

Revisit Decolonized State-building & Post-Korean War Peacebuilding and Its Implication to R.O.K.'s Implementation of SDG 16(Peace) in Fragile States

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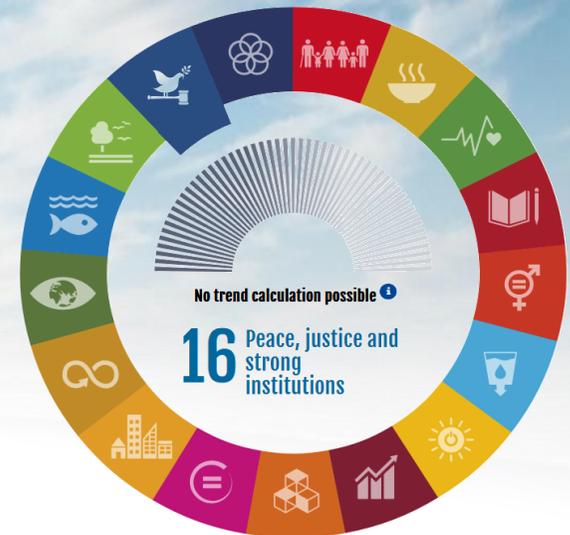


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I. Introduction

II. Evolution of Peacebuilding in the UN System

III. State-building & Peacebuilding in the Korean Context (1945~1961)

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Introduction

- ❑ The Korean Peninsula had undergone a turbulent transition from the sudden independence from the Japanese imperialism and the debatable division of the two Koreas since the end of the World War II.
- ❑ The Korean War put the peninsula into irrevocable turmoil. The War was called on robust and coercive action of the U.N. member states, the first case to apply a large-scale international security and peace enforcement mechanism, centered on the United States and other 15 allies, and endorsed by the UN Security Council Resolution No. 83 (1950.6.27). It labelled the South Korea as the main consumer of international security apparatus.
- ❑ After the Korean War (1950~1953), ODA was the only source of capital, since the S. Korean socio-economy had been almost devastated by the war. Much of the assistance in 1950s was focused on military support and humanitarian relief. Food aid, daily necessities, some raw materials and basic machinery parts were also provided to meet the basic human needs and rehabilitation of nascent economy.
- ❑ Since the 1960s, the S. Korea had transformed its war-torn economy to rapid growing industrial economy with concessional loans from IFIs and donors, FDI from MNCs and finally came to end its dependence on foreign aid in 1990s.

Introduction

- ❑ Compared to economic development, democratic governance and human rights based rule of law far left behind in that physical and structural violence by the state had been rooted for a considerable period of time. However, continuous people's movement and mature civil society paved the way for democratization and brought civilian government in 1980s.

- ❑ Converted as a donor country since 1990s, the S. Korea has become a major financial contributor of UN Peace Operations, deploying its well-trained military contingents to UN missions and assuming chairmanship of the UN Peacebuilding Commission in 2017, which achieved industrialization and democratization through state-building and peacebuilding after World War II.

- ❑ Question may arise as to:
 - A. ***“Can the case of S. Korea's state-building and peacebuilding be a model of HDP Nexus?”*** and
 - B. ***“What implications does the S. Korea's case have for the implementation of peace agenda of SDG16 in countries of fragility?”***

- ❑ The article explores the questions with contextual analysis of the U.S. military government's state-building (1945~1948) and Post-Korean war recovery and reconstruction (1950~1961) in theoretical perspective of peacebuilding.

