenagers, ballooning, offline schedule and regional fan club. Teenagers joined the fandom, in which they supported and shared their culture. Colors of the balloons were the most representative symbols of the fandom in 1990s; for example, while H.O.T was represented by white, Sechskies was represented by yellow. Participating in the offline schedule was the only way of meeting idols directly. Whenever there was performance schedule of idols, their fans, waited for their idols with a raincoat of its own color. Since fans did not have many opportunities to meet their

idols directly, fans showed their sincerity by waving balloons at the concert hall.

In contrast to direct meetings which demanded much efforts, indirect meetings allowed individuals to access to idols more easily. The first generation of fandom used PC communication such as Chunlian and Hitel. Chunlian and Hitel are open chat rooms, which allowed people to communicate anonymously online. Members of the fandom contacted with one another using PC communications, in order to strengthen their relationships. As relationships were tightly connected within the group, there was a strong sense of hatred towards other fandoms. Here is a famous anecdote that took place in front of Haeoreum Theater in Jangchung-dong, Seoul on December 5, 1998. It was the day of announcement of the 13th Korea Video Music Golden Disk Awards. The H.O.T fan club "club HOT" and Sechskies fan club "DSF", which were the two most popular fandoms at that time, had physical conflicts over who will win the award. The happening was featured on the 9 o'clock news for its specialness - first accident that fandom informed the public of its existence.

The second generation fandoms were formed in 2000s, and the third generation fandoms were structured around 2010s. Fandoms were expanded to those who are in their 20s to 30s, and



furthermore to all of the world. Main factor of such a tremendous success is a development of the internet. Especially, Social Network Services, which include Youtube and fan-made PR materials on the internet, have enormous influences on it. Firstly, Youtube enables viewers to watch celebrities' performances and diminishes space and time restrictions. Fan-made videos, widely spreaded in the internet, made significant changes in fandom culture. A virtuous cycle was in place, as fans created enjoyable and promotional contents about their celebrities, and newly-entered fans influenced by such contents further elaborated their own ones. Also, having own cheering rods for each fandom made fandoms more cooperative. Instead of the balloons symbolizing each fandom's own character, cheering rods now take place of balloons. Fans purchase them as a group and feel the sense of belonging by waving the same cheering rods at the concert hall.

Above effectively explains the fandom history in South Korea, from its beginning to today over the span of 20 years. The fandom culture not only has its positive sides, but also has negative aspects. The most positive effect of fandom culture is that it revitalizes the donation culture. It is pretty common for fandoms to make a donation on an anniversary, such as idol's debut date or each member's birthday date. Such activity makes individuals feel a lot closer to donation; easy, fruitful work rather than a distant task. As a result of pervasive donation activities compared to the past, modern Korean society has become more ideal. Another positive side is about securing the music market. From the past, Korea has a vulnerable music market rising from illegal music sources through unregulated websites. However, the fandom culture stimulated the act of purchasing legal music

sources such as music albums or digital sound sources. Such conduct has led to a heightened awareness and a guarantee of copyright.

However, it is true that no public figures are guaranteed of their privacy due to some improper fans. Fans who are overly obsessed with their celebrities take pictures secretly or go to their houses and bother them constantly. As a result, many celebrities have suffered by them. Moreover, fandom culture has a potential to end up with social conflicts. As represented by the example of the physical conflict between H.O.T fans and Sechskies fans, conflict between fandoms can be expanded into social conflicts. The division between 'we' and 'they' is evident in the fandom culture, which may be the cause of bigger social conflict. As the sense of belonging is the key factor of maintaining a society, dividing into the groups within the same society is reckoned as a risky attempt.

Regarding all things, how should the fandom culture change? Fandom needs to know its own social impact, and should make an effort to make a better society. Rather than being overly obsessed with idols, members of fandoms should do their duties in advance. Also, the division between fandoms should be disappeared.

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SUPERSTITION? I'M A BIT SUSPICIOUS

Superstition is the system of beliefs in supernatural forces, originated from the ignorance or fear of the unknown. In the modern world we live in, people still believe in superstitions. These beliefs and paranormal thinkings can be divided into three types: cultural, religious and personal. Some universal superstitions common in most cultures are beliefs of numerical connotations and fear of numbers. In many countries, number 7 is represented as lucky and number 13 is considered unfortunate. In South Korea, number 4 is regarded so cursed that most buildings mark the fourth floor as 'F' instead of the number '4'. Each culture has its unique sets of superstitions and such beliefs have existed for a long time throughout the human history. Every known civilization to date had some sort of beliefs or myths that were crucial to their culture.

This leads to the question of why people tend to become superstitious. Some studies have shown that stress makes people become "more superstitious." The

act of being superstitious allows one to have a sense of control and reduce anxiety, especially in times of economic crisis and social uncertainty. When people start feeling desperate from their hardships, superstition either puts them at ease or allows them to hold their mistake towards supernatural forces such as God. The effects of stress not only give in to rituals, but also people are more likely to "see" things that do not actually exist.

An example of those who can see supernatural forces are called exorcists. Most religions believe that people can become controlled by demonic spirits, which rule out mental or physical illnesses. The Catholic church lists the symptoms to be: loss of appetite, unnatural body postures, changes in the person's face or voice, ability to predict future events, and a cold feeling in the room. Moreover, there are other signs that include having an intense hatred towards religion, which are lashing out, losing control, and having antipathy towards the church. The 21st



century Catholic reports that most cases do not involve exorcism because of its extreme rarity and in most instances, it is someone who desperately needs medical help. In the case where exorcism is needed, the ordained priest recites prayers such as Our Father, Hail Mary, and the Athanasian Creed and uses religious materials to invoke God.

As a subsequent of this belief, a movie based on a true-life story called 'Exorcist' was made. According to the story, 23-year-old Anneliese Michel had been suffering convulsions and experiencing hallucinations, which resulted in severe depression and an impulse to commit suicide. Anneliese performed more than 600 genuflections a day, crawled under the tables, barked like a dog and ate spiders, coals, and dead birds. She even licked her own urine



off the ground and screamed for hours. Her request for an exorcist was granted after 2 years and the priests identified six demons inside her. A few years later, she had died from pneumonia and emaciation as her parents and priests neglected her, allowing Anneliese to starve to death.

