



ENQUIRY 7

AN UNFINISHED WAR. WHY WAS THERE NO PEACE IN KOREA?

A four-lesson enquiry by Guy Birks

ENQUIRY OUTLINE

SUMMARY

This enquiry investigates why, despite the signing of an armistice in 1953, there has been no genuine peace in Korea. It explores the continuing tensions on the Korean Peninsula during the following decades of the Cold War and in the post-Cold War era. It incorporates recently unearthed and original primary sources, along with compelling historical interpretations.

The four lessons can be taught sequentially; however, there is also scope for their integration, as stand-alone lessons, at various points in an overall study of Korea in the Cold War or of contemporary international relations.

KEY AREAS OF FOCUS

- Different interpretations as to why the Armistice took so long to arrange at the end of the Korean War.
- How primary source accounts of Korean civilians can further our understanding of the enduring impact of the Korean War.
- The academic analysis of the relationship between the USA, USSR and their allies in the Korean Peninsula.
- The ways in which the different sides in the Korean War, and the Cold War more widely, attempted to influence the narrative of the Korean War and its aftermath.

TARGET AGE RANGE

The lessons are primarily designed for A-level students, especially those taking modules on the Cold War. However, the focus on enhancing students' skills in identifying and elaborating on the tone, utility and overall value of sources is very relevant to GCSE, and selected lessons or activities could be used in that context.

SCHOLARLY RATIONALE

The continuous tensions on the Korean Peninsula and the 70th anniversary of the outbreak of the Korean War serve as a key opportunity to explore the historical debate regarding why the conflict did not end.

The dominant historical focus on the Korean War has been on relations between the two superpowers and the tumultuous events of 1950. However, an often overlooked yet vital area of scholarly focus relates to why the war was prolonged beyond 1951, and also how tensions between North and South Korea have persisted after the war and even in the aftermath of the Cold War.

Guy Birks is Head of History and Politics at Bellerbys College in Brighton. Guy has a deep and enduring interest in the causes, events and consequences of the Korean War, having previously lived in South Korea. He has a strong interest in representations of the war in both scholarly discourse and popular culture.

A range of historians, such as Weathersby, Cumings, Towle and Foot, have examined the reasons why the war continued beyond 1951. The traditional emphasis, evident in the work of Towle, has focused on the fractious negotiations between the two camps regarding prisoner of war exchanges. Weathersby, however, has centred her investigation on the role of the USSR and China persisting with the war, even in the face of opposition from North Korean leader Kim Il Sung, who was desperate to bring it to an end. Foot has given priority to the various factors that impinged on Eisenhower's negotiating position and slowed the USA's push for an armistice. Cumings has also furthered a 'revisionist' perspective by highlighting the perpetuation of US bombing on North Korea and its impact on the continuation of the war. An analysis of these various viewpoints thus gives students an opportunity to explore, in worthwhile depth, why the war did not end in 1951.

An overview of the civilian experiences of the war opens up another unexplored source of historical analysis that has been neglected. The work of authors such as Max Arthur and Joshua Levine has helped to highlight and sharpen historical analysis of military and civilian voices from World War I and II. The incorporation into the enquiry of personal accounts from Korean civilians enhances our understanding of what impact the conflict had on ordinary people and how the war has left a long-term effect.

The relationship between the two Koreas after the signing of the Armistice has been mostly neglected in Cold War depth studies. The relationship between the USSR and USA, along with their proxy allies, in the period of the 1960s to 1980s has predominantly focused on regions outside of Asia. However, the tensions on the Korean Peninsula in the period persisted, and, at various points, threatened to re-escalate into war. In classroom analysis, and in popular historical discourse, the relations between the superpowers and their proxies is treated as one of a dominant leader and a subservient follower. Although there has been a range of analyses of the USA's relationship with the leadership in South Vietnam, analysis of the continued relationship with South Korea has been comparatively neglected. However, by investigating inter-Korean tensions, we can also investigate the degree of influence and control exercised by the USA and USSR over their allies. There is an opportunity to explore the extent to which the two superpowers 'managed' the dispute on the Peninsula and the occasions when it diverged from their allies. The question of whether the Koreas constitute 'proxies' can therefore be challenged and debated in the enquiry.

The enquiry continues beyond the Cold War to explore why there has still not been a peace treaty and why the divide on the Korean Peninsula remains one of the most intractable disputes in the contemporary era.

CURRICULAR RATIONALE

The scheme of work and activities have been framed to develop students' abilities to evaluate primary sources and historical interpretations, as well as to understand the reasons the war continued.

It will be especially beneficial for students undertaking A-level modules related to the Cold War and international relations in Asia. The scheme is chronologically framed, so doing it as a continuous sequence at A-level should build a fuller, enhanced comprehension of why the conflict has proven to be intractable. Although the focus of the unit is on A-level courses, there are several activities that could be used with younger students as ways to introduce them to the process of using sources effectively.

A key aim of this unit is to improve students' understanding of how differing interpretations of the past are constructed. The scheme of work has drawn inspiration from the 2004 HMI updates to McAleavy's interpretation types (1993). A range of academic interpretations from historians have been incorporated, alongside fictional accounts from films and popular personal accounts to help students to develop their disciplinary skills.

Korean film clips have been included as part of the enquiry, drawing on the work of Lang (2002), who indicated that films can serve as a powerful medium to examine and evaluate differing interpretations of the past at A-level.

In selecting what sources to use and what activities to build to explore them, the enquiry has also drawn on the work of Riley (2000), who argued that sources need to be used as part of a cumulative journey with a clear purpose – specifically in this enquiry to comprehend why there has been no peace in Korea.

REFERENCES

- Arthur, M. (2005) *Forgotten Voices of the Second World War*, Ebury Press.
- Cumings, B. (2005) *Korea's Place in the Sun*, W. W. Norton & Company.
- Foot, R. (1990) *A Substitute for Victory: politics of peacemaking at the Korean Armistice talks*, Cornell University Press.
- Lang, S. (2002) 'Mushrooms and snake-oil: using film at AS/A level' in *Teaching History*, 108, Performing History Edition, pp. 44–48.
- Levine, J. (2016) *The Secret History of the Blitz*, UK: Simon & Schuster.
- McAlevy, T. (1993) 'Using the attainment targets in Key Stage 3: AT2, Interpretations of History' in *Teaching History*, 72, *Attainment Targets Edition*, pp. 14–17.
- Riley, M. (2000) 'Into the Key Stage 3 history garden: choosing and planting your enquiry questions' in *Teaching History*, 99, *Curriculum Planning Edition*, pp. 8–13.
- Towle, P. (2000) *Democracy and Peace Making: negotiations and debates 1815–1973*, Routledge.
- Weathersby, K. (2013) 'The decision to prolong the Korean War', Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch, www.youtube.com/watch?v=JhEYUXaRuI4

SCHEME OF WORK

OVERVIEW

The aim of the scheme of work is to develop a cohesive and developed understanding of why there has been no peace in Korea and why the conflict has proven so intractable. The scheme of work has also been framed to utilise primary sources and historical interpretations to enhance students' conceptual understanding of causes and consequences, the role of evidence, and the similarities and differences in ordinary people's experiences of war.