I. Introduction

II. Conceptualization of Peacebuilding

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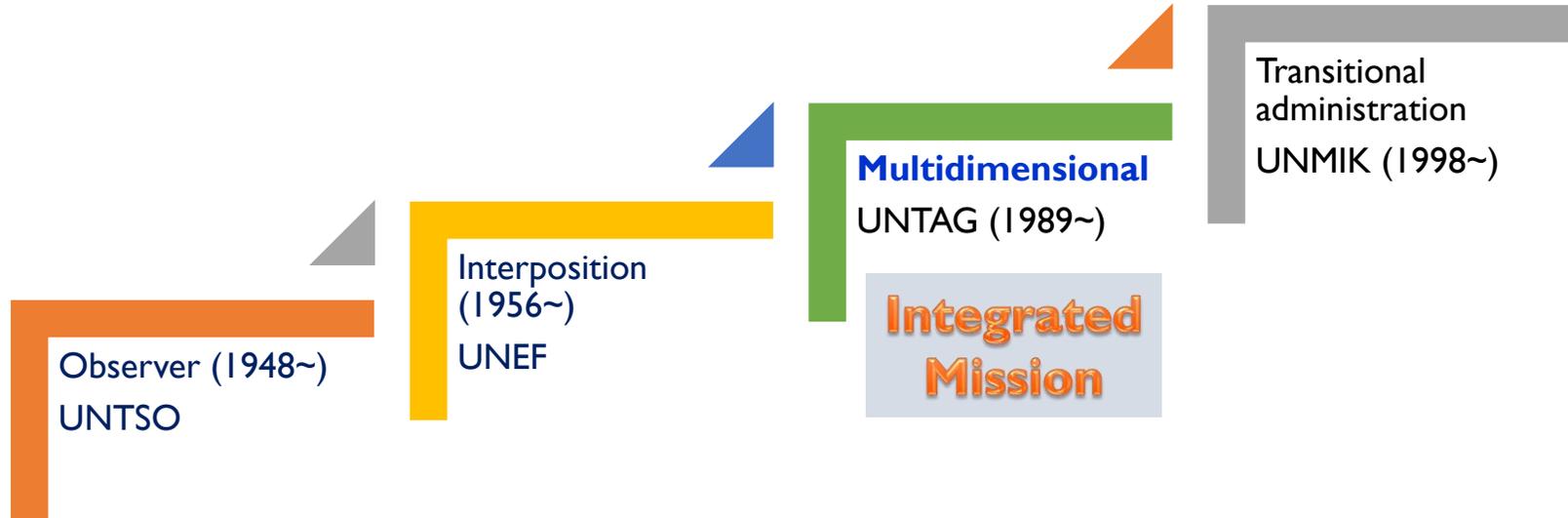
Conceptualization of Peacebuilding

Transformational Peacekeeping



activities intended to create conditions that favor lasting peace

United Nations
Peacekeeping



* Presented at the 14th Jeju Forum for Peace and Prosperity, Jeju, South Korea, May 29-31, 2019, http://www.jejuforum.or.kr/m21_program.php?year=2019

Conceptualization of Peacebuilding

**Multidimensional
Peacekeeping**

**(Post-Conflict)
Peacebuilding**



In order to eradicate *root-causes* of conflict, eradication of structural violence is needed

Boutros Ghali (1992), *An Agenda for Peace*



Peacemaking: “action to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations”

Peacekeeping: “the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned, normally involving United Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well”

Post-conflict Peacebuilding: “action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict”



State-building



Preventive action to eradicate *root-causes*

Conceptualization of Peacebuilding

MDGs
(2000)



“*Brahimi Report*” (Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations) (2000)



Long term **conflict prevention** addresses the structural sources of conflict in order to build a solid foundation for peace

Peacemaking addresses conflicts in progress, attempting to bring them to a halt, using the tools of diplomacy and mediation

Peacekeeping is...primarily military model of observing ceasefires and force separations after inter-State wars, to incorporate a complex model of many elements, military and civilian, working together to build peace in the dangerous aftermath of civil wars

Peace-building...defines activities undertaken on the far side of conflict to reassemble the foundations of peace and provide the tools for building on those foundations something that is more than just the absence of war

Conceptualization of Peacebuilding

Report of the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations (HIPPO): “Uniting our Strengths for Peace: Politics, Partnership and People” (2015)



- ① Politics driven
- ② Flexibly responded
- ③ Partnership needed
- ④ People centered

Four essential shift

Four Approaches

- *Conflict prevention* and mediation must be brought back to the fore
- *Protection of civilians* is a core obligation of the United Nations, but expectations and capability must converge
- Clarity is needed on the use of force and in the role of United Nations peace operations and others in managing armed conflict
- Political vigilance is needed *to sustain peace*.