Another form of strong belief people hold to such high accounts is astrology, the harmonization of science and spirit by using the Earth's orbit around the sun as a reference for the precise plotting of the planetary movements. The locations of the Sun, Moon, and planets mysteriously reveal the purpose of one's life. One can compare the birth chart with the movements of the planets and look into the future. A common example of astrology are the horoscopes. They base where the celestial bodies were on the day you were born. It is supposedly able to read one's ascension path and to provide the clarity of one's love, family, health, career, finance, education, experience, and spirit. Astrology gives individuals the power to

understand their potentials from their strengths and weaknesses to answer life's most difficult challenges and shows the path of success.

Superstitions have been passed on throughout generations and accepted without any real reasoning. They have been cultivated in our culture as the norm, and even with new technology and science, these superstitions lie by our feet. When one does not have the strength and the understanding to face a challenging situation, people resort to these superstitions and Holy Spirits to get some sense of relief. Attaining relief or strength from these superstitions is not necessarily bad, as they can give people the inner strength, the little push, to face these difficult

situations. The problem arises when one completely relies on these beliefs and makes no effort to own up to these so-called destinies. Rather than claiming these fallacies are the "only ways," finding other more realistic solutions and acting on one's situation seems to be more important.



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IS IT SO HARD FOR YOU TO JUST WATCH A MOVIE?

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These days, there are countless media contents like movies, games, television dramas and many more. As many as the contents are, they have become to deal with much more variety of issues than before. When media contents portray their ideas to people who have different views, some people feel as if they are forcing such arguments on them and they can sometimes lead to the extreme degree of antipathy. Which perspective do you have? There are so many topics about that problem, but faction movie problem is one of the most controversial issue among them.

"Faction" means a fiction based on facts. Faction films promote themselves through real events, and we naturally pay attention to them because the reality causes our curiosity. For this reason, we should investigate various examples to perceive them at core. Here are two movies based on fact, <The spy gone North> and <1987>, which represent some of the well-known factions movies in Korea, and are relatively rated higher by critics than other Korean movies. Firstly, in the case of <The spy gone North>, there is an agent who actually infiltrated North Korea under the code name "Black Venus", and the movie progresses following his testimony. In <1987>, under the rule of the junta, it shows growing desire of democratization through the narratives of various individuals. Both were perceived by the people as left-leaning films after the release, but the ratings by the audience were quite

different. Although <1987> was regarded as a film to defend the left side to some groups, it was highly rated by both critics and audiences, because of its excellent storytelling and brilliant Mise-en-Scène.

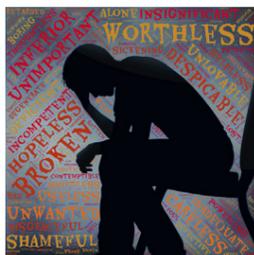
<The spy gone North> was also uncommon in a way that it showed a sense of excellence in creating a tremendous dramatic tension with only a psychological warfare, not a gunfight. It also confirmed us the possibility of prosperity in Korean espionage thriller. Nevertheless, many people left negative comments because the movie deliberately misrepresents the conservative side, distorts the history of the that time, and advocates for the progressive side. Even so it is regarded that movie is romanticizing North Korea. Its composition of story is mainly based on a testimony of "Black Venus", and his testimony have had aspects being able to defend the progressives. So in the process of adapting it dramatically, it exaggeratedly describes the confrontation between the conservatives and the progressives. Such thing gives impression that it looks like a propaganda movie for the progressive side. In addition to that, some arguments about those films alert the audience the reason of diverse reactions.

First of all, the key reason is that the background of <The spy gone North> is not exactly fixed history unlike <1987>. Wide range of audience strongly believes faction will deliver accurate history and they want to sympathize the

accurate facts. So they feel uncomfortable about delivering the story which seems to advocate their opponents by using the disputable facts. In the worst case, someone expresses the hostility and denies just watching even if that film was successful in both the critics and box office. Such people are often obsessed with one scene that is not directly related to the main topic of the movie, but just for the dramatic fun. Secondly, after watching a movie, people usually try to think about the history in movies without studying more of the “real” facts outside them. Considering that curiosity and demand to know the truth are the original motivations of the audiences to watch the faction movie, it looks so ironic. Many people just want to accept the ideas the factions deliver. It almost feels like that they want to study through movies. This problem comes from excessive expectation for movies. Movies, especially those popular movies, clearly regard a variety of conditions including popular preferences, political situations and social issues. Of course, it must be considered in the aspects of their social influences. But ultimately, movie is just one of the products produced by a certain person who has specific thoughts, belief and intention. Therefore, we have to focus on the facts that faction is anyway a kind of “fiction”. Even if it introduces itself representing a neutral and objective documentary, we should accommodate it critically.

Some might say “Anyway, I pay to watch movies. Why do you care?”. However, this is not that an easy problem with such a narrow view. Although above example only represents one of the numerous faction artworks, the suggested attitudes should

apply to all types of media contents. In the highly developed democratization era, many topics which may be objectionable to some are rising to appear in various categories. If we deny



watching good contents just because of its tendency, the various contents will potentially lose their dynamical influences and become uniform someday. These outcomes mean the cultural regression. Media contents can be regarded as just modes of entertainment, however they take more considerable proportion in this society than we expect. Therefore, as a democratic citizen who makes own culture and society, we should be a rational critic.