The scheme of work has been framed chronologically, with an overarching focus on key causal factors and events that have contributed towards the continued tensions on the Korean Peninsula.

By 1951, the war had essentially turned into one of stalemate with neither side close to a breakthrough. In Lesson 1, students analyse a range of historical interpretations for why the war dragged on until 1953.

As part of Lesson 2, students use primary accounts of Korean civilians to develop an understanding of how the war produced a range of similar and different experiences.

Lesson 3 centres on analysing and evaluating a range of factors and events connected to whether a war could have reoccurred on the Korean Peninsula in the remaining part of the Cold War.

The final lesson investigates why there has not been peace on the Korean Peninsula after the Korean War, with students giving an informed judgement based on their view of why the war has not ended.

Lesson	Key content
Lesson 1: Why did the Korean War drag on until 1953?	There will be an evaluation of historical viewpoints through an analysis of primary sources. Using primary sources, students are able to evaluate the viewpoints and make their own judgements.
Lesson 2: How did the war leave an enduring impact on the Korean people?	Students analyse primary sources – accounts of Korean citizens' experiences during the war. They will then create a memorial based on the experiences studied.
Lesson 3: Could a 'hot war' have erupted again in Korea during the Cold War?	Using primary sources to analyse key events in the Cold War era enables students to comprehend why the two Koreas did not find peace. It also allows students to investigate how and to what extent the 'proxy' allies abided by the direction of the major powers in the Cold War: the USA, USSR and China. Students will reach an overall judgement as to whether war could have reoccurred.
Lesson 4: Why has there not been peace in Korea even after the end of the Cold War?	Students analyse the various reasons as to why there has not been a rapprochement between the two Koreas since the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union. As a final exercise, students will be able to take on the role of negotiator in a mock summit, framed around finding the best potential solution to contemporary tensions on the Peninsula.

LESSON 7.1 BREAKDOWN: WHY DID THE KOREAN WAR DRAG ON UNTIL 1953?

BEFORE YOU START

You will need:

- Lesson PowerPoint 7.1
- Resource sheet 7.1A (Activity 2 recording sheet and source pack)
- Resource sheet 7.1B (Activity 3 recording sheet and source pack)

STARTER (SLIDES 1–4)

Slide 3 is a 'think, pair, share' activity. Using the image of the statue on the right side of the PowerPoint, students discuss the 'starter questions' on the left. Invite a variety of students to share responses in a whole-class discussion.

Background information:

The statue is in Seoul, South Korea. It is called the Statue of Brothers. It stands outside the Museum called 'The War Memorial of Korea', which was opened in 1994.

The upper part of the statue depicts a scene where an older brother, an officer in the South Korean army, and his younger brother, a North Korean soldier, meet in a battlefield and express reconciliation, love and forgiveness.

The lower tomb-shaped dome was built with pieces of granite collected from around Korea, symbolising the sacrifices made by Korean patriots.

ACTIVITY 1: HOW THE WAR OF MOVEMENT TURNED INTO A WAR OF STALEMATE (SLIDES 5–6)

Slide 5: Read the overview text on the slides, explaining how the nature of the war shifted. The maps come from an animated GIF that shows the changing frontline. It can be found here: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Korean_War#/media/File:Korean_war_1950-1953.gif

Slide 6: Then students watch the trailer for the South Korean film *The Frontline*. The link is on the slide. As they watch, they should note down any key features of the war that are evident in the clip. Pay attention to both the translated dialogue and the visuals in the action. They could work in pairs – one watching the imagery, the other focusing on the subtitles.

ACTIVITY 2: WHY DID THE KOREAN WAR NOT END IN 1951? HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS (SLIDES 7–11)

This is an individual activity. Students complete the table on **Slide 7** by summarising the main views of the historians on **Slides 8–11**. The table is larger on Resource sheet 7.1A (page 1), and the sources from **Slides 8–11** are on pages 2–5.

The final two columns are an extension activity requiring independent research using the Internet and articles or book reviews online.

Here is a link that they might follow for Katherine Weathersby:

www.youtube.com/watch?v=JhEYUXaRuI4

ACTIVITY 3: WHY DID THE WAR DRAG ON FOR TWO MORE YEARS AFTER 1951?

PRIMARY SOURCES (SLIDES 12–20)

Slide 12 provides a link to the next activity. It is a newsreel account of the signing of the Armistice. Note the tone of the narrator, who does not sound at all confident that the war is really over! The sense is of a significant moment but 'lots of work still to do'.

Slide 13: Activity 3, then, is an individual activity. Students complete the table (also available in larger size as Resource sheet 7.1C (page 1)). They use the primary sources from **Slides 14–20** (available as pages 2–8 of Resource sheet 7.1B). They focus on both content and overall value of the sources.

PLENARY (SLIDE 20)

Whole-class discussion returning to the key question for the lesson: Why did the Korean War drag on until 1953?

Encourage students to refer to the views of the historians that they have read and the primary sources that they have analysed to support their viewpoint.

LESSON 7.2 BREAKDOWN: HOW DID THE WAR LEAVE AN ENDURING IMPACT ON THE KOREAN PEOPLE?

STARTER (SLIDES 1–3)

Slide 2 is a 'think, pair, share' activity. Students explore the meaning of the statue shown on the introductory slide, using the questions as a stimulus. Encourage them to engage with it before you feed in the background information below as part of the class discussion.

Background information:

The statue is in Seoul. Like the memorial that started Lesson 7.1, it stands outside the museum called 'The War Memorial of Korea', which was opened in 1994.

This statue presents a heroic image of the South Korean war effort, with soldiers leading the people onwards. The statue is principally a South Korean nationalist/conservative view of the war as a common and arduous struggle led by the army. However, later perspectives throughout the enquiry will demonstrate that this is not always the received view of the conflict in South Korea. In particular, the primary source accounts used in this lesson expose flaws in the notion of a shared, proud and heroic experience.

The message of this statue and monument can be contrasted with the image that started Lesson 1. It can also be contrasted with a number of the survivor testimonies used in latter parts of the lesson.

ACTIVITY 1: HOW DID THE WAR LEAVE AN ENDURING IMPACT ON THE KOREAN PEOPLE? (SLIDES 4–13)

Slides 4–5 give an overview of the general experiences of South Korean citizens. You can read it and elaborate as much as is needed.

Slide 6 sets up the source activity. Explain it and model how to answer the questions using one of the sources – ideally Source 1 on **Slide 7**. Indicate the areas/columns of the table that need to be completed.

