

CHAPTER III

THE DYNAMIC RELATIONS AND CRISIS BETWEEN

SOUTH KOREA AND NORTH KOREA

This part explains the history of South Korea and North Korea conflict. It contains the cause of the conflict and several important incidents in South Korea and North Korea that have an impact on the conflict. Furthermore, this chapter also explains the relation of South Korea and North Korea until nowadays, the resolution conflict and its obstacles.

A. The History of South Korea and North Korea Conflict

Before the Cold War, Korea is one state. Basically, Korea used monarchy system that led by Joseon Dynasty for 518 years since 1392. Unfortunately, in 1592 there was an invasion by Japan, and in 1910 Korea was annexed by Japan. It caused by Korea that signed the Japan-Korea Protection Treaty in 1905. This treaty gave Japan a control over Korea. After that, on August 22, 1910, Korea signed the occupation agreement with Japan. Finally, since 1910 until 1945 Japan colonized Korea, and the Joseon Dynasty was over.

Under Japan occupation, Korea was in suffer condition. Japan employs Korean people coercively. Many of Korean resources are taken by Japan as their resource in World War II. Toward this condition, Korean people created a force and prepared strategies for their independence. Unfortunately, Japan was uneasy defeated by Korean People, it was caused by Japan have tremendous troops and shrewd-faced Korean people. More than thousand Korean people died caused by Japan's power. In 1945, Japan was losing in World War II and made Japan

abandoned its colonies, including Korea. Finally, Korea had its independence on August 15, 1945.

After Korea liberated from Japan, the United States and the Soviet Union were occupied Korea. This occupation is based on Potsdam Agreement in 1945, the United States and the Soviet Union concur split Korea into two. Korea divided by the 38th parallel. Started from 1945 United States was controlled south and the Soviet Union in the north.

The United States separated liberal system and supported Syngman Rhee as the leader in South Korea. It caused by the United States controlled South Korea to prevent the influence of communism in South Korea (Seung-Yoon & Mas'oe, 2003). Syngman Rhee with his power and United State's assistance created the Democratic Representative Council of South Korea. While the Soviet Union had set up the communist system and supported Kim Il-Sung to lead North Korea. Kim Il-Sung created the Committee of Citizens in North Korea (Seung-Yoon & Setiawati, 2003). Those two different ideologies sparked a war between South Korea and North Korea.

Based on the United Nations General Assembly in 1947, the United Nations set up United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCOK) as temporary commission handled free election in South Korea and North Korea for establishing the government of Korea (Gupta, 1972). Yet North Korea refused UNTCOK to operate in North Korea. Then, UNTCOK just organized a general election in South Korea.

The general election in South Korea held on May 10, 1948. This general election brought Syngman Rhee as the first president of South Korea. After that, Syngman Rhee established the Republic of Korea on August 15, 1948, that used the democratic and liberal system. On September 9, 1948, Democratic People's Republic of Korea was established with the communist and socialist system under Kim Il Sung as the prime minister. In the end of 1948, the United States and the Soviet Union left South Korea and North Korea after this incident.

Actually, South Korea and North Korea claimed that they were the sole legitimate government in Korean Peninsula. Both states were refused to recognize each other as the government. Unfortunately, based on United Nations general assembly, the only lawful government on the Korean Peninsula is the government of South Korea. Unfortunately, North Korea denied this decision. This decision was increasing the tension between South Korea and North Korea and triggered a war.

As South Korea's president, Syngman Rhee created an aggressive unification policy called as March North for Unification. According to him, South Korea is the one which can make the unification of Korea through force (Ji, 2001). Yet South Korea has not prepared the policy well. It can be seen when North Korea invaded South Korea.

On June 25, 1950, Kim Il Sung with his troops and support from the Soviet Union invaded South Korea through passed the 38th parallel. This invasion had a goal to unify the Korean Peninsula (Life in Korea, 2017). South Korea was unable to defend this invasion and lose in this war. Toward this invasion, the United

Nations Security Council censured the invasion of North Korea to South Korea and help South Korea by giving the military assistance as reinforcement. This civil war happened around three years, since 1950 until 1953. The war caused more than thousand people died, many infrastructures were broken, and many people were separated with their family. This war caused a great loss for both states.

On July 27, 1953, South Korea and North Korea decided a ceasefire by signing of an armistice and created the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) as far as 160 miles to separate those two states. Actually, Syngman Rhee as South Korea's president refused to sign the agreement, but he promised to respect it. This armistice provided a cease-fire and never became a permanent peaceful agreement. Finally, the tension between South Korea and North Korea has continued until now.

