

INDONESIA'S ROLE IN PEACE EFFORTS IN SEMENANJUNG KOREA

Hasto Kristiyanto¹, Purnomo Yusgiantoro², Amrulla Octavian³, and I Wayan Midhio⁴

^{1,2,3,4}Indonesian Defense University.

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ABSTRACT:

The important role of Indonesia, which is free and active in creating world peace, has become the basis for resolving international conflicts, including conflicts on the Korean Peninsula. Indonesia can prove that the conflict can take root by means of dialogue, deliberation and the Pancasila path way. Indonesia could mediate the conflict that occurred in the Korean Peninsula with a soft power approach to avoid tensions between the United States and North Korea. The purpose of this research is to analyze the role of Indonesia towards North Korea in the current peace efforts on the Korean Peninsula. This study uses a qualitative approach to future orientation analysis method. The results of the study show an opportunity for warring countries to make peace.

1. INTRODUCTION:

The conflict on the Korean Peninsula involving North and South Korea, which has been going on for 65 years until now, has yet to find a comprehensive solution even though many parties have been involved and various strategies and solutions are being and have been pursued. The civil war between North and South Korea has been going on since independence. Previously, the two countries were in one unit during the Choson Dynasty in 1392-1910 (Djelantik, 2015: 224). Korea's strategic geographic condition, flanked by three major countries, namely China, Japan, the Soviet Union and the Northeast Asia connecting area with the outside world, made Korea repeatedly under attack, especially from Japan, which is the country with the largest power in Asia which is always expanding. expanding its colonies, including to Korea which is the closest area. During the Pacific war, the United States dropped atomic bombs on Nagasaki and Hiroshima on August 6 and 9, 1945.

After independence, the two countries, namely North and South Korea, claimed control over the peninsula, causing the Korean war to begin with the North Korean Military Korean People's Army (KPA) crossing the 38th parallel border zone to invade South Korea on July 25, 1950. Situation The unlikely war led to negotiations and a ceasefire. On July 27, 1953, the United States, China and North Korea signed a ceasefire agreement. The then president of South Korea, Seungman Rhee, refused to sign it but promised to respect the ceasefire agreement. So that the war situation has not ended until now (Frassminggi, 2014: 23).



Figure 1 Korea's Strategic Position (Source: www.geologinesia.com)

After independence until now, the two countries are still arguing and competing in the creation of a sophisticated Defense System Main Tool (Alutsista) to bully each other. The Center for Strategic and International Study (CSIS) assesses that projects in the defense sector cover various policies, programs and strategic issues related to missile defense. Technological and geopolitical factors have driven increased global supply and demand for high-speed, unmanned, missile-based and counter-compatible weapons. In addition to the more familiar cruise and ballistic missile threats, the global proliferation of missiles now comprises a spectrum including precision-guided rockets, anti-ship missiles, air defenses, hypersonic delivery systems, and space weapons.¹

Under the International Security Program and directed by Senior Fellow Thomas Karako, the project's research considers the most pressing issues of our time, such as domestic missile defense, integrated air and missile defense for US and allied forces abroad, offensive strike capability, and investment in internal operations. technology to defeat the missile threat in new and innovative ways. The project also organizes events to shape debates on current and future policies, budgets, laws, and programs.

The North Korean military has faced these problems since Kim Jong-un took over as leader of North Korea. Evidence confirms that Kim Jong-un has struggled to gain complete control and loyalty over the military. North Korea has continued to improve its arsenal and capabilities since Kim Jong-un took over as leader of the country. The difference in Kim Jong-un's regime is the fact that, unlike his grandfather and father, he doesn't appear to have a firm grip on the military. In following the script his father had drawn up for him, Kim Jong-

¹<https://www.csis.org/topics/defense-and-security/missile-defense> (CSIS, 2020).

un will continue to maintain and enhance his country's conventional military strength, asymmetric strength, and nuclear capabilities.²

Since Kim Jong-il's death in December 2011, his youngest son Kim Jong-un has taken over the leadership, despite the fact that he is very young (29 or 30 depending on which source) and very inexperienced in this area. ran the DPRK government when his father died. So one has to wonder how effective North Korea's very young leader will be when his key to power controls the country's four main institutions - the party, military, security services and the inner circle of the Kim family. (For some interesting and relevant reading on the study of North Korea through the prism of international relations, see Narushige Michishita, *North Korea Military Diplomatic Campaign: 1996–2008* (London, UK: Routledge, 2010); Yongho Kim, *North Korean Foreign Policy: Dilemma Security and Succession* (Lanham, Md: Lexington Books, 2010) Since the time of Kim Il-sung, these four institutions have been the key to managing the country's infrastructure, both foreign and domestic policy. In this chapter, I will look at one key institution. state - military North Korea's military is the fifth largest in the world, and has operated in threatening ways (in various ways) both to its neighbors in the South and in the region since the end of the Korean War in 1953³.