BEFORE YOU START

You will need:

- Lesson PowerPoint 7.2
- Resource sheet 7.2A (Activity 1 recording sheet and source pack)

NB Some sources are oral testimonies on YouTube, so students will need online access.

The table is available on Resource sheet 7.2A (page 1), and the sources from **Slides 7–13** are on pages 2–8 of Resource sheet 7.2A.

Note 1: Sources 3, 4 and 8 require students to watch YouTube clips, so online access will be needed.

Note 2: if you are pressed for time you can leave out Sources 8 and 9.

Note 3: Students may note the absence of accounts from North Korea. The reason is that there are very few recorded accounts from civilians who lived through the war in North Korea. However, there are accounts in the sources, such as President Moon’s account (Source 6) of people who fled the North as refugees to the South.

ACTIVITY 2: A MONUMENT TO KOREAN WAR CIVILIAN CASUALTIES (SLIDE 14)

Students should design (or simply describe) what they think would be a suitable monument or other form of remembrance of the Korean War and its impact on civilians.

PLENARY (SLIDE 15)

The plenary returns to the key question for the lesson: How did the war leave an enduring impact on the Korean people?

In pairs, students discuss the questions on **Slide 15**. Elicit responses from a range of students in the class. Encourage them to base their contributions on the sources they have examined.

BEFORE YOU START

You will need:

- Lesson PowerPoint 7.3
- Resource sheet 7.3A (Activity 1 photo sheet and sorting card descriptions to match them)
- Resource sheet 7.3B (Activity 2 plotting the events on maps)
- Resource sheets 7.3C (Activity 3 factor packs x 9 – one for each event)

NB Some sources are YouTube video clips, so students will need online access.

LESSON 7.3 BREAKDOWN: COULD A ‘HOT WAR’ HAVE ERUPTED AGAIN IN KOREA DURING THE COLD WAR?

STARTER (SLIDES 1–3)

Slide 2 is a ‘think, pair, share’ activity. Students consider the photo of the border area. Use the questions as stimulus. Encourage them to engage with it before you feed in the background information about the border area as part of the class discussion.

ACTIVITY 1: HOW DID COLD WAR TENSIONS CONTINUE TO SHAPE EVENTS IN KOREA? (SLIDES 4–6)

Activity 1 is a simple sorting exercise to introduce the events, developments and factors that will then be analysed through the rest of the lesson.

Show the images on **Slide 4**. Give out the Resource sheet 7.3A, which has the images and the descriptions A to I (which students can cut up and use as sorting cards if they wish). They match the images to the event and arrange the cards in a chronological order.

Note: Cards that cover the whole period can be placed at the beginning.

In case you need it, here is the correct match:

<p>D. Syngman Rhee was forced from power in South Korea. After rigged elections were held, student protestors successfully pushed for the resignation of Rhee. For a year, a fragile democratic government administered the country. A military coup led by General Park Chung Hee was carried out in 1961, with the resultant termination of the infant democracy.</p>	<p>H. Both countries carried out a continuous propaganda campaign throughout the period. Propaganda in the North was (and still is) used to promote the cult of the leader, anti-Americanism and 'anti imperialism', as well as emphasise 'Juche' – self-reliance. A ban on films and music, as well as media censorship, was in place on both sides of the Peninsula.</p>	<p>B. Kim Il Sung maintained power from 1953 to 1994, when he passed away as a result of a stroke. He used a mix of propaganda, terror and ideology to maintain control over North Korea throughout the period.</p>
<p>I. North Korea attempted an assassination on South Korean President Park. On 21 January 1968, a team of 31 North Korean commandos was sent to Seoul to assassinate President Park Chung Hee but was intercepted by South Korean security forces. All but two were killed. The North also captured a US patrol boat, the US Pueblo. South Korea planned an attempted incursion and assassination mission against Kim Il Sung. It was cancelled after diplomatic relations improved.</p>	<p>G. South Korea became involved in the Vietnam War. President Park sent troops in 1964 to support the US intervention. 300,000 South Korean soldiers served in the war until their withdrawal in 1973. South Korea's decision to join resulted from various underlying causes, including the development of US–ROK relations, political benefits and the promise of economic aid from the United States. North Korea also sought to give aid and assistance to North Vietnam.</p>	<p>A. After a short period of détente in the early 1970s, tensions reignited with the 'Axe Murder Incident' in 1976, which raised the prospect of a renewal in armed conflict. North Korean soldiers attacked an American work party trying to chop down a tree inside the demilitarised zone between North and South Korea. Two US army officers were killed. Readiness levels for American forces in Korea were raised to DEFCON 3 and rocket attacks were considered. However, the South Korean president did not push for military action.</p>
<p>E. President Park was assassinated by his intelligence chief after an argument in 1979. A military coup directed by Chun Doo-Hwan was opposed by protestors in the city of Gwangju in May 1980. Student demonstrators, labelled as 'communist sympathisers', were brutally put down, with around 160 killed. The uprising failed but served to inspire pro-democracy movements in the latter part of the decade.</p>	<p>C. An attempt to kill South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan took place when North Korea planted a bomb in a mausoleum in Yangon, Myanmar during a visit by Chun. He survived but 21 people, including some government ministers, were killed. On 29 November 1987, a bomb planted on a Korean Air flight exploded over the Andaman Sea, killing all 115 people on board. Seoul accused Pyongyang, which denied involvement.</p>	<p>F. Pro-democracy movements in South Korea swept the country. Free elections were held in 1987. The USSR collapsed. Kim Il Sung was deprived of resources and support, to the extent that it contributed towards the development of the famine in the mid- to late-1990s. However, Kim continued to maintain firm control over North Korea and started to accelerate moves towards a nuclear weapons capability.</p>

© Kim Newton All Rights Reserved

ACTIVITY 2: HOW DID COLD WAR TENSIONS CONTINUE TO SHAPE EVENTS IN KOREA? (CONTINUED) (SLIDES 7–8)

Ideally, this should be a pair activity: On the maps provided (also as Resource sheet 7.3B), students identify where each event mentioned in Activity 1 took place or where the factors occurred.

Additional questions for the students to consider while plotting the events/factors:

- What does the geographic spread of the events reveal about the nature of the conflict?
- Why did some of the events occur outside of Korea?
- What might this reveal about connections between the Koreas and Cold War allies?

ACTIVITY 3: COULD WAR HAVE BROKEN OUT AGAIN? (SLIDES 9–40)

Students ideally work in a group of three.

Each group needs a 'war and peace' arrow, as on **Slide 9**. Ideally get them to draw their own, or you could make a large one for them.

Each group also gets a range of sources related to three different events/factors, i.e. they investigate three different events/factors. You will see that some sources are shorter and simpler than others, so you might differentiate for accessibility or extra challenge for certain groups. The factor packs are on **Slides 10–40** and on Resource sheet 7.3C.

- One group gets factors 1–3 (**Slides 10–19**).
- Another group gets factors 4–6 (**Slides 20–31**).
- The final group gets factors 7–9 (**Slides 32–40**).