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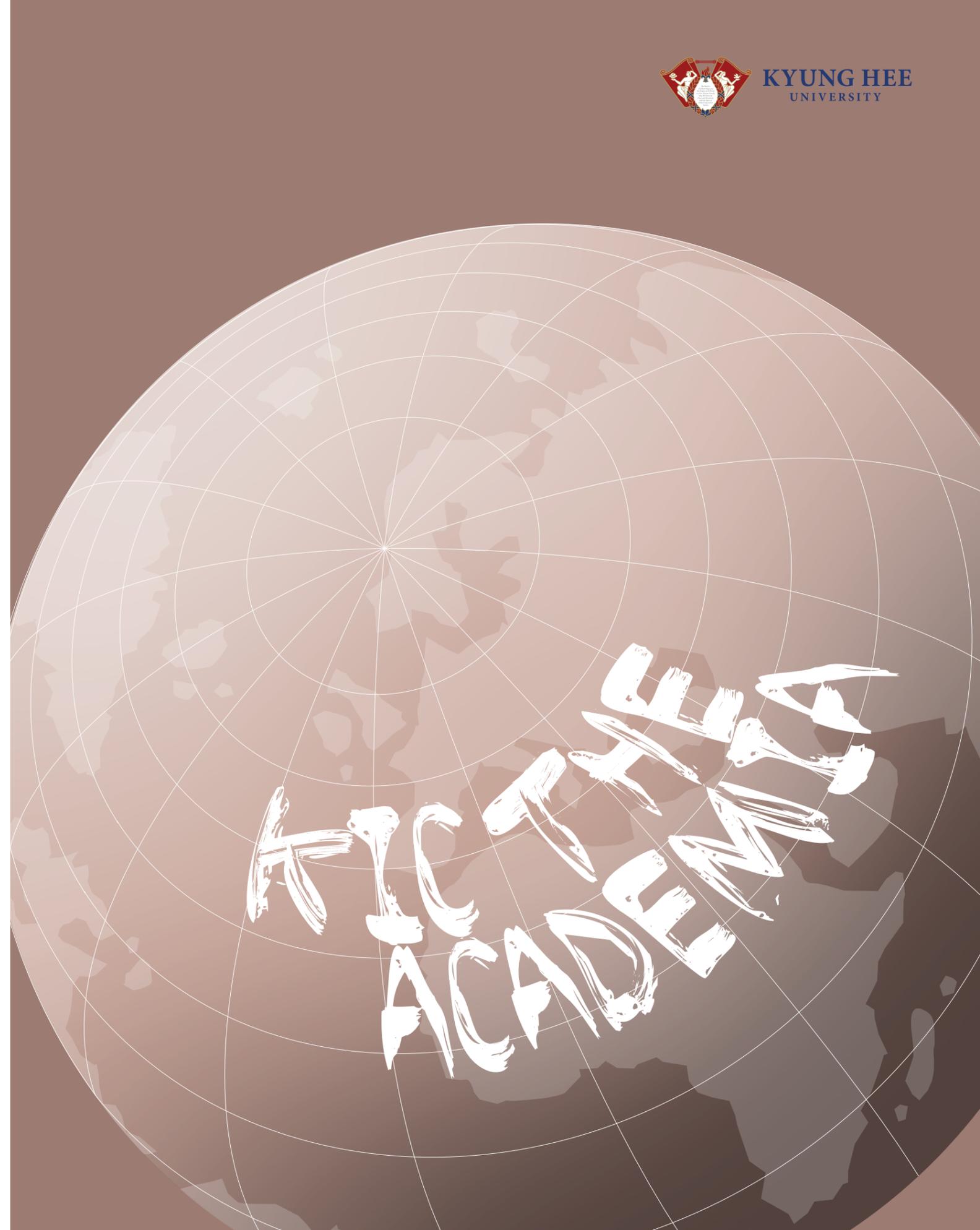
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민주 평화론에 대한 고찰

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I. 서론

1. 본 연구의 필요성과 문제 제기

20세기 말 냉전이 종식되며, 많은 학자들은 아시아 내 공산주의 국가인 중국과 북한의 변화와 민주화에 대해 주목하였다. 특히 여기서 흥미로운 것은 중국의 개방과 남북한의 경제 교류를 바라보며, 경제적 상호의존이 권위주의 정권인 양국의 민주화를 이끌어 내고, 민주화를 통해 중국은 미국과 일본과의, 북한은 남한과 미국과의 갈등관계를 종식하고 평화를 도모할 수 있다는 주장이었다. 이는 경제적 상호의존과 민주주의와 인권과 같은 자유주의적 가치의 공유가 국가 간의 신뢰와 존중을 이끌어 내어 결국 영구적 평화로 나아갈 수 있다는 민주 평화론에 근거한 것이었다.

기존의 현실주의적 시각에 따르면, 국제 사회는 무정부 상태로서 안보딜레마 속에서 끊임 없이 전쟁의 위험을 안고 있는 적자생존의 현장으로서 받아들여져 왔다. 하지만 냉전의 종식 이후 대두되기 시작한 민주 평화론은 새로운 구조적 담론을 제시한다. 민주 평화론은 18세기 칸트의 영구 평화론에 기초하여, 19세기에 등장하기 시작한 영국, 프랑스, 미국 등의 근대적 민주주의의 발생부터 현재의 이르기까지 민주주의 국가간의 전쟁이 부재하다는 경험적 근거에 기반하고 있다. 이런 근거 하에 자유주의, 구조주의자들은 지금까지 민주주의간의 전쟁 부재에 대한 이유에 대해 다양한 해석과 주장을 펼치며, 앞선 북한과 중국의 민주화 담론처럼, 민주주의의 확산이 국가 간의 갈등과 전쟁의 부재, 더 나아가 영구적인 평화 체제의 확립으로 이를 것이라는 예측을 내놓고 있다. 이에 대해 여러 통계적 오류

를 지적하거나 민주 평화 현상에 대한 설명이 설득력을 얻기에 결점이 있다는 점 등을 지적하며 여러 반론이 전개되었지만, 이러한 반론들 역시 민주주의 국가간의 전쟁의 부재라는 강력한 경험적 근거를 설명할 만한 대안을 제시하지 못하고 있다.

이에 민주 평화론은 현재 국제 정치를 움직이고 이해하는 가장 유력한 이론 중 하나가 되어가고 있다. 한국의 북한을 상대로 한 평화정착 시도와 클린턴 행정부의 민주주의 확장 정책과 부시 행정부의 테러와의 전쟁 역시 이러한 믿음에 근거한 정책이었다. 하지만 앞서 말한 것처럼 이러한 믿음은 민주 평화 현상 자체에 기대고 있지만, 이 현상이 핵 억제력이나 냉전 등과 같은 시대성 등의 특수성에 기댄 것인지, 민주주의 국가 전체에 보편적으로 어떠한 과정으로 작용하고 있는 것인지에 대해 아직 유력한 설명이 보이지 않는 상황





이다. 이에 본 논문은 기존의 민주 평화론 사이의 논쟁을 살펴봄으로써 현재 민주 평화 담론들의 한계와 민주 평화 현상에 대한 대안을 제시하고자 한다.

2. 민주 평화론에 대한 선행 연구

민주주의는 왜 서로 전쟁을 하지 않는가? 이 단순하고도 명료한 명제의 민주 평화론은 18세기 칸트의 영구 평화론에 이론적 기초를 두고 있지만, 이를 본격적으로 연구하기 시작한 것은 1964년 베스트의 연구를 기반으로 한 1980년대의 도일과 메일 등의 지지자들에게 의해 오늘 날의 민주 평화론을 형성하게 되었다.