B. The Relation between South Korea and North Korea after Korean War

After the Korean War, South Korea and North Korea are hostile extremely. These two states feel threatened by each other. Those states are attacking each other oftenly in the Demilitarized Zone. They also sent the spy to scrutinize each other. Moreover, these two states also did not recognize each legitimate government. This incident occurred during 50s until the 80s (Seung-Yoon & Mas'ood, 2005).

Since the division of Korea, South Korea and North Korea have become different nation, although those states have same background and culture. Korean War became the reason for the mutual hostility, and makes the relation between

those two states extremely different in the government system, political ideology, citizen's right, and laws and order.

After prolonged conflict, in 90s South Korea started to open its relations with North Korea. It started when North Korea hit by flood and drought in 1945 until 1995. South Korea gave humanitarian aid to North Korea such as drugs and foods (Seung-Yoon & Mas'oed, 2005).

In the early of 1970, South Korea and North Korea had recognized each legitimate government and tried to unify Korea. Both states believed that their effort to unify Korea is important for the welfare of all Korean people. Open by exchanged envoys between South Korea and North Korea. This exchange led to signation of the Joint Communique in 1972 that contained three principles for achieving unification: (1) independence from foreign intervenes; (2) peaceful means; (3) national unity transcending differences in ideology and system (Ji, 2001). The joint communique is the first official joint statement signed by the governments of South Korea and North Korea refers to the unification (South-North Relations, n.d). It proved that South Korea was no longer considered North Korea as a threat, and North Korea wanted to open the relations with South Korea.

There are several efforts to unify Korea, such as building railway between South Korea and North Korea, conducting economy cooperation, installing a direct telephone line between Seoul and Pyongyang, establishing Inter-Korea Coordinating Committee, and organizing a working committee of inter-Korea meeting in Seoul and Pyongyang (The July 4 South-North Joint Communique, 1972). South Korea also tried to engage North Korea in international forums. In

this period, the relations between South Korea and North Korea are becoming better than before. Moreover, South Korea and North Korea were jointly admitted as new members of United Nations as the legitimate government. Unfortunately, this harmonized situation ended shortly. It was caused by North Korea breaking off the dialogue with South Korea. The relation between these two states became over hostile.

In the mid of 2000, the first Inter-Korea Summit held in Pyongyang, North Korea. This summit as the cornerstone improved the relation between South Korea and North Korea. In this summit, the two leaders of Korea had met and signed the Joint Declaration. The Joint Declaration contained five points, which solve the unification problem independently, recognize the similarities of each reunification policies, the reunification of separated families of inter-Korea and liberated political prisoners in each state, inter-Korea cooperation in several sectors, and open direct dialogue to realize the declaration (KTT Pertama Antar-Korea, n.d). While the second Inter-Korean Summit held at the end of 2007. This summit also resulted the Joint Declaration with eight points, which are the implementation of Joint Declaration in 2000, the trusted and respectful relation of South Korea and North Korea, military detente, end the armistice and build a permanent peaceful, economy cooperation, social culture exchange and cooperation, humanitarian cooperation, and increase the international cooperation. (KTT Kedua Antar-Korea, n.d).

Unfortunately, the relations between South Korea and North Korea have been strained in recent years. The problem between these two states developed into

security area problem that caused by its military activities in both states. North Korea often did military weapons testing. While South Korea which felt worried with this condition, decided to conduct military training with United States assistance.

Actually, the political intention of North Korea in developing nuclear capabilities has strong desires to unify Korean peninsula by its own way. On the other hand, South Korea views that North Korea will invade South Korea again to unify the country under its communism (Suh, 2015). Toward this perception South Korea decided to conduct military defense through military training. This strained condition led to the instability in Korean Peninsula.

C. The Resolution of South Korea and North Korea Conflict

The divisions of Korea and the civil war have widened the gap between South Korea and North Korea. Basically, both states want to unify Korea by looking for an approach to realize the reunification. There are many efforts for reconciling South Korea and North Korea to bring peaceful condition between those states. One of resolution approaches to solve the problem is dialogue. There are many dialogues and problem-solving in both levels, bilateral and multilateral, to resolve the relations between South Korea and North Korea.