The first page of each 'pack' summarises the event and provides some questions, then the following pages have a range of sources.

After answering the individual questions related to their three factors, the students should then discuss as their group where on the arrow they would place their factor and justify to the group why they have made their decision.

PLENARY: COULD A 'HOT WAR' HAVE ERUPTED AGAIN IN KOREA DURING THE COLD WAR? (SLIDES 41–42)

Slide 41 reviews Activity 3. As a whole class, discuss the various factors and where on the war/peace arrow students would put the factors, using the evidence they have been provided with.

This will merge naturally into the second part of the plenary (on **Slide 42**), which returns to the lesson question: 'Could a "hot war" have erupted again in Korea during the Cold War?' and 'Why did the conflict not finish with the end of the Cold War?'

LESSON 7.4 BREAKDOWN: WHY HAS THERE NOT BEEN PEACE IN KOREA EVEN AFTER THE END OF THE COLD WAR?

BEFORE YOU START

You will need:

- Lesson PowerPoint 7.4
- Resource sheet 7.4A (Recording sheet and Factor packs for Activity 1)

STARTER (SLIDES 1–3)

This is a 'think, pair, share' activity.

What do you think are the main obstacles to peace on the Korean Peninsula? Encourage students to base this on the work in the last lesson.

ACTIVITY 1: WHY HAS THERE BEEN NO PEACE TREATY? (SLIDES 4–22)

This is a carousel activity that will take at least half a lesson.

Information related to various factors that have prevented a peace treaty will be placed around the room. There are nine stations corresponding to the different factors. The factors are on **Slides 5–20** and Resource sheet 7.4A, and are colour-coded for easy recognition.

- Factor 1: North Korea's nuclear weapons programme
- Factor 2: Defectors
- Factor 3: North Korea's human rights record
- Factor 4: US–Republic of Korea wargames
- Factor 5: 'The Sunshine Policy'
- Factor 6: Bush – 'axis of evil' and sanctions
- Factor 7: Border clashes 2010: The sinking of the *Cheonan* and the attack on Yeonpyeong island, 2010
- Factor 8: New leaders: Kim Jong-un and Donald Trump
- Factor 9: Moon's new 'sunshine policy' and summit diplomacy

Students circulate the room and fill in their table (Resource sheet 7.4A (page 1)), recording reasons why there has been no peace treaty.

Alternatively, you could have the students sitting still and the information being passed around table to table.

The groups will work at different speeds and the factors vary in complexity, but try to enforce a three-minute limit per factor, and then move to the next factor.

ACTIVITY 2: UN SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE – NORTH KOREA NUCLEAR MISSILE TEST (SLIDE 21)

As preparation for the debate, the teacher sets the scene of the simulation:

Read the script: 'Key global leaders have been requested to attend an emergency summit meeting in response to a recent missile launch by North Korea. Your role as a delegate from [a participant nation] will be to ensure that North Korea does not carry out another launch. Furthermore, you will work with others to seek a solution to the overarching tensions on the Korean Peninsula.'

A group of two to four students will then be given the role as the delegate team of an attending member state. The participant states include: South Korea, North Korea, USA, China and Russia (additional nations can include Britain or the EU).

Assign a role to each student: one student is the main delegate and another one or two students are supporting delegates. Students would need time to prepare for the three main areas of focus.

Note: This may require an additional lesson to allow time for research and preparation.

As a delegate representing a participant nation, the student's role is to identify how they would seek de-nuclearisation and consider:

- what their demands may be
- what likely demands North Korea or other powers are likely to make
- how they may respond to those demands

Students would need to prepare an opening speech of one minute, stating their view in relation to how they would seek de-nuclearisation and what their demands may be.

THE DEBATE

- The debate would begin with an introduction by the teacher, who acts as the chair of the debate.
- Each participant state would give their opening speech of one minute.
- The floor would then be opened up by the chair (the teacher) to a **moderated caucus**. Students can challenge views or suggestions put forward by different speakers. They would make a request to speak by raising their hands. The teacher would call upon speakers to state their view.
- After a period of ten to 20 minutes of moderated caucus, the session can then be opened up for an **unmoderated caucus**, where delegates can seek to find common allies to draw up a shared agenda and written resolution, based on what they intend to do; allow 20 minutes. This would be done in a free format, in which students interact and find common agreement.
- Finally, the students would present different resolutions. After hearing the various resolutions, there would then be a vote on the different resolutions. The resolution with the highest approval rating would be passed.
- Props may be used – e.g. a blonde wig for the representative of the USA.

PLENARY (SLIDE 22)

How you handle this will depend on how the debate (Activity 3) has gone or whether you have tackled it at all.

But this returns to the theme of the whole enquiry: Why has there been no peace in Korea?

SELECTED LESSON POWERPOINTS

LESSON 7.1

Enquiry 7: An unfinished war

Why was there no peace in Korea?

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.1

Enquiry 7 overview: An unfinished war. Why was there no peace in Korea?

Lesson 7.1
Why did the Korean War drag on until 1953?

Lesson 7.2
How did the war leave an enduring impact on the Korean people?

Lesson 7.3
Could a 'hot war' have erupted again in Korea during the Cold War?

Lesson 7.4
Why has there not been peace in Korea even after the end of the Cold War?

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.1

Lesson 7.1: Why did the Korean War drag on until 1953?

Starter

The statue on the right is called 'The Statue of Brothers'. It is in Seoul, South Korea.

- Who do you think the figures at the top represent?
- What do you think the dome they are standing on represents?
- What impression of the war does this give you?
- What do you think is this statue's main message?

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.1

Lesson 7.1 Overview and aims

Lesson 7.1
Why did the Korean War drag on until 1953?

In this lesson you will:

- Analyse and evaluate historians' interpretations as to why the Korean War dragged on until 1953.
- Critically assess primary sources related to the various factors that helped to prolong the war.
- Reach a judgement as to what was the main reason for the continuation of the war.

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.1

How the war of movement turned into a stalemate

For a period of a year, the frontline in Korea moved dramatically. The initial invasion of the North pushed UN and South Korean forces to the Pusan Perimeter. After MacArthur's landing of troops at Incheon and the UN advance northward, the front was pushed up towards the Chinese border.

The subsequent Chinese intervention pushed the frontline back into South Korea. UN forces regrouped and pushed Chinese and North Korean forces back to an area around the 38th parallel. In the period of a year, Seoul, the capital of South Korea, changed hands four times.

However, by April 1951, the war had become bogged down into a stalemate, with skirmishes and battles fought over mountains and passes that were claimed, lost, then reclaimed by both sides. There was no sign of a decisive breakthrough on either side. Yet this war dragged on for another two years.

Why, therefore, did peace talks drag on for two years?

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.1

How the war of movement turned into a stalemate

Activity 1

What does the film trailer reveal about the nature of the Korean War after 1951?