The North Korean People's Army (KPA) is a generic term for all military forces and includes ground forces and unconventional weapons of mass destruction (WMD). The US Intelligence Community prefers to use the North Korean Army or the NKA. Historically, the KPA was referred to as the North Korean People's Army (NKPA) because KPA originally covered the entire Korean peninsula consisting of the north and south. However, for the purposes of this monograph, to maintain an understanding of how North Korea views itself, the KPA will be used regarding comparative statistics, (Anthony H. Cordesman and Martin Kleiber, 2006).



² Bechtol, Bruce E., Jr. *North Korea and Regional Security in the Kim Jong-un Era: A New International Security Dilemma*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. doi: 10.1057/9781137400079.0007.

³ For an interesting book on North Korean human rights, see Mikyoung Kim, *Securitization of Human Rights: North Korean Refugees in East Asia* (Santa Barbara, Ca: Praeger, 2012). For an interesting book on economic reform in North Korea, see Ian Jeffries, *North Korea: A Guide to Political and Economic Developments* (London, England: Routledge, 2006).

Figure 2: North Korean leader Kim Jong Un attending a ceremony to celebrate the 75th anniversary of the founding of the workers' party in Pyongyang (Source: KCNA VIA KNS / AFP)

North Korea shows its new intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) intercontinental ballistic missile, in a military parade to celebrate 75 years of the Korean Party. The ICBM was carried in a transporter erector launcher (TEL) vehicle around Kim Il Sung Square in Pyongyang, in an event allegedly held in the early hours of the morning. The TEL, which is used to transport the newest missile, has 22 wheels, indicating that this weapon is the largest owned by North Korea (Utomo, 2020)⁴. The intercontinental ballistic missiles featured in North Korea's military parade in Pyongyang pose a real threat to the defense of the United States. The new missile as part of North Korea's advanced weapons system was on display as a message to the United States of its failure to negotiate with North Korea.

Under these conditions, Indonesia's position cannot just remain silent. Indonesia's international politics in the future will be marked by various new developments and challenges not only because the world will become increasingly globalized and liberalized, but also because Indonesia will be faced with developments in the international political economy. In this context, Indonesia's foreign policy cannot be ignored because it is part of the national policy as a whole. This means that it is important for the government to strive for international relations in such a way as to support the welfare and security of its people, including participating in world peace in accordance with the spirit of the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution.

As the operational basis for Indonesia's foreign policy is the principle of free and active. According to Hatta, "Free" politics meant that Indonesia was not in either block and chose its own path to solve international problems. The term "Active" means efforts to work harder to maintain peace and ease tensions between the two blocs. (Mohammad Hatta, 1976: 17). How to read North Korea's show of military power which took place at midnight to coincide with the 75th anniversary of the founding of the North Korean Workers' Party? What strategic role can Indonesia play, and what is the relevance of the Korean Peninsula peace settlement for world peace?

2. RESEARCH METHOD:

The writing of this article uses a qualitative approach with future orientation analysis methods. Future orientation analysis is an analysis that uses future orientation in relation to the variables and issues being tested to predict the future. The analysis carried out is to discuss a problem topic and its relation to the future. This analysis aims to predict the future with the data collected in data collection (literature study). The data is to represent current conditions and predictions in the future. This study not only uses data to analyze the past and present but also predicts the future that appears with an intermediate period, a long period and a future. The intermediate period is a not so distant future, a long term means quite far and a long period means several decades into the future⁵.

⁴ <https://www.kompas.com/global/read/2020/10/10/205417570/inilah-rudal-balistik-antar-benua-terbaru-korea-utara?page=all>.

⁵ Wisnu Jatmiko, dkk, *Penulisan Artikel Ilmiah*, (Depok: Universitas Indonesia, 2015), h. 77-78

3. DISCUSSION AND DISCUSSION:

Strategic Culture

The nature, character, doctrine and defense posture of a country can be studied through a strategic cultural approach. Strategic culture is a set of unique beliefs, attitudes, and practices related to the use of security forces that are carried out collectively and emerge as a process through the unique history of a nation (Longhurst, Kerry, 2000).

The overall behavior of North Korea which likes to display ballistic missile tests, and continues to build deterrence effect through nuclear weapons, biological weapons and chemical weapons, is inseparable from a long-established strategic culture, and has become the nation's ideological awareness in facing various forms of military threats and non-military for the survival of the nation.

Many military analysts estimate that North Korea has at least 75 submarines, more than 349 combat aircraft with advanced weaponry, including 30-40 monster weapons with nuclear warheads, intercontinental ballistic missiles, and an active military force with high militancy. The entire posture of military power cannot be separated from the doctrine of the military first policy. That is, military power is everything, emerging as a deep reflection from Kim Il Sung, the Eternal President of North Korea, who built his defense doctrine that for the sake of Korean sovereignty, security and reunification purposes, the only way to defend all of Korea's independence and sovereignty is to build. military power.



