#### CHAPTER II

# HISTORY OF THE DIVISION OF KOREAN PENINSULA AND THE CONFLICT ESCALATION

In recent years it can be seen that North Korea and South Korea are at the point of escalating the conflict that has begun since the 1950-1953 Korean War. But after 1953 the conflict that occurred on the Korean Peninsula was only a small-scale conflict, but it was also almost a ceasefire because the North Koreans often launched actions that triggered the attention of superpowers such as the United States and Russia which even almost intervened in this conflict. This happened because the North Korean side triggered a surge in tension by carrying out missile experiments towards Japanese waters, which also affected the South Korean region as well. Therefore, this action is considered as an action aimed at disrupting the stability of Japan and South Korea.

After the incident that almost caused an international scale conflict, the two conflict countries namely South Korea and North Korea agreed to hold a meeting to be held in Panmunjom, North Korea. The historic meeting then produced results in the Panmunjom Declaration which discussed the peace of the Korean Peninsula. The declaration of peace in North Korea and South Korea was responded to by both countries even by the international community.

After a series of peace efforts and declarations, North Korea and South Korea opened their peace by uniting in the Pyeongchang 2018 Winter Olympic under the Korean unification flag. The unification of North Korea and South Korea on this agenda is also an effort to strengthen the relations between the two countries after the Panmunjom peace declaration. At the opening of the Pyeongchang Winter Olympic which was held on February 9, 2018, the North Korean leader also sent which delegation was the younger brother of Kim Jong-un who was then seen in the VIP bench for state officials. Of course this shows that the tips of peace carried out by the two countries are indeed a serious matter.

The union of the two countries was also shown in the 2018 Asian Games held in Indonesia. The union of the two Korean Peninsula countries in the 2018 Asian Games is the first time in the history of the Asian Games. In the opening of the 2018 Asian Games, Ir. H. Joko Widodo as President of Indonesia appreciated the union of the two Korean Peninsula countries when he gave a welcome speech. To make easier understanding related to the detailed discussion that will be discussed in this chapter, the author will describe it with the following three sub-chapters below.

#### A. Escalation of the Korean Peninsula Conflict

The Korean War from June 25, 1950 - July 27, 1953, was a conflict between North Korea and South Korea. This war was also called the "mandated war" between the United States and its UN allies and communists of the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union (also members of the United Nations). Various methods have been sought by North Korea to finally make decisions by means of violence or war. Announcement of the war was broadcast throughout the city via Pyongyang radio. On Sunday at 4, June 25, 1950, North Korea attacked South Korea. The attack shocked South Korea so much that North Korea was the one who won it. The attack was aimed at the capital city of Seoul, but due to bad weather, only the cities of Chuchon, Ongjin and Kaesong were occupied, which are important cities in South Korea (Savada & Shaw, 1990).

The new city of Seoul can be occupied by North Korean forces after three days of war, namely on June 28, 1950. With the capture of Seoul, the North has managed to control 50-80 miles of South Korea's territorial territory, 12 cities and 5,000 villages within four heart. Because of this, President Syngnam Rhee and his government staff left Seoul and moved the government to Taejon.Perang Korea tidak hanya sebatas perang antara Korea Utara dan Korea Selatan. However, behind the country there were their respective allies who helped in the course of the War. The United States knew

that there was a Soviet Union behind North Korea, so the US decided to help South Korea. With the American position in the UN Security Council, the United States proposed to the UN Security Council to convene to discuss Korea. The United Nations held a hearing and produced a UN resolution which included the UN urging North Korea to immediately stop the war and withdraw its troops to the 38 ° North Latitude line and impose sanctions on North Korea if the North Korean side ignored the pressure, the United Nations with its members will help South Korea (Sejarah, 2017).

With North Korea's invasion of South Korea, the United States feared the spread of communism. Determined to stop North Korea, the United States sought permission from the United Nations to support the South Korean military government. The United Nations granted permission to the United States to send to the two Koreas to free South Korea from North Korea's military occupation. Many of the soldiers sent to South Korea were members of the United States military, they were under the direct control of the United Nations. Many people contended that the Korean War should be called the Korean Conflict rather than referred to as a war. Technically, these people are right from the American perspective, yet the North and South Korea were clearly engaged in a war. The American troops, as well as those from other countries, were hoping to protect South Korea from communism and thus were participating in the Koreans' war.