일반적으로 민주 평화론에 대한 담론은 크게 2가지로 나누어 진다. 먼저, 규범적 담론(Normative arguments)은 민주주의의 규범의 '사회화(Socialization)'와 '외재화(Externalization)'에 기반하여, 민주주의 국가 사이의 신뢰와 존중이 평화를 불러온다고 주장한다. 민주주의 국가의 정치 엘리트들은 인권과 자유와 같은 민주주의의 규범에 사회화되었고, 이에 이들이 민주주의의 규범을 대외 정책에 '외재화'하여 반영한다고 주장한다. 이러한 과정을 통해 민주주의 국가들은 갈등 상황에서 상호간 신뢰와 존중을 가져오게 되고, 결국 이것이 전쟁을 예방하고 평화로 이어지게 만든다고 주장한다. (Norm externalization and mutual trust and respect) 반대로 비민주주의의 국가들은 개인의 자유와

같은 민주주의의 가치가 공유되지 않고, 비폭력적으로 갈등을 해결하는 것을 사회화하지 않기 때문에, 민주 평화 현상이 나타나지 않는다고 설명한다. 이러한 논리를 기반으로, 이들은 민주주의와 비민주주의 국가 사이의 전쟁에 대하여 2가지 이유로 설명하고 있다. 첫째, 민주주의의 국가들은 비민주주의적 정권에 자국민에 대하여 정권의 정당성을 확보하지 않았다고 여겨 그들을 존중하지 않는 경향을 가진다. 그래서 민주주의의 정권은 그들을 해방하고 인권을 보장하기 위한 전쟁을 허용할 수 있게 된다. 둘째, 민주주의의 정권들은 평화로운 갈등 해결을 추구하도록 사회화되었기 때문에, 비민주주의의 정권들은 이런 순진한 민주주의 국가를 대상으로 위협이나 무력 침공 등으로 양보를 얻어내려고 시도하는 경향을 가진다고 설명한다. 이에 민주주의의 국가들은 자기 방어를 위한 자위권을 행사할 수 밖에 없기에 둘 사이의 전쟁이 발생할 수 밖에 없다고 주장한다.

이어서 제도적 담론(Institutional arguments)은 다른 정치 체제와 다른 민주주의의 제도적 측면의 차이가 민주 평화 현상을 만들어 낸다고 주장한다. 국민에 대한 지도자의 책임성(Accountability), 제도적 투명성(Transparency), 삼권 분립을 기

반으로 한 견제와 균형(Check and Balance)가 차이의 대표적인 예이다. 세바스찬(2003)에 의하면, 이 제도적 담론은 크게 6가지의 메커니즘으로 나뉘어 설명하고 있다. 먼저, 여론 메커니즘(Public constraint mechanism)은 정책 결정자에 대한 민주시민의 견제를 중심으로 민주 평화 현상을 설명한다. 정책 결정자들은 항상 그들의 선거권자인 국민들의 여론에 민감하게 반응할 수밖에 없고, 결국 전쟁에 대하여 전체적으로 부정적인 여론 때문에 민주주의 국가들은 전쟁을 꺼려하는 경향을 가지게 된다고 설명한다. 반면 이익 집단 견제 메커니즘(Group constraint mechanism)에 따르면, 민주 평화 현상은 민주주의 국가들이 전쟁에 반대하는 이익집단의 주장을 수용한 결과라고 주장한다. 규범적 담론을 뒷받침하고 있는 두 메커니즘과 달리, 느린 동원 메커니즘(Slow mobilization mechanism)은 민주주의 국가들의 전쟁 결정과 수행을 휘하여 필요한 여론 수렴 과정과 정책 결정 과정이 민주 평화 현상을 만든다고 설명한다. 전쟁을

위해서는 막대한 자원과 인력을 동원해야 하고, 이를 동원하기 위해서 민주주의 국가의 지도층은 이를 지지하도록 대중과 잠재적인 반전 그룹을 미리 설득하는데 복잡하고 비싼 과정을 거쳐야 한다. 그렇기 때문에 민주주의의 국가들은 빠르게 동원할 수 없기에 전쟁을 기피하는 경향을 가진다고 설명한다. 이런 관점에 기반하여, 기습 공격 메커니즘(Surprise attack mechanism)은 이런 느린 동원과 투명한 정책 결정 과정이 민주주의의 국가의 기습공격에 대한 전제를 없앤다고 주장한다. 그렇기 때문에 민주주의의 국가 쌍방은 갈등 상황에 놓이게 되더라도 다른 정치 체제들과 달리 외교적 해결을 모색하는 시간을 더 가질 수 있기에 전쟁을 회피할 수 있다고 설명한다. 마지막으로, 정보 메커니즘(Information mechanism)은 민주주의의 투명한 정책 결정 과정에 초점을 맞추고 있다. 민주주의의 정책 결정자들은 선거권자인 시민들의 여론에 책임을 가지고 있기에 전쟁 자체와 이를 둘러싼 갈등을 확장시키는데 있어 조심스러울 수밖에 없다. 그래서 그들은 아주 확실한 상황에 기대어 전쟁을 결정하게 되고, 이러한 정보는 갈등의 상대방에 명확한 신호로서 작용하게 되고, 민주주의의 국가들은 이 때 상호간에 해결을 위한 정보를 교환하려고 시도하며, 막대한 위험과 비용을 초래하는 전쟁이 아닌 평화적 해결을 도모하려는 경향을 가진다고 설명한다. 이 밖에 경제적 상호 의존이 전쟁에 반대하



는 이익 집단을 만든다는 주장, 정치적 견제 세력의 존재, 자유주의적 여론의 역할을 강조하는 등 제도적 측면에서 민주 평화 현상을 설명하려는 시도가 있다. 민주주의의 제도적 차이를 강조하는 제도적 담론은 민주주의와 비민주주의 국가 사이의 전쟁에 대해 다음과 같은 함의를 가지고 있다. 첫째, 민주주의의 국가들은 전쟁을 꺼려하는 경향을 가지게 되기 때문에, 전쟁에 보다 적극적인 비민주주의의 국가를 상대로 스스로를 방어해야 하는 상황에 놓여져 있다. 둘째, 그렇기 때문에 민주주의의 국가들은 갈등 상황에서 협상을 지양하고 언제든지 무력 공격을 할 수 있는 비민주주의의 국가를 상대로 선제 공격을 벌일 수 있다. 마지막으로 이 두 개의 담론을 독립적인 요소로 보는 것이 아니라 종합적인 요소로서 민주 평화 현상을 바라

보는 관점이 존재한다. 이러한 관점들은 민주 평화 현상이 자유주의적 규범의 확장, 경제적 상호 의존의 심화, 유사한 입헌 공화정의 공유가 모두 이루어졌을 때 작동한다고 주장하며, 더 나아가 민주주의의 국가들뿐만 아니라 유사한 정치 체제 사이에서는 덜 갈등이 발생한다고 설명한다. 이러한 시도는 넓은 범위에서 정치 시스템의 유사성이 갈등을 줄인다는 증명을 통해, 좁은 범위의 민주 평화 현상을 설명하려는 시도이다.