1. Bilateral

In this part, the writer will explain bilateral solution between South Korea and North Korea in solving Korean Peninsula problem in four periods, which are Roh Tae Woo, Kim Dae Jung, Roh Moo Hyun, and Park Geun-Hye's period.

a. Unification Formula for the Korean National Community by Roh Tae Woo

Roh Tae Woo is the sixth president of South Korea. In his administration, Roh Tae Woo desired to normalize the relations between South Korea and North Korea. Roh Tae Woo realized it by creating “7 July Declaration” contained six proposals: (1) active cooperation between South Korea and North Korea; (2) separated families able to visit and give letter each other; (3) expand South Korea and North Korea trade; (4) balanced, developed and increasing non-military goods exchange with more states; (5) foreign affairs cooperation for the good of nation; (6) improve the relation of South Korea with socialist state and help North Korea improve its relations with capitalist states (Strnad, 2010).

In 1980, Roh Tae Woo and Kim Il Sung signed Law on North–South Exchanges and Cooperation as the basic framework of inter-Korea cooperation. Roh Tae Woo also created a unification formula for the Korean national community on September 11, 1989. The formula has three stages in achieving unification: (1) confidence building and cooperation between South Korea and North Korea; (2) confederation on South and North Korea; (3) the establishment of a unified government. The formula was succeeded in unified South Korea and North Korea (Ji, 2001). It was proved by the signing of “Basic Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-Aggression, and Exchange and Cooperation” between both states on December 31, 1991 (Saxer, 2002). The both states also created Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of Korean Peninsula on February 19, 1992.

b. Korean Reunification by Kim Dae Jung (Sunshine Policy)

Kim Dae Jung is the president of South Korea inaugurated in 1998 and ended his administration in 2003. He launched an engagement policy that reconciled the relation of South Korea and North Korea. His policy called as Sunshine Policy that has philosophy meaning as the sunshine that gives warmth and comfort for people. Kim Dae Jung expected that this policy was able to bring better condition for North Korea without violence. Kim Dae Jung believed that Sunshine policy was able to solve the conflict between South Korea and North Korea and integrated these two states peacefully.

His policy had succeeded in improving the relation between South Korea and North Korea. It can be seen on the first meeting of South Korea and North Korea called as Inter-Korean Summit on June 13-15, 2000. Both South Korea and North Korea signed the Joint Declaration on June 15, 2000. This declaration as the way to advance relations between South Korea and North Korea that can bring Korean unification peacefully.

The Inter-Korean summit had opened the relation of South Korea and North Korea and also built cooperation between these two states in several sectors, such as the economy, defense, health, social and culture. Started by Chung Ju Yong, the chairman of Hyundai Group, which gave 500 cows for North Korea. Chung Ju Yong also created an economy and tourism cooperation project with Kim Il Sung as the prime minister of North Korea. In the economy sector, when Kim Dae Jung and Kim Il Sung have met, they were agreed on the connected railway between South Korea and North Korea (Seung-Yoon & Mas'oed, 2005). This railway has benefit to link economy relation in the Korean peninsula and it can develop

international world trade lanes. The lane called as “new silk road by railroad”. Afterwards, many of South Korea’s businessman got permission from Kim Dae Jung cooperated with North Korea in this sector. While in the defense sector, both defense ministers from South Korea and North Korea tried to ease the tension and raise trust between these two states through connected phone line directly as a media avoid misunderstanding. Both defense ministers also help to build the railway between South Korea and North Korea. It caused the railway was located in the Demilitarized Zone.

Kim also organized the reunions of South Korea and North Korea’s family for three times in each state. The reunification happened in Pyongyang and Seoul in 2000. In this reunification, Kim united North Korea’s people which separated with their family in South Korea because of Korean division. The separated people also able to sent a letter to their family. While in international level, Kim Dae Jung promoted the reunification in several international forums and engaged North Korea in the forums, such as in Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Forum on Shared Prosperity and Harmony in Seoul. One example that Kim was successful to engage North Korea in the international arena is North Korea fused as a permanent member of ASEAN Regional Forum in the end of 90s.

c. Policy of Peace and Prosperity by Roh Moo Hyun

Roh Moo Hyun was South Korea’s president from 2003 until 2008. He created the reconciliation and cooperation policy between South Korea and North Korea that lead into Korean unification. The policy called as Policy of Peace and

Prosperity, it increased the bilateral relations between South Korea and North Korea.