Figure 3 North Korea Missile Launch Map (Source: AFP)

Strategic culture continues to evolve. Starting from the Juche ideology as an independent path with a breath of totalitarian power, controlling the military under the rule of the highest leader through the National Defense Commission (NDC); complete control over the Korean Workers' Party, government apparatus, and centralistic control of food production. In strategic cultural studies, this Juche ideology evolved into Songhun Politics in the Kim Jong Il era, and was further sharpened by Kim Jong Un to become Byungjin.

In the overall evolution of this strategic culture, all of them are related to each other, place military supremacy, and have three main characteristics. First, that strategic culture emerged as the imagination, dream, and ambition of Kim Il Sung (Bermudez Jr, 2006). This culture was shaped by Kim Il Sung's guerrilla experience against Japanese colonialism.

Kim Il Sung's accumulated experience builds an understanding of the importance of military power as a determinant of the survival of a nation. Not surprisingly, for North Korea, military strength is the main thing, after which only the Workers' Party of Korea.

Second, the failure of reunification of Korea (Reunification of the Fatherland), by Kim Il Sung, is understood to be due to the intervention of the United States. As a result, North Korea considers the international world to be full of distrust. The world is filled with neorealist views, where every country only fights for its interests.

Consequently, in any way, North Korea must build up its military power with increasing threat. This military power is also aimed at the main enemy of the United States who is perceived as always interfering in the "family" affairs of the Korean nation.

Third, the political goal of unifying Korea as a basis of interests that continues to be instilled. In order to achieve this, the ideologies of Juche, Songun Politics, and Byungjin were used as manifestations of the "religion" of the state. The condition for this reunion is single, there is no foreign interference, especially the United States, because Korea is one nation.

Indonesia's role:

By taking into account the potential of North Korea which is in the forefront of military power with a full totalitarian system, and at the same time, South Korea appears to be democratic in building economic strength, but also has traumatic experiences due to Japanese occupation, the combination of the competitive advantages of the two countries can be a point of departure for reconciliation.

Initiation can be through socio-cultural diplomacy, building mutual trust, and formulating diplomacy step by step, elaborating the code of conduct for the peace of the Korean Peninsula by the Korean people themselves without foreign intervention.

The Korean War which occurred in 1950-1953 without ending the peace agreement, must be taken to one level higher through a declaration of peace. This is where Indonesia can play its role. Indonesia is listed as one of the countries that can be accepted by both parties.



Figure 4 South Korean President Moon Jae-In talks and shakes hands with North Korean leader Kim Jong Un during an art performance at the Pyongyang Grand Theater (Source: REUTERS / KCNA)

The historical legitimacy of the orchid diplomacy carried out by Soekarno in 1965, brought a deep impression on the friendly relations between the two nations. Kimilsungia orchid becomes a socio-cultural bridge for the realization of mutual trust.

Likewise, economic cooperation with South Korea is getting closer. The climax was that the Indonesia-Korea Comprehensive Economic Partnership (IK-CEPA) which had been drafted and was ready to be signed by the Jokowi Government showed how Indonesia was accepted as a friend by the two countries. In short, culturally speaking, Indonesia's foreign policy line that puts forward the spirit of Bandung's Dasa Sila, various forms of economic cooperation, as well as the legitimacy of Indonesia's leadership in Asia-Africa and Latin America can be important assets:

Indonesia played an active role and took initiative for Korean peace. Real proof of this role, in a discussion on the current situation of the Korean Peninsula held by the South Korean Embassy and the Habibie Center in Jakarta, Ambassador Kim mentioned President Joko Widodo's initiative to invite North Korean leader Kim Jong-un to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the ASEAN-South Korea partnership on 2019. In addition, as a country that is friendly to South Korea and has bilateral relations with North Korea for more than 50 years, Indonesia supports the creation of a sustainable peaceful situation on the Korean Peninsula.

Korean Peninsula and World Peace:

Many parties consider the threat of the Korean Peninsula conflict to be more from a regional perspective. The implication of tension can trigger the end of the "ceasefire" at any time due to the difficulty in predicting Kim Jong Un's decision style. Experience has shown that the intensity of conflict can skyrocket at any time. Especially with the power of 30-40 nuclear warheads and ballistic missiles with advanced technology.

The issue is no longer regional. A peaceful solution for Korea is linear for the realization of world peace. This understanding is very important, especially for Indonesia, which from the beginning of its independence had a geopolitical doctrine to create a world order free from

imperialism and capitalism. From a geopolitical perspective, Korea is very important for the future of the Pacific. Sukarno himself had warned that the future of the world was in the Pacific. The Pacific is also a path to future prosperity.