II. 민주 평화론의 현재와 한계

1. 규범적 담론

민주주의의 규범이 민주주의의 국가간의 신뢰와 존중을 만들어 민주 평화 현상을 만든다는 규범적 담론은 현재 제도적 담론이 힘을 받지 못하고 있는 상황에서 민주 평화 현상을 설명하는 가장 유력한 담론이 되고 있다. 하지만 규범적 담론에 대해서는 3가지의 한계가 존재한다. 먼저, 민주주의로 전환되는 과정의 초기 민주주의의 국가들은 비민주주의의 국가들과 유사한 정책 결정 과정을 가지기 때문에 언제든지 군사분쟁을 유발할 수 있다는 주장이 있다. 이러한 반론은 초기 민주주의의 국가들이 가지는 불안정성과 전쟁을 위한 동원에 대한 미약한 견제의 미비가 초기 민주주의의 국가들을 보다 공격적으로 만든다고 주장한다. 이에 규범적 담론의 민주주의가 가지는 보편적 규범에 대해 의구심을 제기한다. 하지만 이에 대한 재반론

으로 김형민(2013)은, 통계적으로 초기 민주주의 국가들과 성숙한 민주주의 국가들은 모두 소극적인 분쟁 참여 경향을 가지고 있다는 강력한 통계적 근거를 제공하고 있다. 이에, 규범적 담론에 대한 반론의 방향은 민주주의 국가들의 첩보전과 같은 비정규전으로 이어졌다. 대표적으로 칠레의 아옌데 정권을 대상으로 한 미국 CIA가 주도한 쿠데타를 연구한 김재천(2004)과 미국의 비밀 작전에 대해 다룬 크리스찬 등 4명(2016)의 연구들이 있다. 이 반론의 중추적인 논리는 대표적인 민주주의 국가인 미국이 다른 민주주의 정권을 상대로 한 비밀 작전 혹은 비정규전 수행이 민주주의 국가끼리의 신뢰와 존중을 담보로 한 규범적 담론의 중대한 반례라는 것이다. 특히 CIA의 칠레 개입에 관한 연구에서 칠레는 객관적으로 민주주의 국가로 분류되었고, 주 칠레 대사의 증언에서도 알 수 있듯이 민주주의 국가로서 인지하고 있었다. 또 다른 반론으로는 19세기의 근대적 민주 국가로 분류할 수 있는 영국, 프랑스, 미국의 제국주의이다. 세바스찬(2003)은 과거 유럽 국가들의 제국주의 전쟁이 규범적 담론에서 주장하는 자기 방어나 자유주의적 가치에 의거한 전쟁으로 보기 어렵고, 비민주주의 국가들에 대한 무시와 불신을 전제는 제국주의에 대한 정당화라고 주장하였다. 특히 그는 규범적 담론에서 주장하는 민주주의 규범의 외재화가 정말로 이루어진다면, 제국주의의 역사는 발생하지도 않았을 거라고 반박

하였다. 이에 대한 반론으로 민주 평화론의 지지자는 서로 민주주의로 인식하고 있을 때에 이런 민주 평화 현상이 적용된다고 주장한다. 하지만 이러한 주장은 민주 평화 현상에 대하여 규범 담론 자체가 가질 수 있는 설득력을 거꾸로 축소시키며, 칠레의 쿠데타와 2015년 스노든이 폭로한 동맹국을 상대로 한 미국 NSA의 감청 등의 실례로 고려할 때 그 설득력을 잃어버리고 있다. 그렇기에 규범적 담론은 크게 2가지의 한계를 보여주고 있다. 첫째, 규범적 담론에서 전제하는 민주주의 국가간의 신뢰와 존중에 대해 실증하기 어렵다. 둘째, 민주주의 국가 간에 행해진 비정규전이나 비밀작전, 그리고 민주 규범의 외재화라고 보기 어려운 제국주의 전쟁이나 미국의 그레나다 침공, 피그스만 침공 등과 같은 무력 행위에 대해 설명하기 어렵다는 점이다.



2. 제도적 담론

제도적 담론은 민주주의의 고유한 정치 제도적 특성이 민주주의 국가로 하여금 전쟁을 기피하게 만들고, 반대로 비민주주의 국가들에게 상대적으로 안보에 취약한 상황에 놓여진다고 설명한다. 특히 이 제도적 담론은 민주주의 지도자들의 '책임성'에 주목하는데, 이에 대한 반론으로 헨크(2000)의 논문은 비민주주의 지도자들 역시 민주주의 지도자와 비슷하거나 혹은 오히려 패전이나 피로스의 승리에 대해 더 많은 정치적 책임을 지고 있음을 보여준다. 또한 세바스찬(2003)은 각각의 메커니즘에 대하여 다음과 같이 반박하고 있다. 그의 논문에 따르면, 대중의 견제는 전쟁의 구조상 매우 소수인 상비군만이 참여하기에 실제로 대중의 혐오감을 불러일으키기 어렵고, 역사적 사례를 보았을 때 민족주의가 전쟁의 비용을 상쇄하기도 한다고 주장한다. 또한 이익 집단들 역