With the arrival of the United Nations forces in South Korea with the Inchon Invasion, the tide of the war was quickly turned against the North Koreans. The United Nations forces and the South Koreans quickly drove the North Koreans back into North Korea. The South Koreans and United Nations forces not only stop with the North Koreans' withdrawal from South Korea. These forces continued to attack the North Korean military, hoping to free North Korea from communist control. By October 1950, the North Korean forces are the border of China. The National Army of China is a communist nation, China military forces. By early 1951, the China troops

were 38th parallel, the original border between North Korea and South Korea. For the next two years a virtual stalemate existed around the 38th parallel. While both sides have had attacks against the other, the neither side succeeded at dislodging its opponent. On July 27, 1953, both sides agreed to a release, essentially bringing the Korean War to the end. South Korea, which remained free of communism from the two countries, remained essentially unchanged from before the conflict.

During World War II, the United States (US) and the Soviet Union (USSR) agreed to divide the Japanese colony along the 38th parallel north circle of latitude, with the USSR and the South by the US In 1948, Kim Il-Sung was designated the premier of North Korea (Democratic People's Republic of Korea, or DPRK), while Syngman Rhee as its president was elected by the Republic of Korea or ROK. With the North targeting South Korean sympathizers as "rightists" and the South similarly targeting "leftists" and "communists". Kim Ilsung, believing in the South to be weak, eventually persuaded the USSR and the newly communist People's Republic of China (PRC) to support an attempted invasion.

The first move at the 38th parallel remains unresolved, North Korea invaded the South on June 25th, 1950, using its Soviet-supplied armament to easily route the lightly armed South Korean Army. Citing concerns of a potential global spread of Communism, the U.S. requested and received the approval of the UN Security Council (during the Soviet Boycott) to militarily intervene. U.S. General MacArthur was appointed by the United Nations, the Philippines, Thailand, Canada, Turkey, the collective UN Command, the force charged with the defense of the South of the United States, the Philippines. , and Australia, among others.

Despite resistance, UN Command South Korea's eventually controlled forces and crossed the 38th parallel to the North Korean territory, triggering China military intervention as they approached the Sino-Korean border. While UN Command the forces were repelled by the China to

the 38th parallel, the serious problem of failure to push beyond this limit. Despite repeated attempts by both sides, the 38th parallel from 1951 to 1953 until the war ended in the arm between the UN Command forces, the China and the North Korean Army. The Armistice Agreement was formalized and the division of the Korean peninsula, effectively ending the war on July 27, 1953 (James F. Schnabel, Robert J. Watson, 1998).

The killing of civilians during the Korean War is attributable to a wide variety of situations, actors, and intentions. Based on existing analyzes of Korean War atrocities, these methods are best categorized into the following grouping:

- a.) State-directed executions for the purposes of internal control, because they are state-of-the-art executions that have failed to adequately support their state.
- b.) Civilian deaths that occur during perpetrators' combat operations (including bombings) by China, South Korean, North Korean, and American troops, which are a liability for civilian life during the pursuit of their operations and indiscriminate bombing campaigns.
- c.) State-sponsored inter-village reprisal killings by civilians.
- d.) Killings of American and ROK prisoners of war by North Korean forces.

Possessed their own unique dynamic that is interacted with other types of civilian killing and repeated ebb between the DPRK-allied and ROK-allied forces. Excessive, lethal force and mass cracking by the state of response to any political opposition characterized by pre-war patterns in both the North and South. Civilian executions in the interest have been prioritized for the formal initiation of the Korean War, with the South Korean state of the thousands of civil protestors due to alleged communist sympathies during the Jeju Uprising (April 1948 - May 1949) and eventual political dissatisfaction

like the violently repressed Yso-SunCheon Rebellion. The event is now known as the Bodo League Massacre, South Korean President Syngman Rhee, ordered the death of the supposed Communist sympathisers as the North Koreans invaded. The execution of these traits occurred throughout the conflict or the ROK refugees who were controlled by the DPRK and were therefore branded as collaborators. Similarly, as the DPRK invaded the class cleansing, particularly the targeting of the ROK intelligentsia, the bourgeoisie, and all those associated with the ROK government, including family members who are associated with any of those categories. After being liberated based on their perceived and real affiliation with deliberate support of the North or South.

Armed forces are often responsible for civilian deaths, either through apparent disregarding or deliberate targeting of civilian combatants in combat operations like combatants (in response to alleged DPRK infiltration tactics). The infamous No Gun Ri Massacre of July 1950 allegedly produced in the deaths of hundreds of civilians, with opening fire at sometimes advancing refugees, as dictated by explicit U.S. policies, outlined in a memo from U.S. Ambassador to Korea John J. Muccio. Roughly related and targeted refugee commissions, including repeated indiscriminate bombings and use of security in civilian-occupied areas by American forces. The transport infrastructure was also destroyed by troops during the period of retreat despite the possibility that such actions would either directly harm the civil society at the time, or that these actions would be strand civilians and the active combat zone. Stranded refugees would be vulnerable to targeting by the ROK government for their collaboration with the enemy, and under accusation of being "infiltrators."