Conceptualization of Peacebuilding

António Guterres (2018) “[Report on Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace](#)”

1. First, it elevates the role of civil society (including **women’s and youth groups**), the private sector, and regional organizations in sustaining peace.
2. Second, the Report highlights recent advances in **joint assessment, planning, and programming**,
3. Third, the SG buttresses the case for “**more predictable and sustained financing**” for civilian-led peacebuilding,
4. The Report stresses up front that the **UN development system** and development practitioners in general are central to **conflict prevention and sustaining peace**.

(Ponzio, 2018)



I. Introduction

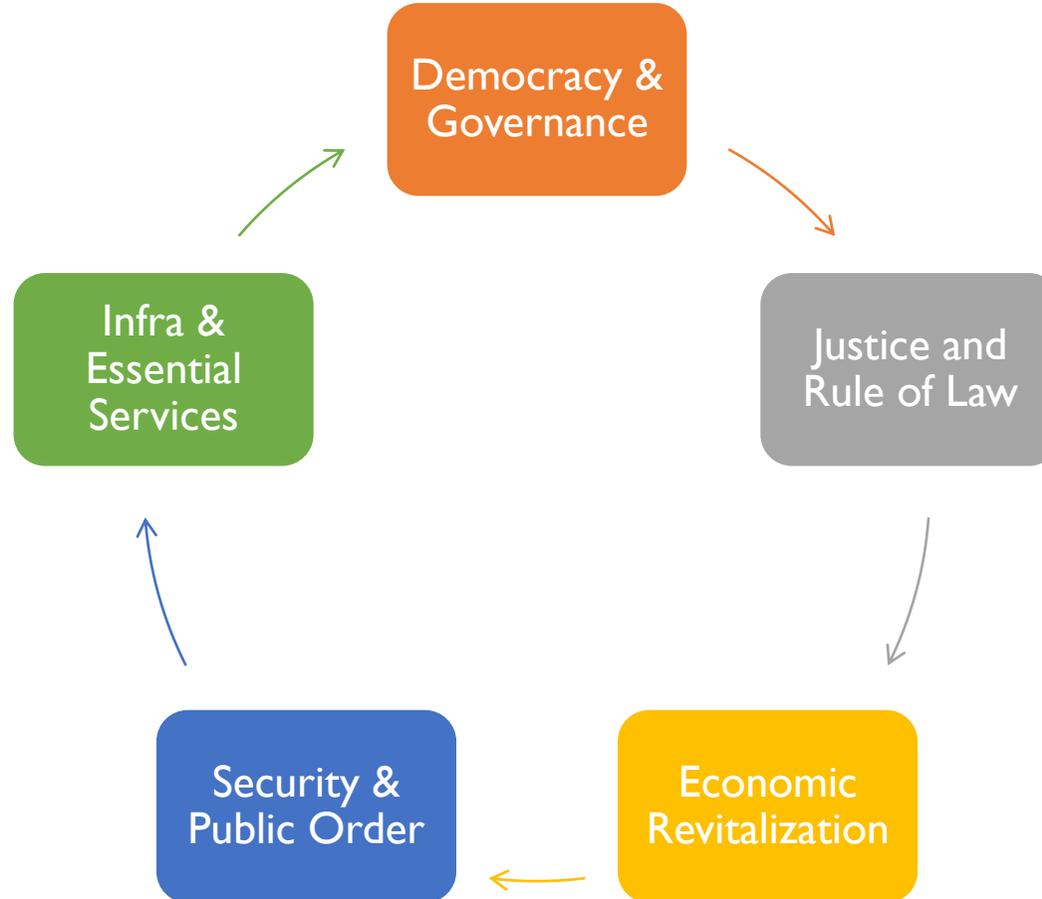
II. Conceptualization of Peacebuilding

**III. State-building & Peacebuilding in the
Korean Context (1945~1961)**

IV. Implication

State-Building & Peacebuilding in the Korean Context

Peacebuilding Components



* Presented at the 14th Jeju Forum for Peace and Prosperity, Jeju, South Korea, May 29-31, 2019, http://www.jejuforum.or.kr/m21_program.php?year=2019