시 민주주의 정책 결정 과정 안에서 계속 반전적인 성향으로 있을 수 없으며, 비민주주의 국가와의 전쟁은 왜 감행하는가에 대해서는 설명하지 못 한다고 주장한다. 또한 정책 결정 과정에 대한 반박으로는 역사적으로 미국 대통령이 200여건의 무력 행위 중 단 5건만 의회의 승인을 받았다는 점에서 이론대로 견제와 균형이 잘 이루어지는지에 의문을 제기하였다. 마지막으로 정보 담론 역시 민주주의 국가들이 갈등 상황에서 상대방에게 진짜 정보를 공유할 지에 대해서도 미지수라고 언급하고 있다. 전체적으로 제도적 담론의 설명과 그 반론 사이의 논쟁은 각각 제도적 담론의 설명이 부분적이며 단편적인 설명에 그친다는 점을 중심으로 하고 있다. 또한 제도적 담론은 민주주의 국가들이 비민주주의 국가들보다 전쟁을 덜 선호한다는 전제를 하고 있지만, 역사적으로 제국주의나 보어전쟁 등과 같이 먼저 선전포고를 개시한 사례가 있어 설득력을 가지기 어렵다. 그렇기에 일찍이 민주 평화론은 주로 규범적 담론에 초점을 두고 제도적 담론에 우위를 가지고 있었다. 정리하자면, 제도적 담론은 규범적 담론을 제외하고 단독으로 민주주의의 독특한 정치 제도 속에서 민주 평화 현상에 대해 설명하는데 한계에 직면하였다. 특히 제도적 담론은 민주주의 정책 결정 과정의 합리성과 책임성에 중점을 두며 민주주의의 반전 성향을 전제하여, 민주주의 국가들의 '예외적인' 대외 무력 행위에 대해 설명하지 못하는 한계를 가지고 있다.



III. 제도적 담론의 재구성

1. 전쟁의 기회 비용 가설

전쟁의 기회 비용 가설은 민주주의가 발생하여 확산되기 시작한 19세기 이후의 전쟁에 관한 역사적 맥락과 민주주의 국가가 제도적 한계에도 불구하고 먼저 전쟁을 개시할 수 있는 근거에 관한 가설이다. 먼저 19세기 이후 근대 국가의 발생하고 나폴레옹 전쟁은 국가로 하여금 국민 개병제라는 새로운 길을 제공하였다. 그리고 20세기 제1,2차 세계 대전은 종전의 제한전의 개념을 벗어나 국가가 가지고 있는 모든 물적, 인적 자원을 총동원하는 총력전의 개념을 등장시켰다. 여기서 주목해야 할 점은 민주주의라는 정치체제 자체가 정적인 요소가 아닌 것처럼 전쟁 역시 그 개념과 범위가 달라진 동적 요소라는 점이다. 분명 상비군의 존재는 세바스찬(2003)이 지적한 것처럼 전쟁에 대해 대중을 유리(疏離)시킨다는 것은 유지할 만한 점이다. 하지만 현대의 전쟁은 그 대상과 범위로 하여 대중과 정책 결정자로 하여금 그 기회비용을 다르게 책정할 수 있다는 것도 고려해야 한다. 예를 들면 미국의 작계는 첩보 작

전, 쿠데타, 크게는 그라나다 침공이나 피그스만 침공 등의 소규모의 군사행동들의 경우 예상되는 경제적 파장이 적고, 세바스찬이 지적한 것과 같이 상비군의 투입으로 해결할 수 있기에 대중적인 동원이 요구 받지 않았다. 반면에 제1차 세계대전, 제2차 세계대전, 이라크전 등과 같이 제한전 이상으로 다수의 사상자가 예상되고 인적, 물적 동원이 요구되는 전쟁의 경우에는 여론 조성과 민주적으로 정책 결정 과정을 거쳐 전쟁을 개시하였다. 즉, 이 가설에 의하면, 전쟁과 무력 행위 역시 그 규모와 예상되는 결과에 의하여 민주주의 국가의 정책 결정자들은 다르게 행동한다는 것이다. 실제로 미국의 사례에서 우리는 이러한 경향을 발견할 수 있다. 2017년 세종연구소의 미국의 군사 행동에 대한 연구에 따르면, 베트남 전쟁 이후 1973년 전쟁권한법을 제정하여, 대통령 독자적인 군사 행동에 대해 의회의 추후 승인 혹은 이를 거부할 권한을 부여했다. 하지만 민주 평화론의 반대론자가 주장한 것과 같이 이러한 제도적 제약에도 불구하고, 최근의 일련의 시리아, 리비아 공습을 비롯하여 그



라나다 침공에 이르기까지 의회의 승인이 없이 군사행동이 이루어졌다. 그러나 이 연구는 위의 기회비용 가설을 충족시키는 경향을 발견하였다. 많은 인명 피해나 예산이 필요치 않은 일회성 폭격이나 소규모 군사행동인 경우, 군사적 보복의 우려가 없는 경우, 해당 군사 행동에 대한 의회와 국민의 지지가 예견된 경우에만 이런 대통령의 독자적인 군사 행동이 이루어졌다. 그에 반해 대중의 동원과 지지가 요구되는 아프가니스탄, 이라크 전쟁과 같은 제한전 이상의 전쟁의 경우 모두 의회의 승인 하에 군사행동이 이루어졌다.

즉, 은폐되기 쉽고 제한적인 동원만 요구되는 비밀 작전이나 단기간에 끝나는 소규모의 군사 행동의 경우 민주주의

의 국가 역시 비민주주의 국가와 같이 행동을 개시하는데 있어 민주적인 정책 결정 과정으로부터의 제약을 덜 혹은 거의 받지 않고 행동할 수 있다는 것이다. 또한 이는 세바스찬(2003)이 지적한 보어전쟁 등과 같은 제국주의 전쟁에 대해서도 같은 맥락에서 설명할 수 있게 된다. 제국주의 전쟁은 대부분 적은 규모의 동원이 이루어졌으며, 또한 식민지 자체에서 병력을 지원받는 등 본국 내의 정책 결정 과정으로부터 다소 자유로운 점이 존재했다. 즉, 이 가설에 의하면 민주주의 국가들은 비밀 작전과 소규모 군사행동에 있어서 그들의 제도적 제약에 자유롭기에 비민주주의 국가들처럼 제약 없이 행동할 수 있다는 것이다.