The prisoners were also subjected to deadly conditions during the War. DPRK troops executed POWs after their surrender and used death marches to ensure POWs were either killed or moved beyond the rescue of their advancing allies. While POW camps run by all sides seem to have struggled with basic problems of hygiene, resources, and health

problems like poor health education and general poor health, the conditions in DPRK and PRC are likely to have been particularly egregious, with numerous former American POWs reporting a lack of access to food and medical care, as well as suffering torture and medical experimentation.

1948 - 1951: Rough minimum estimate of 1.75 million people, including pre-war period, killed during the war and POWs killed while in captivity. For the pre-war period, we found estimates that between 15,000 and 30,000 people were killed during the 1948 Jeju Uprising and 1,092 during repression of the Yeosu-Suncheon Rebellion. Whereas at least 1 million civilians over the course of war (1950-1953), with the phrase "probably exceeded 2 million" also a common, if imprecise, chorus. Estimates of civilian fatalities include, for instances, a range of 500,000 to 1,000,000 (FCPS, 2012).

Additional, POWs killed in captivity include 2,700 American POWs (roughly 40 percent of US POWs) An unknown number of South Korean POWs are also edited, with 13,836 missing soldiers, known to be killed, 19,409 soldiers of unknown status, unknown percentage of both statistics edited in North Korea, as it includes those who were missing but edited in combat and POWs who were not allowed to leave, were pressed into the North Korean.

While it was difficult for the majority of non-POW civilians to have occurred during the 1950s and 1951, prior to the military palace that began in July 1951. While government executions by North or South Korea may have occurred beyond this point, and it was continued to die until they were repatriated in 1953, there were no other incidents recorded in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission within the times of the Korean War after 1951, and examinations of general history seemed to produce similar results. However, we do know that scholars have "estimates that about 45 percent of deaths and battle wounds after the Armistice negotiations began," estimating 425,000 combat deaths in the half of the war. Given that this portion of the conflict was isolated to already flattened the area of Korea, and the absence of

historical evidence, the degree to which this portion of the conflict impacted civilians remains uncertain. It should also be noted that Stephan Courtois' The Book of Communism alleges that 100,000 had a sudden following the War, but the North's secretiveness made uncovering additional information difficult to impossible (Nur Aini Setiawati Y. S.-Y., 2003).

#### B. De-escalation of the Korean Peninsula Conflict

Inter-Korean relations after the Korean war stopped in 1953 always experienced ups and downs. The fundamental difference in the foreign policy of each country, namely North Korea with its socialist ideology (Juche ideology or self-realiance) and South Korea which adheres to the notion of liberal democracy, makes the interests and goals of each country almost always contradict. One of the provocation actions was an issue that caused the ups and downs of stability in peace and security on the Korean Peninsula and certainly threatened South Korea's interests in it.

The provocative actions carried out by North Korea throughout 1953 until 2017 had various forms ranging from attempting to kill South Korean leaders, bomb terrorism, kidnapping civilians, border military provocations, missile trials to nuclear weapons development programs. Some of them were the attempted assassination of President Park Chung Hee (January 21, 1968), bombings in Burma (Vietnam) which killed four ministers and 16 other South Koreans (October 9, 1983), bombing the plane (South Korea Airline) which killed 115 people in it (November 29, 1987), the battle of Yeopyeong (1999 and 2002), nuclear testing (October 2006) and so on (J. Anderson, 2013).

Provocative behavior from The North Korea is undesirable behavior and threatens the interests and objectives of South Korea's foreign policy. Therefore, South Korea certainly carried out a number of actions to carry out its influence to prevent the escalation of conflict and acts of provocation from North Korea. In an effort to improve the quality of inter-Korean relations, South Korean President Lee

Myung Bak has designed a number of objectives and work plans in his policies towards North Korea, including a plan of action considered favorable for North Korea so as to prevent the possibility of provocative actions or unwanted behavior from North Korea. South Korea introduced Vision 3000 or Vision 3000 thru Denuclearization and Openess which is the operational policy of South Korea's 'North' policy, Mutual Benefits and Common Prosperity Policy. The idea of Vision 3000 was primarily aimed at overcoming the North Korean nuclear issue which has been the biggest barrier to the progress and development of inter-Korean relations, namely by offering increased active assistance to help improve its per capita income is 3,000 US dollars in ten years, if North Korea leaves its nuclear weapons. The policy implies that as long as there are developments in the denuclearization process by North Korea, South Korea will provide a package of support offering economic reconstruction and improving the lives of its citizens including education, capital, infrastructure and welfare. At the same time, South Korea has adopted a flexible approach in inter-Korean relations and continues to pursue harmonious progress between inter-Korean and international cooperation (Astrom, 2013).