With the future of the world in the Pacific, a peaceful solution to the Korean Peninsula is not just a “pick-up strategy” based on Soekarno's view. Indonesia can imagine how great the Korean nation will be if it is united, military strength and economic power will unite, with one nation values that depart from the same culture.

Especially if the reunification was born because of Indonesia's pioneering work. In this perspective, Indonesia's geopolitical view, which places more emphasis on a new world order based on Pancasila, and a free and active foreign policy in order to create world brotherhood, can be implemented properly.

Moreover, South Korea has multiple interests and has set goals in its foreign policy. However, efforts to achieve these interests and goals, especially with regard to stability on the Peninsula, are often faced with challenges. Provocative actions from North Korea are a serious issue and behavior that South Korea does not want. Therefore, South Korea carried out a number of foreign policies in an effort to prevent provocative actions from North Korea, which in this study focused on the first three years of Lee Myung Bak's administration from 2008 to 2010 (Sudirman, 2018).

Meanwhile, North Korea's interests are no less important than South Korea's. There are at least three national interests that are driving factors for North Korea, namely economic, political and security interests. Economic interests are based on the impact of the embargo North Korea has received after its nuclear weapons and missile tests. Political interests are more focused on the continuity of the Kim dynasty political regime in order to maintain domestic power. Meanwhile, for security purposes it is more aimed at stability and security of North Korea after the collapse of the nuclear test site.

Besides that, the side of Kim Jong Un's personality is a hot topic of conversation. Kim Jong Un, for some observers has a different personal character from his predecessor. Kim Jong Un is considered to have a congenial – cooperative character. This trait explains Jong Un's personality who is open, happy to socialize, accommodating and responsible so as to be able to bring North Korea to be more open in the international arena (Immelman, 2018).

This openness has brought North Korea to a new condition in interacting with South Korea in an effort to end the conflict so far. The changes that have taken place in North Korea are an opportunity for peaceful conditions. Of course, it is not only peaceful for the two countries, but also an example for other countries that are still plagued by conflicts.

For example, in the international arena, both parties agree to demonstrate wisdom, talents and national unity by participating together in international sporting events such as the 2018 Asian Games, in which both parties agree to try to quickly resolve humanitarian problems resulting from the division of the nation, and to hold an Inter-Korean Red Cross Meeting to discuss and resolve various issues including reunions of separated families and relatives. For now, both parties agree to hold a reunion of separate families and relatives (Ministry of Unification, 2018).

Meanwhile for Indonesia, this position can be taken as an opportunity to support the two sides to make peace. To support this peace, a strong political will is needed.

Indonesia's leadership capital is also quite strong. In addition to the many qualified qualified diplomats, the legality of President Jokowi's leadership, combined with the legitimacy of Megawati Soekarnoputri which is widely accepted in North and South Korea, and the expertise of the minister of foreign affairs, Retno Marsudi, can be a combination of this peaceful initiative from Indonesia.



Figure 5 Chairperson of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) Megawati Soekarno Putri strives for the reunification of the two Koreas for world peace (Source; Kompas)

The key is initiation with respect, through a multitrack approach, and ASEAN support, as well as with revolutionary patience to build dialogue, and at the same time trust-building is realized by reducing various foreign interventions, especially foreign military forces for Korean reunification which has become a dream and awareness. every child of the nation on the Earth Peninsula.

For Indonesia itself, the initiative to move diplomacy into the world does not only expand the playing field in international relations. On the outside, this initiative could be the starting point for the grounding of Pancasila for the world. Meanwhile, the energy of the nation's children will be transformed outward, into positive energy for Indonesia for the world.

History records that Indonesia has played an important role in the process of conflict resolution and management in the region, including the Cambodia-Thailand border conflict. On this basis, Indonesia continues to enhance its role and leadership through programs that promote the values of peace, conflict management and reconciliation in the region.⁶

With this outward perspective, Indonesian militancy and fighting energy can be inflated so that fellow children of the nation compete with each other to be the best, not only in foreign diplomacy. In the fields of culture, culinary, sports, mastery of science and technology have become motives and goals for interaction.

⁶<http://setnas-asean.id/>

4. CONCLUSION:

Based on the results of the discussion above, Indonesia's important role is to promote peace without war or hard power and vice versa to promote peace between warring countries on the Korean Peninsula by promoting soft power or diplomacy. By putting a philosophy on the importance of Indonesia's role for world peace, including taking the initiative on the conflict in Korea, Indonesia can prove to the world that conflicts can be resolved by means of dialogue, deliberation and the path of Pancasila. Because in the world of politics, including international relations, nothing is impossible, as long as good will is put forward. Indonesia believes, although it will take time and a long process, this peace is believed to support stability, security and mutual prosperity.

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