The U.S. Military Gov't's State-building

- Whereas the North Korea accepted communism, S. Korea adopted liberal democracy as its governing ideology. The United States established its military government as a transitional authority in the process of decolonization. **During the struggle and ideological conflict of state-building efforts between South and North Korea, the United Nations launched ambitious relief and reconstruction mission in partnership with the United States to provide nascent political and economic support.**



*US military officers representing the US military government lower the Japanese flag and plant the US one in Korea.
(Source: US Navy)*

Democracy and Governance

- In the midst of the conflict among the right-wing conservatism, center-left national self-reliance and determination and radical left-wing communism, inclusive democratic governance was failed to be instituted with the emergence of the Cold War system auspices of the Truman Doctrine. The U.S. transferred its responsibility of the election of the constitutional assembly to the UN, which led to the establishment of the right-wing government.
- The fact that about 50% of the members of the constitutional assembly were independent due to the withdrawal of left-wing parties implies a weak foundation of the assembly from popular supports.
- **Though the Constitution, promulgated in July 1948 reflected the people's desire to realize freedom, equality and dignity after liberation, the issues were raised as to participation of pro-Japanese group in the drafting committee under the influence of the US Military Government, and more importantly it did not fully represents the wishes of the people who preferred social democratic values. (Kim 2018, 36).**

Justice and Rule of Law

- Justice and the rule of law refers to guarantee the rights and freedoms of citizens in a multitude of multiple meanings, which include equal protection and non-discrimination of citizens, access to law, legitimate procedures, accountability of judicial authorities and judicial independence (Pouligny 2003, 359).
- After the liberation, the judicial system was separated from the executive in accordance with the independence of the judiciary and the law guardianship, which fulfilled a principle of check and balance among state institutions.
- Korean legal experts, who used to be minorities in the Japanese imperialism, monopolized the judicial power in the system of liberal rule of law (Lee 2005, 135-175). In particular, the criminal justice system was firmly established and it had employed an approach that has a solid superiority over the public (Lee 2015, 177-178).
- **Though the establishment of judicial and rule of law system through the enhancement of the independence of the judiciary in procedural, practical and minimalist aspect could be lauded, it often failed to fulfill the responsibilities to ensure equal legal access and human rights in the substantive and comprehensive aspect of rule of law.**