South Korea, in an effort to influence North Korea's behavior and prevent its provocative actions from carrying out a number of actions with persuasion tactics, offering and giving gifts, threats of punishment, non-violent penalty penalties and limited use of violence in 2008 to 2010. Persuasion tactics offers and prizes dominated in 2008 where even North Korean provocations seemed to be still considered not too dangerous or low level. But entering 2009, when North Korea carried out a nuclear provocation, South Korea began to show a strong reaction by threatening tactics against North Korea, but on the other hand persuasion tactics and offers and gifts were still made to persuade North Korea to stop and abandon the action provocation, especially nuclear, in the future. But entering the year 2010, North Korea's provocation actually increased with military provocations, attacks

on the Cheonan and Yeonpyeong Island ships. Facing North Korean provocations that cannot be changed by using other tactics, South Korea has finally used a non-violent penalty penalty tactic, namely the issuance of the May 24 Countermeasures against North Korea, which includes the limited use of violent or military tactics, namely military training with US-ROK. In its efforts, South Korea also uses a number of resources it has to support its policies or mobilize its actions in preventing North Korean provocations, starting from the economic, military and diplomatic network capabilities.

### C. The Current Condition of Inter-Korean Relations

President Kim Dae Jung ruled South Korea from 1998 to 2003. During his reign in South Korea, Kim Dae Jung had issued policies to further improve the condition of South Korea. First, President Kim Dae Jung was able to change South Korea which was once a military regime into a democratic government. Secondly, Kim Dae Jung was able to expel South Korea from the shackles of the monetary crisis by promoting development after receiving assistance from the IMF (Nirmala, 2007). Third, Kim Dae Jung attempted to hold a Korean reunification by issuing a Sunshine Policy which would later bring President Kim Dae Jung (South Korea) and President Kim Jong II (North Korea) to meet at the negotiating table.

Since the enactment of the government policy on North Korea's Kim Dae Jung government in 1998 called the sunshine policy, the South Korean government has a vision to achieve a peaceful process of reunification of Korea through dialogue and economic assistance. The vision was based on positive beliefs from the South Korea that the North Korean government was in a process of change to ensure its existence and from the South Korea side it was believed that the policy of enactment initiated by South Korea would produce positive results. The process of reunification of Germany in 1990 inspired President Kim Dae Jung to strive for reunification to

occur on the Korean Peninsula. Kim Dae Jung seeks to reunite the two Koreas in various international forums, such as when appearing in the APEC Forum on Shared Prosperity and Harmony in Seoul. During his visit to Germany in March 2000, through the Berlin Declaration Kim called on Pyongyang to begin to redevelop direct dialogue with Seoul. Berlin was the right place to reveal the Berlin Declaration because the City of Berlin had been divided due to differences in ideology, but eventually could reunite. The Berlin Declaration is expected to be a reference for creating a prosperous, peaceful and safe Korean Peninsula in the future.

Early last year on Friday, April 24 2018 was a very historic day for North Korea and South Korea because of the meeting of leaders of the two countries for the first time in the last decade. Kim Jong Un and President Moon Jae In held a Korean Summit that day held in a village called Panmunjom and from the meeting of the two leaders the country produced several agreements called the Panmunjom Declaration. In the infrastructure sector, the two countries agreed to use Donghae and Gyeongui trains to facilitate the flow of modernization. In the agreement, there was also a discussion about the beginning of peace between the two countries, namely by removing all hostilities on land, sea and air, and even North Korea would cooperate to create a Demilitarized Zone (DMZ). Aside from the talks, there were still a number of other points, such as the creation of a peaceful North West Frontier Line (NLL) to avoid unintentional military clashes. North Korea and South Korea plan to hold three-way talks between North Korea -South Korea - the United States and four-way talks between North Korea - South Korea - the United States - China. This was done with the aim of ending the ceasefire into a peace treaty and building a lasting regime (JawaPos, 2018).

## D. The Dynamics Of Reunification Efforts

This chapter will discuss the dynamics of Korea's reunification efforts in the period 1953 until 2018. In an effort to reunify Korea several times have failed because in fact in

that period both countries still existed in conflict situations. But lately, precisely at the beginning of 2018, the two countries returned to show their good intentions to find a bright spot for the problems faced so far with the meeting of the two leaders of the Korean state.