This is a trailer for a Korean movie made in 2011 called *The Frontline*.

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.1

Why did the Korean War not end in 1951?

Activity 2
Complete column 2 of this table using the interpretations on slides 8–11.

Extension:
Undertake your own research into the work of each historian and complete columns 3 and 4. Use analysis of historiography and supporting information from sources. Is the Korean War their specialist subject? Do they have a particular viewpoint that shapes their analysis?

Historian	Activity 2 Main views of the interpretation	Extension How can the view be supported?	Extension How can the view be challenged?
A. Kathryn Weathersby			
B. Bruce Cumings			
C. Rosemary Foot			
D. Phillip Towle			

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.1

Introduction to the Armistice

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.1

Why did the war drag on for two more years after 1951?

Content	Provenance	Tone and emphasis	Usefulness
Its view on why there was a delay to the Armistice	Nature, origin and purpose of the source (if relevant)	Does this affect the utility of the source?	... for understanding why the Armistice was delayed
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			

Activity 3
Complete this table using Sources 1–7 on slides 14–20

Plenary

Lesson 7.1

Why did the Korean War drag on until 1953?

- Overall, what do you think was the main factor that contributed towards prolonging the war until 1953?
- Why do you think there was no peace treaty?

LESSON 7.2

Lesson 7.2: How did the war leave an enduring impact on the Korean people?

Starter

- What does this memorial show?
- What are the figures doing?
- Who/what do the figures represent?
- Where do you think the monument is located?
- What does it suggest about the nature of the war in Korea?
- What does it indicate about how the war may be viewed in Korea?



Lesson 7.2 overview and aims

Lesson 7.2

How did the war leave an enduring impact on the Korean people?

In this lesson you will:

- Analyse how the Korean War impacted Korean civilians.
- Examine how the war left an enduring impact on people's lives.
- Design and create a memorial dedicated to the civilian casualties of the Korean War.

What was the general experience of war for Korean civilians?

- The Korean War was in large part a **civil war**. It had a direct impact on many Korean people across the Peninsula. It is estimated that over 2 million civilians from North and South Korea perished or went missing during the war.
- Those that survived were subjected to a **range of hardships**. A majority of people in areas where fighting occurred were robbed or conscripted to fight or work for the occupiers. A large number fled and became refugees.
- Families were divided. Many were **traumatised by their experiences** and struggled to survive in the harsh mountainous climate of the country.
- A substantial number did **escape to safer areas**, one example being the evacuation from Hungnam in North Korea by ship to South Korea.
- However, the **daily grind of life** in a war-torn country remained harsh. US and UN allies provided aid to the often starving and distraught people.

What was the general experience of war for Korean civilians?



These are some of the hundreds of thousands of Koreans who fled south in the mid-1950s after the North Korean army struck across the border. Rumours spread among US troops that the refugee columns harboured North Korean infiltrators, so the refugees themselves were sometimes subject to attack.

How did the war leave an enduring impact on the Korean people?

Activity 1

Use Sources 1–9 on the following slides and Resource sheet 7.2A to record answers to these questions.

Note that some sources are video and audio links, which will only work if you have access to the internet.

Experience	Nature of war	Impact	Usefulness
What was the individual's experience during the war?	What can you learn about the nature of the war from this account?	What was the long-term impact of the war on the individual?	How is the source valuable for understanding how Korean people experienced the war?

EVIDENCE PACK

Source 1:

'A child's life during the Korean War' (The story of Jeom Yong Yeum)

'I was 12 years old when the war started... At the time, I was a sixth grader, first year in middle school. During the time, because I was so young, I didn't realise it was a war until after the war was over. I later heard on the news that there had been a war... I was not able to attend school because I remember that all the buildings were on fire. There was no classroom so I had to study underneath trees. When I was 12 years old, I had to carry rice on my back and wear the same clothes to walk 40 kilometres down the road to the nearest city. It was very tiring finding new refuge.'

Video available at

www.youtube.com/watch?v=U_7srkZh_5k

LESSON 7.2 (continued)

EVIDENCE PACK

Source 2:
A poem by Ko Un -Yi

Jōng-yi's Family

Their bodies stank of shit. Instead of American troops, dogs came running. Their robust father likewise blackened his face. The teeth inside his lips looked stronger still. When snow fell they ventured into a village and were saved by a shed or an empty cowstall. Three hundred miles they walked, arrived at Hongsōng, settled there. When China attacked in January '51, they never reached there, being held back near the 38th parallel. They began a new life amidst the hills and fields of Hongsōng, purchased a big hospital. One daughter, Yi Jōng-yi got married, became the poet Kim Young-Moo's wife. Never late for Mass.

They walked all the way from Chinnamp'o in North Korea to Hongsōng in South Korea's Ch'ungch'ōng Province. They walked and walked, for twenty days they fled. Yi Jōn-hae and her sister Yi Jōng-yi with their parents following them. All day long walking with nothing to eat. When they found a well they drank then walked on in the flesh-biting cold. They dreaded the American troops so they smeared their clothes with their own shit. They spread soot from kitchen chimneys over their faces. The mother became a beggar-woman, her daughters beggar kids.

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.2 8

EVIDENCE PACK

Source 3:
Lee Ji-yeon's tearful reunion with her North Korean brother – family separation

Source 4:
'My war story' – Song Hae, 'Fleeing the war'

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.2 9

Activity 2

If you were to create a monument or other form of remembrance of the Korean War and its impact on civilians, what would you create? Design your idea and explain the reasons for your choice.

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.2 14

How did the war leave an enduring impact on the Korean people?

Plenary discussion

- What do the sources indicate about the impact of war on ordinary civilians?
- What other developments, implied or not fully indicated in the sources, may also have had an impact on Korean people?
- Are there any underlying sentiments that have left a long-lasting mark on the people?
- How does learning about the experiences of ordinary people in a conflict transform your understanding of war?

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.2 15

LESSON 7.3

Lesson 7.3: Could a 'hot war' have erupted again in Korea during the Cold War?

Starter

- What does the photo show?
- Where do you think it was taken?
- Where are the soldiers from?
- What are the soldiers looking at?
- What does this photo suggest about the relationship between South and North Korea?

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.3 2

Lesson 7.3 Overview and aims

In this lesson you will:

- Identify and sort the main events and factors that shaped inter-Korean relations from 1953 to the end of the Cold War.
- Analyse and evaluate primary sources related to the key events and factors that shaped diplomatic tensions on the Korean Peninsula.
- Reach a judgement on whether there was a potential for a recurrence of war in Korea during the Cold War.

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.3 3

How did Cold War tensions continue to shape events in Korea?

Activity 1

- Match these images (shown larger on Slide 6) with the descriptions on Slide 5).
- Arrange the cards in chronological order.

Note: Cards that cover the whole period can be placed at the beginning.