2. 반응 가설

하지만 기회 비용 가설은 민주주의 국가들 사이에서 안보 딜레마를 해결하여 민주 평화 현상을 구현하는 이유와 비민주주의 국가들을 향한 선제 공격에 대한 동기를 설명하지 못한다. 기존의 규범적 담론에서는 민주주의 국가가 상대적으로 호전적인 비민주주의 국가들 사이에 놓인 안보 환경이 그들로 하여금 방어적 성격의 전쟁을 개시할 수 있다고 설명하고 있다. 하지만 규범적 담론은 민주주의 국가들이 어떻게 서로간의 존재하는 안보 딜레마를 풀어낸 신뢰와 존중을 가지는 지에 대해 단지 민주주의 이념 간의 동질성으로밖에 설명해 내지 못하였다. 그러나 이는 민주주의 국가들을 상대로 하

는 비밀 전쟁의 반례에 설득력을 잃고 있다. 이에 민주주의 국가는 오로지 테러, 공격 등과 같은 외부로부터의 충격에 반응하여 전쟁을 개시한다는 가설을 제시한다. 방어적인 성격을 제외하고, 미국의 베트남전, 한국전쟁, 걸프 전쟁, 이라크 전쟁과 같이 민주주의 국가가 선전포고를 하는 경우를 설명하기 위한 가설이다. 앞서 기회 비용 가설이 민주주의 국가의 소규모 군사행동에 대해 설명한다면, 이 가설은 민주주의의 개념의 외재화라는 규범적 설명에서 벗어나 민주주의 국가가 어떻게 전쟁을 개시하는가에 대하여 설명한다. 이는 먼저 민주주의 국가들의 모든 전쟁이 그 원인이 진실인지 혹은 거짓인지를 떠나 국내적으로 방어적인 성격에서 시작한다고 설명하고자 한다. 민주주의 국가는 실제로 국가 간의 전면전을 개시하기 위해 대중과 의회로부터의 지지에 기반하여 동원을 개시해야 한다. 그렇기 때문에 민주주의 국가의 지도자들은 이러한 정책 결정 과정의 견제에서 자유롭기 위하여 대중의 지지를 이끌어 내기 쉬운 빌미, 외부의 충격이 있을 때만 반사적으로 전쟁을 결정하는 경향을 가진다. 실례로 1982년 영국의 포클랜드 전쟁이나 1941년 미국의 2차 대전 참전과 같이 직접적인 공격을 받아 시작된 방어적 성격을 넘어서, 여타의 모든 민주주의 국가의 전쟁은 국내적으로 방어적인 성격을 띠고 있다. 미국의 사례를 중심으로 보면, 제1차 세계대전은 독일의 무제한 잠수

함 작전에 의한 상선 침몰과 치머만 전보, 제 2차 대전 역시 진주만 폭격과 같은 외부의 충격을 빌미로 대중의 지지를 이끌어 내고 매우 많은 비용이 예상되는 전쟁에 뛰어들게 되었다. 특히 베트남 전쟁, 이라크 전쟁은 이러한 민주주의 국가의 경향을 보여주는 가장 좋은 사례이다. 베트남 전쟁의 도화선이 된 통킹만 사건, 이라크 전쟁의 도화선이 된 9.11 테러는 미국 국내적으로 엄청난 충격을 주었고, 실제적인 공격이 미미했거나 행사하지 않았고 막대한

민주주의 국가는 전쟁을 개시한다고 할 수 있다. 이에 민주주의 국가들은 그들간의 협력에서 가지게 될 죄수의 딜레마에서, 자신들의 적극적 도발이나 위협이 부재하였을 때, 전쟁을 회피하는 경향을 가진다는 것을 인지하게 된다. 이 때 기존의 죄수의 딜레마의 내쉬 균형은 상호간의 배신에 가지게 되지만, 민주주의 국가들은 상대방의 선택을 미리 인지할 수 있으며, 또한 그들 자신도 제도적 장치에 의해 선택에 제한을 가지게 된다.

		국가 B	
		협력(전쟁 회피)	배신 (군사 행동, 위협)
국가 A	협력(전쟁 회피)	(3,3)	(1,4)
	배신 (군사 행동, 위협)	(4,1)	(2,2)

<표 1 민주주의 국가들의 협력>

기회비용이 예상됨에도 불구하고 정책 결정자로 하여금 전쟁을 결정하게 하였다. 반대로 통킹만 사건이 정부에 의해 조작되었다는 폭로와 이라크 전쟁의 빌미가 된 이라크의 대량살상무기의 미발견은 대중으로 하여금 종전의 전쟁에 대한 지지를 철회하게 하며 전쟁이라는 정책 결정에 대하여 다시금 재고하게 하였다. 즉, 기회 비용 가설과 더불어 보았을 때, 전쟁에 대한 민주주의의 정책 결정 과정은 제대로 작동하고 있으며, 테러나 직간접적인 혹은 예상되는 공격과 같이 대중의 지지를 원활하게 도와줄 외부의 충격이 있을 때

이러한 경향 하에 민주주의 국가들은 서로의 민주주의 제도적 장치에 의해 상대방의 배신에 대해 안심하며 상호간의 안보 협력과 혹은 안보 동맹을 기반으로 한 군축 정책 등을 펼칠 수 있는 것이다. 이는 Doyle(2005)이 규범적 담론에 의하여 민주주의 국가간의 외재화나 신뢰와 존중의 메커니즘이 존재하지 않았을 때, 민주주의 국가들은 자기 구제를 위해 전쟁에 돌입 할 수 밖에 없었을 것이라는 반박에 정면으로 배치하는 가설이 된다. 반대로 이 가설에서 민주주의 국가들이 대중의 동원을 용이하게 하는 외부의 충격에 의한

대의 전쟁의 가능성을 열어 놓으면서, 민주주의 국가들의 반전 성향을 전제로 한 제도적 담론의 결점을 보완하면서 민주주의 국가들의 전쟁에 대해 설명이 가능해지며, 동시에 방어적 성격만을 가지는 민주주의 국가들이 서로 전쟁을 벌일 가능성 또한 적어진다는 점에서 제도적 담론만으로 민주 평화 현상을 설명할 수 있다.