The Korean Peninsula is divided into two countries namely North Korea and South Korea. The divisions that occurred in Korea were due to ideological differences between the two which caused conflict since 1950-1953. After the end of the war for 3 years, in 1970 North and South Korea began to appear among the international community because of its success in economic growth and eliminating poverty in a fairly short time. Not only in terms of the economy, the increasingly sharp opposition and rivalry between North Korea and South Korea and the strengthening of each other's defense systems have also become a shorot of the international community. Since the fighting that took place on the Korean Peninsula throughout the 50s and 60s has made the Korean Peninsula very hostile, it has increasingly not normalized relations between North and South Korea. Several reunification efforts have been made but have not been able to reconcile their relationship. On 1998, the South Korean government President Kim Dae Jung had a vision of achieving a peaceful reunification process through dialogue and economic assistance. President Kim Dae Jung is an activist in the prodemocracy and anti-militarism movement, was installed as president of South Korea in 1998, has always been in good faith in leading and taking all policies, and has made many changes in his leadership in South Korea.

Kim Dae Jung's democratic attitude is reflected in all actions in his government such as carrying out a political reform of the press freedom democracy releasing prisoners of internationally standardized labor treatment and abolishing the ban on demonstrations. The hard struggle and experience of life capable of forming President Kim Dae Jung became a stubborn leader with all his efforts so that all his policies can be realized as well as Korean reunification. To realize

reunification with North Korea President Kim Dae Jung issued a Sunshine Policy that was carried out in a manner that consistently invited Pyongyang to reconcile with sincerity and reduce any worries about the situation. In issuing its policy, President Kim Dae Jung also carried out a series of efforts that could benefit South Korea, such as in the fields of economy and also security. The vision of reunification with North Korea that the President of South Korea wants is based on positive beliefs and will produce positive results as well. The reunification process in Germany in 1990 inspired President Kim Dae Jung's reunification to be realized on the Korean Peninsula. His desire to reunify with North Korea was also conveyed in various international forums, in March 2000 when Kim Dae Jung visited Germany, Kim Dae Jung also called on Pyongyang to start opening a dialogue with Seoul.

Reunification has long been a priority, both for Seoul and Pyongyang. The Korean War that took place between 1950 and 1953 ended in a ceasefire, not a peace agreement. That is to say, until now the two Koreas are technically still at war. Relations between the two Koreas also went up and down, due to North Korea's frequent provocations and joint war exercises carried out by South Korea with the United States. Since Korea separated into two, North Korea and South Korea have always shown their inability, the two leaders have only met twice since world war II. The last meeting was held between North Korean leaders at the time of President Kim Jong II and South Korean President Kim Dae Jung.

The conditions on the Korean Peninsula have been known to be heating up in recent decades. This is related to the nuclear program launched by North Korea. Obsessed for peace on the Korean Peninsula, South Korean President Park Guen Hye said he was ready to sit at a table and dialogue with North Korean President Kim Jong-Un. To end the act of launching a missile between North Korea and South Korea, Park Guen Hye will hold a meeting with President Kim Jong-Un. Park Guen Hye formed a committee working under his control to realize reunification with North Korea. The committee will

include experts from every sector of the community to expand inter-Korean dialogue with the ultimate goal of reunification between South Korea and North Korea.

President Park Guen Hye's wish and the formation of a committee to hold meetings and dialogue with Kim Jong-Un to realize reunification between Koreans was rejected by Kim Jong-Un. End of December 2013 Parliamentarians from Seoul have called for a warning on August 15 as a milestone to offer talks with North Korea. The South Korean Ministry of Defense asked Pyongyang to attend the Seoul defense dialogue in September, a security forum attended by 30 countries including the United States of America and China. However, Pyongyang rejected the two proposals and called it a "shameless" attempt to hide Seoul's hostile policies towards North Korea. The Univicated Ministry of Seoul expressed regret at rejecting its offer and underestimated South Korea's efforts to hold talks on various levels as the two countries prepared to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the liberation of the Korean Peninsula from Japanese occupation.

The refusal of a proposal by North Korean President Kim Jong-Un regarding the reunification proposed by South Korea was a failure for the Korean Peninsula to reunite. The non-threatening US and South American military war games were cited as reasons for the refusal. The South Korean Ministry of Reunification released a statement from Pyongyang, saying that negotiations, exchanges and contacts with South Korea could not be carried out without resolving issues of sanctions. North Korea said South Korea must lift the sanctions if interested in humanitarian negotiations. The sanctions were imposed by Seoul in May 2010 after a submarine. North Korea has been accused of sinking a South Korean patrol boat, killing 46 sailors. The sanctions have stopped trading, investment, travel and aid programs.