© Kim Newton All Rights Reserved

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.3 4

<p>A. After a short period of détente in the early 1970s, tensions reignited with the 'Axe Murder Incident' in 1976, which raised the prospect of a renewal in armed conflict. North Korean soldiers attacked an American work party trying to chop down a tree inside the demilitarised zone between North and South Korea. Two US army officers were killed. Readiness levels for American forces in Korea were raised to DEFCON 3 and rocket attacks were considered. However, the South Korean president did not push for military action.</p>	<p>B. Kim Il Sung maintained power from 1953 to 1994, when he passed away as a result of a stroke. He used a mix of propaganda, fear and ideology to maintain control over North Korea throughout the period.</p>	<p>C. An attempt to kill South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan took place when North Korea planted a bomb in a mausoleum in Yangju. Myrmar during a visit by Chun. He survived but 21 people, including some government ministers, were killed. On 29 November 1987, a bomb planted on a Korean Air flight exploded over the Andaman Sea, killing all 115 people on board. Seoul accused Pyongyang, which denied involvement.</p>
<p>D. Syngman Rhee was forced from power in South Korea. After rigged elections were held, student protesters successfully pushed for the resignation of Rhee. For a year, a fragile democratic government administered the country. A military coup led by General Park Chung Hee was carried out in 1961, with the resultant termination of the infant democracy.</p>	<p>E. President Park was assassinated by his intelligence chief after an argument in 1973. A military coup directed by Chun Doo-Hwan was opposed by protesters in the city of Gwangju in May 1980. Student demonstrators, labelled as 'communist sympathisers', were brutally put down, with around 160 killed. The uprising failed but served to inspire pro-democracy movements in the latter part of the decade.</p>	<p>F. Pro-democracy movements in South Korea swept the country. Free elections were held in 1987. The USSR collapsed. Kim Il Sung was deprived of resources and support, to the extent that it contributed towards the development of the famine in the mid-to-late-1990s. However, Kim continued to maintain firm control over North Korea and started to accelerate moves towards a nuclear weapons capability.</p>
<p>G. South Korea became involved in the Vietnam War. President Park sent troops in 1964 to support the US intervention. 300,000 South Korean soldiers served in the war until their withdrawal in 1973. South Korea's decision to join resulted from various underlying causes, including the development of US-ROK relations, political benefits and the promise of economic aid from the United States. North Korea also sought to give aid and assistance to North Vietnam.</p>	<p>H. Both countries carried out a continuous propaganda campaign throughout the period. Propaganda in the North was (and still is) used to promote the cult of the leader, anti-Americanism and anti-imperialism, as well as emphasise 'Juche' – self-reliance. A ban on films and music, as well as media censorship, was in place on both sides of the Peninsula.</p>	<p>I. North Korea attempted an assassination on South Korean President Park. On 21 January 1968, a team of 31 North Korean commandos was sent to Seoul to assassinate President Park Chung Hee but was intercepted by South Korean security forces. All but two were killed. The North also captured a US patrol boat, the US Pueblo. South Korea planned an attempted incursion and assassination mission against Kim Il Sung. It was cancelled after diplomatic relations improved.</p>

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.3 5

LESSON 7.3 (continued)

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.3

6

IA International Association
world HISTORY
DIGITAL EDUCATOR
LEADERS

How did Cold War tensions continue to shape events in Korea?

Activity 2

1. On these two maps, mark where each event or factor on Slides 5 and 6 took place or occurred. Use the larger maps on Slide 8 or Resource sheet 7.3B.

Additional questions

2. What does the geographic spread of the events reveal about the nature of the conflict?
3. Why did some of the events occur outside of Korea?
4. What might this reveal about connections between the Koreans and Cold War allies?

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.3

7

IA International Association
world HISTORY
DIGITAL EDUCATOR
LEADERS

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.3

9

IA International Association
world HISTORY
DIGITAL EDUCATOR
LEADERS

Could war have broken out again?

Activity 3

Work in a group of three. You will be given three of these events/factors to examine in detail.

1. Together, answer the questions that relate to each of your events/factors. The questions are in your source packs.
2. After answering the questions, discuss as a group where on the war/peace arrow you would put each event/factor, based on the evidence you have been given.

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.3

9

IA International Association
world HISTORY
DIGITAL EDUCATOR
LEADERS

EVENT/FACTOR CARD 1

Syngman Rhee removed from power

Syngman Rhee was forced from power in South Korea. After rigged elections were held, student protestors successfully pushed for the resignation of Rhee. For a year, a fragile democratic government administered the country. A military coup led by General Park Chung Hee in 1961 ended the infant democracy.

Activity 3A
Use your Sources 1–2 to find out:

1. What do the sources suggest about why Rhee was removed?
2. Do the sources agree at all? How do they differ?
3. Are the sources useful?
4. Using the sources, what impact did the event have on inter-Korean relations?

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.3

10

IA International Association
world HISTORY
DIGITAL EDUCATOR
LEADERS

EVENT/FACTOR CARD 2

Propaganda campaigns

Both North and South Korea continued propaganda campaigns throughout the period.

Propaganda in the North was (and still is) used to promote the cult of the leader, anti-Americanism and 'anti imperialism', as well as to emphasise 'Juche' – self-reliance. Film, music and media were censored on both sides of the Peninsula.

Activity 3B
Use your Sources 3–7 to find out:

1. What do the sources reveal about the various methods of propaganda that have been used by North and South Korea throughout the conflict?
2. How did propaganda serve to maintain tensions on the Korean Peninsula? What was the effect of the propaganda on ordinary people?
3. How useful are the sources for an understanding of how propaganda was used to maintain Cold War tensions on the Peninsula?

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.3

12

IA International Association
world HISTORY
DIGITAL EDUCATOR
LEADERS

EVENT/FACTOR CARD 3

Kim Il Sung

Kim Il Sung maintained power from 1953–1994, when he died from a stroke. He used a mix of propaganda, terror and ideology to maintain control over North Korea throughout the period.

Activity 3C
Use your Sources 8–10 to find out:

How did the continued reign of Kim provoke a continuation of tensions on the Peninsula?

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.3

17

IA International Association
world HISTORY
DIGITAL EDUCATOR
LEADERS

EVENT/FACTOR CARD 4

Raids

- In January 1968, a team of 31 North Korean commandos was sent to Seoul to assassinate President Park Chung Hee. They were intercepted by South Korean security forces. All but two were killed.
- The North also captured a US patrol boat, the *US Pueblo*. South Korea planned an attempted incursion and assassination mission against Kim Il Sung. It was cancelled after diplomatic relations improved.

Activity 3D
Use your Sources 11–15 to find out:

1. What does the Soviet reaction to the attempted assassination on Park suggest about North Korean-USSR relations?
2. How and why does the Chinese view of North Korea's actions differ to that of the USSR? (Source 11 and 13)
3. Can movies serve as useful tools of information/interpretations of an event? What are their strengths/limitations? (Source 15)
4. Why did the attempted assassinations not result in war?