Roh Moo Hyun succeeded to organize the second Inter-Korean Summit. Roh met Kim Jong Il in Pyongyang and signed the peace declaration on October 4, 2007. The peace declaration called as “Declaration for Development Inter-Korean Relations and Peace and Prosperity. This declaration had aims to replace the Korean War Armistice with a peace permanent treaty (Suh, 2015). The peace declaration also had aim to solve military hostilities and nuclear problem in the Korean peninsula. Roh and Kim also established peace zone in Haeju (KTT Kedua Antar-Korea, n.d). In this period, South Korea and North Korea focused to improve its relations and unified Korea through dialogue and fulfil people’s aspirations.

d. Trustpolitik by Park Geun-Hye

Park Geun-Hye is the 11th President of South Korea. She is also the first woman president of South Korea. Her vision is to create happiness for all people, both in the Korean peninsula and global. In her administration, Park tries to build the sustainable peace and cooperation with North Korea through “trustpolitik” policy. The goal is to build a trust between South Korea and North Korea where everyone will be prosperous (Byung-se, n.d). Park tried to promote and raised the people’s interest toward the reunification. The administration of Park Geun Hye tries to promote inter-Korean humanitarian, economic and cultural cooperation. It is called as the Korean Peninsula trust-building process. Park tries to achieve peaceful unification through three initiatives which are securing peace; economic

integration; and political integration (Cheon, 2013). Her effort is manifested on establishing the Presidential Preparatory Committee for Unification on July 14, 2014 (Hyun-soo, 2014). Park's administration tried to give humanitarian aid for North Korea's people. Park also engaged the global community in building peace in the Korean peninsula and stop North Korea's threats. Due to Park's action, North Korea discontinued its threat to South Korea and discussed on reopening the Kaesong Industrial Complex

2. Multilateral

Even though there are several efforts to harmonize and to create peace for South Korea and North Korea, these two states still in dispute sadly. This circumstance brings international respond that tries to solve this problem and builds peace between the two states. In this part, the writer will be more focused on two multilateral forums, Six-Party Talks and United Nations, especially UN Security Council.

a. Six-Party Talks

Six-Party Talks are several multilateral negotiations launched in 2003 arranged by China, Japan, North Korea, Russia, South Korea, and the United States that have purposed discussed about North Korea's nuclear program. This forum had been held six times since 2003 until 2008. Several points that discussed in this forum are security in the Korean peninsula, diplomatic relations between six parties, economy relations, and denuclearization in the Korean peninsula. Unfortunately, this forum could not solve the problem, the negotiation was a deadlock, and North Korea got out from this forum.

b. UN Security Council

UN Security Council is one of United Nations bodies that have a responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. In Korean peninsula conflict, UN Security Council tries to solve the conflict and being a mediator between South Korea and North Korea. There are 21 resolutions adopted by UN Security Council in solving the problem. Five resolutions were adopted during Korean War, while other resolutions have been adopted toward North Korea missile and nuclear program. The most recent resolution has been adopted by UN Security Council on November 30, 2016, called Resolution 2321. In the resolution, the council decided that North Korea should not supply, sell or export coal, iron, and iron ore. All states also banned the procurement of that material from North Korea (Resolution 2321 (2016), 2016). The council gave this resolution to North Korea to give a peaceful diplomatic and political solution (Security Council Strengthens Sanctions on Democratic Republic of Korea, Unanimously Adopting Resolution 2321 (2016), 2016). The council hoped that North Korea will not break this sanction and the condition in Korean peninsula will be safer.

D. The Obstacle of South Korea and North Korea Conflict Resolution

1. Different Ideology and Policy

Since the division of Korea, South Korea and North Korea have different ideologies. South Korea has democracy and liberal ideology, while North Korea has communist and socialist ideology. These two states also have different unification policies. South Korea has Unification Confederation policy with the

principle of one nation, two states and two independent governments. While North Korea has Unification Federation in Low-Level policy by creating one nation, two systems and two autonomous regional governments (Seung-Yoon & Mas'ood, 2005). Both North Korea and South Korea are upheld its ideology and will not bend its unification policy. The differences in ideology and policy between these two states have increased the tension and compound the resolution.

2. Nuclear Crisis

The North Korea nuclear capabilities have been a big threat for South Korea in building good relation with North Korea. It also becomes a threat to international peace and security. Basically, North Korea believed that having nuclear capabilities is important as self-defense. Actually, in 1985 North Korea had ratified the treaty of Non-Proliferation of Nuclear weapon (NPT), but then this state was withdrawal from the treaty in 2013 after the United States accused North Korea have uranium program. North Korea also pulled out from the Six Party Talks in 2005. Since 2006, North Korea had conducted five nuclear weapon tests and its harm for South Korea. The last nuclear test conducted by North Korea in September 2016 with the nuclear yield was equivalent to 10 kilotons of TNT (BBC, 2016). The nuclear crisis has increased the suspicious of South Korea to North Korea. It would be difficult to reconcile the conflict if the two parties did not trust each other. Therefore, North Korea nuclear capabilities become the obstacle in solving South Korea and North Korea conflict.