3. 국제 여론 메커니즘

하지만 앞서 두 가설은 민주주의 국가가 제도적 한계에도 불구하고 소규모 군사 행동과 전쟁에 나서는 동기에 대해서 설명하고 있지만, 서로 상충하는 점이 존재한다. 전쟁이라는 정책 결정에 있어 방어적 성격을 가지고 있는 민주주의 국가일지라도, 기회 비용 가설에 근거하여 칠레에 행해진 쿠데타 시도나 NSA에 의한 동맹국의 감청과 같은 실례에서도 찾아볼 수 있듯이, 민주주의 국가를 대상으로 한 첩보 작전이나 소규모 군사작전이 전쟁으로 촉발될 수 있는 외부의 충격을 제공하는 것

이 가능하다. 그렇기 때문에 국제 여론 메커니즘은 민주주의 국가의 개별적인 시스템이 아닌 20세기 이후의 국제 기구의 출현과 국제 사회의 변화라는 외부적 요소에 의해 제도적 담론에 의한 민주 평화론을 뒷받침하여 설명하고자 한다. 민주주의 국가들의 군축, E.U, NATO 등 안보협력과 같은 예는 흔히 민주주의 개념의 공유와 국가들 간의 신뢰와 존중과 같은 규범적 해석으로 이루어진다. 하지만 20세기 이후 발생한 U.N, WTO 등 많은 국제 기구와 Avvaz와 같은 다국적 NGO, 그리고 Facebook과 같은 SNS 등의 정보 통신 기술의 발달이 개별적인 민주 국가들의 정책 결정 과정과 협력에 영향을 끼쳤고, 이것이 민주 평화 현상을 견인하였다고 주장하는 바이다. 먼저 국제 여론 메커니즘은 앞서 국제 기구들의 출현과 정보 통신 기술의 발달이 국제 여론을 보다 빠르고 쉽게 형성하게 하였고, 이러한 제도적, 기술적 변화가 무정부 상태로 여겨지는 국제 사회 내에서 국가들 간의 공동 행동(Common action)

을 유도해내고 있다는 가설이다. 먼저, 한 국가의 행동이 제도화된 국제기구나 NGO 등을 통해 각 국의 여론을 수렴하게 되고, 공론화된 의견이 국제 사회 내에서 직접적으로 적대적인 행동에 대한 공동 행동을 불러오거나, 간접적으로 다시 행동을 벌인 국가 내의 여론 형성 과정에 개입함으로써 적대적인 행동을 견제한다는 것이다. 이에 주로 민주주의의 규범을 기초로 세워진 국제기구들과 NGO를 통한 수렴된 국제여론은 비민주주의의 국가들 보다 민주주의 국가의 여론에 보다 더 많은 영향력을 가지며, 또한 민주주의의 국가들은 이러한 국제 여론의 감시와 견제라는 외부적 제약(예상되는 보복)의 가능성을 가지게 된다. 이 가설은 Hedley(1997)의 주장과 같이 국제 기구의 존재를 통해 국제 사회를 '질서 있는' 무정부 사회로 가정하는 것이 아니라 단지 국제기구와 NGO와 같이 국제 여론을 보다 쉽게 수렴할 수 있게 된 제도적 통로가 되어 호전적인 혹은 배신 행위를 시도하는 국가로 하여금 다른 국가들의 공동 행동, 즉 보복을 경계하게 하였고, 특히 민주주의의 가치를 대변하고 정보의 소통이 보다 자유로운 민주주의 국가로 하여금 국제 여론이 국내 여론을 향한 영향력을 가지게 되며 더욱 더 전쟁에 대해 꺼려하는 경향을 가지게 된다고 주장하는 바이다. 반대로 민주주의의 국가들은 비민주주의의 국가들에 비해 보다 국제여론에 취약한 환경을 지니게 되는 동시에, 예상되는 국가들의 공동행동과 국제여론

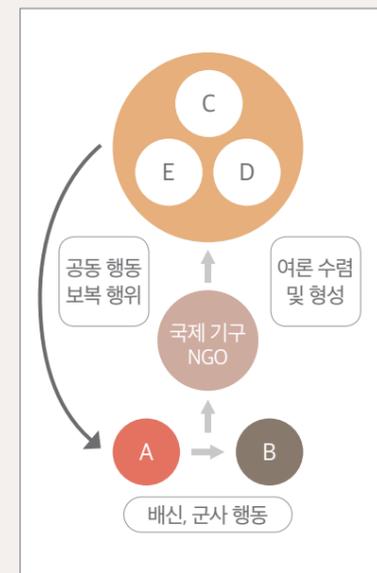


으로 인한 국내의 예상되는 반발을 고려하여 배신이나 여타의 군사 행동을 감행하기에 어려움을 가지게 된다. 결국, 의문스러운 국제 기구의 실효성과 별개로, 이 메커니즘 하에 내부와 외부 동시에 이루어지는 민주적인 정치 제도의 압력 하에 민주주의의 국가들은 민주 평화를 이룩할 수 있게 된다.

IV. 결론

본 논문은 규범적 담론이 주류를 이룬 민주 평화론에 제도적 측면의 분석을 통해 기존의 민주 평화론을 둘러싼 논쟁 사이에 나온 한계점을 보완하는 것을 그 목적으로 하고 있다. 민주 평화론은 단순히 민주주의 국가간의 전쟁의 부존재에 대해서만 다루는 것이 아니라, 국가의 전쟁 결정 과정과 체제 간 갈등의 양상에 이르기까지 다양한 형태로 연구가 이루어지고 있다. 특히 주권과 인권 사이의 최근 논란을 생각해 보면 민주 평화론은 종전의 무정부 상태의 국제 사회에서 민주적 질서의 존재의 가능성을 주장하는 선구적인 이론이다. 하지만 기존의 규범적 담론에 의거한 민주 평화론은 증명하기 어려운 체제의 유사성과 민주주의 국가 간의 신뢰에 대해 집중하였고, 이는 다수의 반론에 의하여 위협받고 있었다. 이에 본 논문은 제도적 담론을 근거로 하여 민

주주의의 전쟁의 결정 과정과 억제 기제에 대해 설명하고자 시도하였다. 이는 기존의 규범적 담론의 한계를 보완하며 제도적 담론의 새로운 활로를 찾을 수 있을 것으로 여겨진다. 하지만 본 논문은 3가지 가설에서 다양한 민주주의의 국가쌍과 전쟁들에 대하여 포괄적인 통계적 분석을 이루지 못 하였다. 먼저 기회 비용 가설에 있어서, 미국 이외의 영국, 프랑스 등의 군사 행동의 사례를 보다 보강하여 가설을 증명할 필요가 있다. 그리고 반응 가설은 각각 전쟁들의 실례에 대해 각각 사례연구 등을 통해 보강함과 동시에 실제로 민주주의 국가의 내부 정책 결정 과정에서 전쟁의 결정이 어떻게 이루어지는 지 세부적인 연구가 요구되는 바이다. 마지막으로 국제 여론 메커니즘은 기존의 국제 기구론 등의 담론을 통한 독자적인 연구를 통해 보다 체계적인 논리 구조와 근거를 보강해야 할 것이다.



<표 2 국제 여론 메커니즘>

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