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.3

20

IA International Association
world HISTORY
DIGITAL EDUCATOR
LEADERS

LESSON 7.3 (continued)

EVENT/FACTOR CARD 5

The Vietnam War
 South Korea became involved in the Vietnam War. President Park sent troops in 1964 to support the US intervention. 300,000 South Korean soldiers served in the war until their withdrawal in 1973. South Korea's decision to join resulted from various underlying causes, including the development of US-ROK relations, political benefits and the promise of economic aid from the United States. North Korea also sought to give aid and assistance to North Vietnam.



Activity 3E
 Use your Sources 16–18 to find out:

1. What did the two Koreas achieve/hope to achieve from the Vietnam War?
2. What does Y. Kim in Source 17 indicate about why South Korea was worsening the situation in Vietnam?
3. Did participation in the war have a deep impact on inter-Korean relations?


Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.3 24





EVENT/FACTOR CARD 6




The Axe Murder Incident, 1976
 After a short period of détente in the early 1970s, tensions reignited with the 'Axe Murder Incident' in 1976, which raised the prospect of a renewal in armed conflict. North Korean soldiers attacked an American work party trying to chop down a tree inside the demilitarised zone between North and South Korea. Two US army officers were killed in what became known as the 'Axe Murder Incident'. Readiness levels for American forces in Korea were raised to DEFCON 3 and rocket attacks were considered. However, the South Korean president did not push for military action.



Activity 3F
 Use your sources 19–22 to find out:


1. Were the US preparations for cutting down the tree on the second attempt an indication that war was a strong likelihood?
2. What do the Soviet and Chinese accounts (Sources 21 and 22) suggest about their perspective on the Axe Murder Incident?
3. Which source has the most value for gaining an understanding of why the incident did not escalate into war?

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.3 28

EVENT/FACTOR CARD 7




Assassination, coup and popular uprising
 President Park was assassinated by his intelligence chief after an argument in 1979. A military coup directed by Chun Doo-Hwan was opposed by protestors in the city of Gwangju in May 1980. Student demonstrators, labelled as 'communist sympathisers', were brutally put down, with around 160 killed. The uprising failed, but served to inspire pro-democracy movements in the latter part of the decade.



Activity 3G
 Use your sources 23–27 to find out:

1. Was the North involved in instigating the riots in the city of Gwangju?
2. What do the sources suggest about America's view of the Chun dictatorship and its actions in Gwangju?
3. What does the incident reveal about the relationship between the USA and its Cold War ally at the beginning of the 'Second Cold War'?


Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.3 32

EVENT/FACTOR CARD 8

Attacks




- North Korea attempted to kill South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan by planting a bomb in a mausoleum in Yangon, Myanmar during a visit by Chun. He survived but 21 people, including some government ministers, were killed.
- On 29 November 1987, a bomb planted on a Korean Air flight exploded over the Andaman Sea, killing all 115 people on board. Seoul accused Pyongyang, which denied involvement.



Activity 3H
 Use your Sources 28–30 to find out:


1. What do the attacks indicate about the North's actions/approach in the 1980s? What was the nature of the attacks?
2. Was North Korea responsible for both attacks?
3. Do the concerns outlined by Kim Il Sung show that the North was less inclined to seek a confrontation? (Source 30)

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.3 35

EVENT/FACTOR CARD 9




Democracy
 Pro-democracy movements swept South Korea. Free elections were held in 1987.
 After the collapse of Communism in the USSR in 1989, Kim Il Sung was deprived of resources and support. This contributed to the North Korean famine in the mid- to late-1990s.
 However, Kim continued to maintain firm control over North Korea and accelerated the development of a nuclear weapons capability.



Activity 3H
 Use your Source 31 to find out:

1. What does the source suggest about how the USSR's recognition of South Korea impacted on North Korea's policy?
2. Is the source valuable in developing an understanding of why the end of the Cold War did not lead to peace on the Korean Peninsula?


Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.3 39

Was a reoccurrence of war likely during the Cold War?




Activity 4

1. Where on this line would you place the events/factors you have studied?



2. Overall, was there the potential for a reoccurrence of war?

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.3 41

LESSON 7.4

Lesson 7.4:
Why has there not been peace in Korea even after the end of the Cold War?

Starter
 What do you think are the main obstacles to peace on the Korean Peninsula?

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.4 2

Lesson 7.4 Overview and aims

Lesson 7.4
Why has there not been peace in Korea even after the end of the Cold War?

In this lesson you will:

- Identify and explain the main reasons why there has been no peace treaty in Korea after the end of the Cold War.
- Debate what may be the most effective means by which to reduce tensions on the Korean Peninsula and move towards a permanent peace.

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.4 3

Why has there been no peace treaty?

Activity 1
 Around the room you will find sources and information about the main issues that have shaped relations on the Korean Peninsula from 1991 to the present. Some have improved relations; some have harmed them.

Analyse the information and sources using a table like this.

Factor/event/development	Harming relations How have these events made tensions worse? Who may be at fault? e.g. North Korea/USA	How has the factor improved relations?	Extension Are there issues of reliability related to the information or sources?

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.4 4

Factor 1: North Korea's nuclear weapons programme, pre-2015 FACTOR PACK

- 1986: Research nuclear reactor in Yongbyon is operational.
- 1993: International Atomic Energy Agency accuses North Korea of violating the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and demands inspectors be given access to nuclear waste storage sites. North Korea threatens to quit Treaty.
- 1998: North Korea fires its first long-range missile.
- 2003: North Korea withdraws from Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).
- 2014: March – North Korea test-fires two medium-range Rodong ballistic missiles for the first time since 2009, in violation of UN resolutions and just hours after the US, South Korea and Japan met in the Netherlands for talks.
- 2015: September – North Korea confirms that it has put its Yongbyon nuclear plant – mothballed in 2007 – back into operation.
- 2015: December – US imposes new sanctions on North Korea over weapons proliferation, targeting the army's Strategic Rocket Force, banks and shipping companies.

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.4 5

Factor 2: Defectors FACTOR PACK

Example 1: Song Byeok
 Song Byeok was a propaganda artist. His father drowned on their first attempt to cross the Tumen river, in 2000. When the artist finally left North Korea in 2001, he brought photos of his family with him.

Source 2A
'I was devastated. He was going under the water and couldn't get out. I rushed up to the [North Korean] border guards and asked them to save him but they just said why did I come out, why didn't I die too. They handcuffed me and took me away. It was 28 August.

I was tortured by the bowibu [state security] in Hoeryong, then jailed for four months in Chongjin prison camp.

But after I was released from the camp I felt like I needed to survive and carry on living. Right before I tried to defect again, I went back home and grabbed my family photos. Even if I died trying, I thought, at least I would have this picture with me.'

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.4 7

Factor 3: North Korea's human rights record FACTOR PACK

Source 3A:
 From an article by the Reuters news agency, 18 December 2019. News agencies research stories and then sell them to other organisations such as newspapers or TV networks

The United Nations General Assembly on Wednesday condemned the long-standing and ongoing systematic, widespread and gross violations of human rights in and by North Korea in an annual resolution that Pyongyang's U.N. envoy rejected.

The resolution, sponsored by dozens of countries including the United States, was adopted by the 193-member General Assembly without a vote. Such resolutions are non-binding but can carry political weight.

North Korea's U.N. Ambassador Kim Song told the General Assembly that the resolution has 'nothing to do with the genuine promotion and protection of human rights, as it is an impure product of political plots by hostile forces that seek to tarnish the dignity and image of the DPRK and overthrow our social system.'

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.4 9

Factor 4: US–Republic of Korea wargames FACTOR PACK

- The United States has had a military presence in South Korea for decades, which it and South Korea have long maintained is necessary for defence – and as a deterrent against North Korean aggression.
- North Korea and China see the presence of US troops in South Korea as a threat and an affront. China has grown especially concerned by the US placement of a new anti-ballistic missile system, THAAD, in South Korea.

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.4 11

Factor 5: 'The Sunshine policy' FACTOR PACK

The idea behind the policy was that persuasion was better than force, and that dialogue and economic and cultural exchange would help to change the North and foster peace between the two Koreas.

- 2000: June – Landmark inter-Korean summit in Pyongyang between Kim Jong-il and South Korean President Kim Dae-jung. It paves the way for reopening border liaison offices and for family reunions. The South also grants amnesty to over 3,500 North Korean prisoners.
- 2004: Kaesong Industrial complex launched. South Korean companies able to use North Korean labour. One intention is to enable the gradual reform of the North Korean economy.
- 2007: July – North Korea shuts its Yongbyon reactor after receiving 50,000 tons of heavy fuel oil as part of an aid package.
- 2007: August – South Korea announces that it will send nearly \$50m aid to the North after Pyongyang makes rare appeal for food relief.
- 2007: October – Second inter-Korean summit held in Pyongyang. President Roh Moo-hyun becomes the first South Korean leader to walk across the Demilitarized Zone separating North and South.
- 2008: March – North–South relations deteriorate sharply after new South Korean President Lee Myung-bak promises to take a harder line on North Korea. A North Korean soldier shoots and kills a South Korean tourist who strayed into an off-limits area in the North's Mount Kumgang resort in 2008.

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.4 13

LESSON 7.4 (continued)


Factor 6: Bush – ‘Axis of evil’ and sanctions

In January 2002, US President George W Bush labelled North Korea, Iraq and Iran an ‘axis of evil’ for continuing to build ‘weapons of mass destruction’. He vowed that no members of this triple axis would be allowed to obtain WMD. However, Bush was unable to prevent North Korea from doing so. It tested its first weapon in 2006 and later developed a delivery system.

Source 6:
Extract from an article in the Irish Times newspaper


Pyongyang accused Washington of adopting a ‘hostile and aggressive’ stance taking the two sides toward renewed conflict. China, a traditional ally of North Korea, also condemned Mr Bush’s harsh words, saying they would only disrupt world peace and stability.

The North’s official Korean Central News Agency said: ‘The remarks were merely US shenanigans aimed at continuing with its policy of aggression against us. The remarks were also aimed at justifying the stationing of US troops in the South and keeping up with its hostile and aggressive policy.’



Socialist revolution monument at Mansudae Grand Monument, North Korea

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.4 14



Factor 7: Border clashes 2010

The sinking of the *Cheonan*, March 2010

A South Korean warship, the *Cheonan*, was sunk near the disputed sea border with North Korea near Baengnyeong Island. Forty-six of 104 South Korean sailors on board were killed or missing.

A multinational investigation team led by South Korean military concluded that the warship was sunk by a North Korean torpedo from a midget submarine.

North Korea denied involvement. Its state-run newspaper *Rodong Sinunm* commented: ‘The *Cheonan* sinking was fabricated by pro-US conservative administrations seeking to incite a standoff between the two Koreas.’


The attack on Yeonpyong Island, November 2010

North Korea fired 170 artillery rounds, which killed two South Korean marines and two civilians and destroyed more than a dozen homes. This was the first attack on a civilian location since the 1953 truce. The South fired 80 rounds in return.

North Korea insisted that it did not fire first and blamed the South for the incident.

Seoul was criticised for its late and weak response. It ordered a review of its defence. It sent more troops and equipment to the islands. The defence minister quit. Most civilians left the island. Six days later, the US and South Korean forces, including an aircraft carrier, started exercises in the same area.

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.4 15



Factor 8: Kim Jong-un takes control

- **2016:** May – The ruling Workers Party holds its first congress in almost 40 years, during which Kim Jong-un is elected leader of the party, although he had been chairman of the party since 2012.
- **2016:** November – UN Security Council further tightens sanctions by aiming to cut one of North Korea’s main exports, coal, by 80%.
- **2017:** January – Kim Jong-un says that North Korea is in the final stages of developing long-range guided missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads.
- **2017:** February – Kim Jong-un’s estranged half-brother Kim Jong-nam is killed by a highly toxic nerve agent in Malaysia, with investigators suspecting North Korean involvement.



Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.4 16



Factor 9: Moon’s new sunshine policy and summit diplomacy, 2018

Moon’s new sunshine policy

- **2018:** January – First talks in two years between North and South Korea begin that leads to the North sending a team to the Winter Olympics in the South.
- **2018:** April – Kim Jong-un becomes first North Korean leader to enter the South when he meets South Korean President Moon Jae-in for talks at the Panmunjom border crossing. They agree to end hostile actions and work towards reducing nuclear arms on the Peninsula.

Source 9A:
Comment by Robert Kelly, Korea analyst at the Lowy Institute. The Lowy Institute is an independent think tank that funds scholars to write articles on international affairs

‘The core argument of Moon’s détente effort – like that of his liberal predecessors from 1998 to 2008 – is that North Korea will temper its behaviour, or even become a partner to South Korea, if we bring it in from the cold. So the traditional approaches of sanctions and containment favoured by the US, Japan, and the South Korean right are actually making the problem worse.

The American relationship is hotly debated, as the US is often blamed for supporting repressive dictators in pre-democratic South Korea. And there is sneaking suspicion that the US military presence here manipulates South Korean foreign policy, a neo-colonial critique.’

Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.4 18



UN Security Council debate: North Korea nuclear missile test

Activity 2

The scenario is that North Korea has just tested a new nuclear weapon. Tensions on the Korean Peninsula have reached an all-time high. You are a delegate representing a participant nation. Your role is to identify:

- how you would seek de-nuclearisation
- what your demands may be
- what likely demands North Korea or other powers are likely to make
- how you may respond to those demands



Exploring and Teaching the Korean War | Lesson 7.4 21