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Security and Public Order

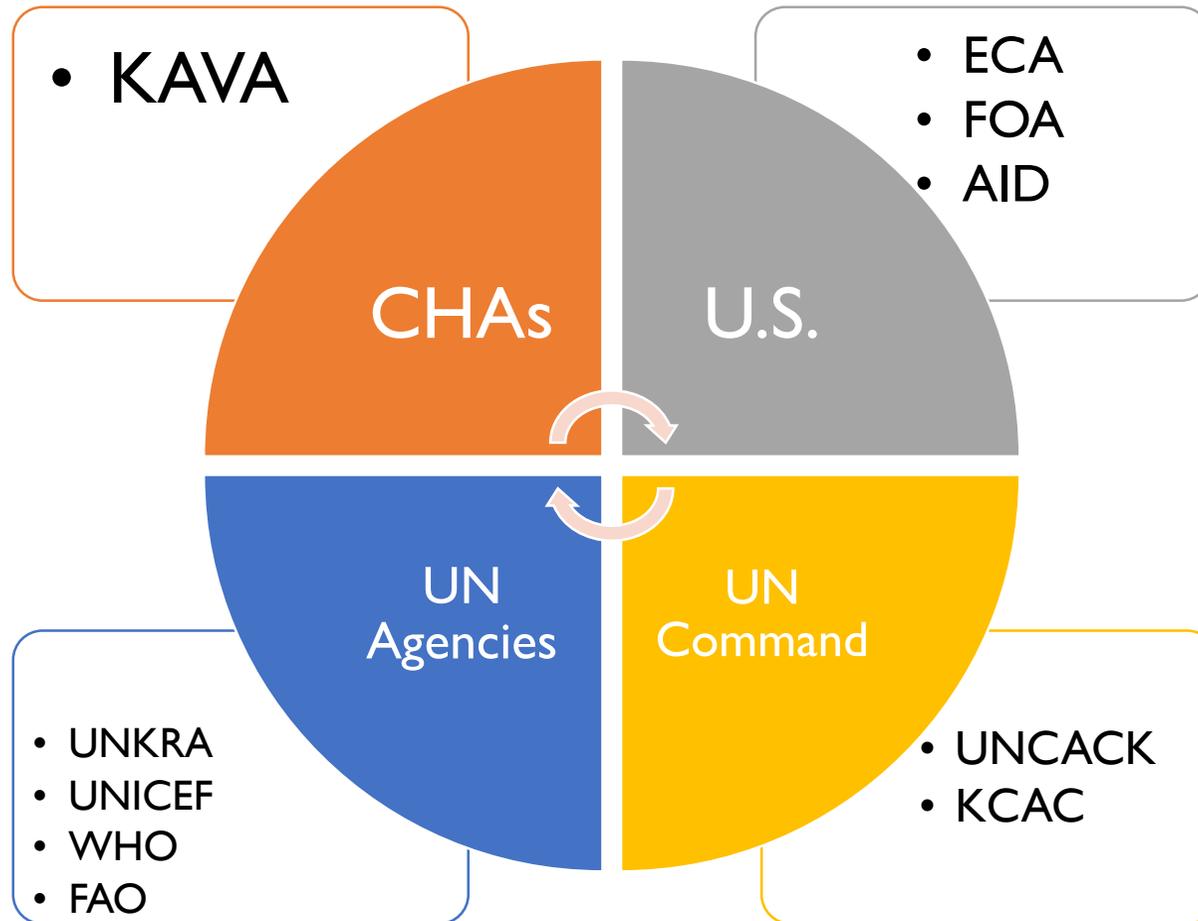
- Traditional conceptual security is the ability to protect the territorial defense and the underlying values pursued as a nation against external military threats. Therefore, security is linked to freedom from war and high expectations that there will be no defeat as a result (Bellany 1981, 102).
- In the course of Security Sector Reform (SSR), the US military government denied the legitimacy of 40 self-governing military groups and 162 local voluntary community policing centers and disband them thoroughly. Instead it had implemented procedures to establish a new armed force and police institutions. The former, in early days recruited the group, used to serve Japanese and Manchurian armies as a mainstream, and after that, the “Liberal Army” and the left-wing army, the "Chosun Armed Forces," participated privately (Lee, 2013) whereas the latter reemployed pro-Japanese personnel for the so-called stable transfer rather than the fundamental change which the public demanded.
- Therefore, **the security apparatus actively committed the violence suppressing the leftist-oriented organizations and significantly attributed to the massacre of Jeju in April 3rd and the Yeosu-Suncheon in 1948 and it was ultimately one of the main factors causing the outbreak of the Korean War.**

Economic Revitalization

- Economic revitalization is the key to reducing the gap between humanitarian aid and development in the context of post-conflict reconstruction. The premise is that the problems are different and differentiated from the economy of a normal state in the turbulent period (Ohiorhenuan and Kumar 2008).
- Of course, reconstruction of the economic sector can be said to restore the situation before the armed conflict, *building back status quo* but it is a limited definition. Rather a system of a new type of post-war political economy to establish a self-sufficient economy should be created, *building back better*.
- The economic revitalization can be divided into the period of relief and reconstruction, from 1948 to 1950, the period of the establishment of the S. Korean government from 1950 to 1953, and finally the economic reconstruction and stabilization support period (1953 ~ 1960).

State-Building & Peacebuilding in the Korean Context

Economic Revitalization



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State-Building & Peacebuilding in the Korean Context

Economic Revitalization

(Unit: USD in thousand)

	GARIORA	ECA	CRIK (UNCACK)	UNKRA	ICA	PL480¹	AID
Period	1945~1948	1949-1953	1950~1956	1951-1960	1953-1961	1956-1962	1962
Volume	409,394	201,867	457,378	122,084	1,743,929	269,956	165,001
Total	3,369,609						

Excerpted and modified by Seo, 1963, p33

- After the outbreak of the Korean War, civilian aid organizations including the organizations that had been active since the Japanese occupation were involved in fund raising and direct relief activities in Korea based on the temporary capital Busan. From July 1950 to November 1952, Individuals and organizations donated \$ 10.9 million through the United Nations (KAVA 1995). In addition, direct support includes establishing and operating welfare facilities, supporting materials and resources for health facilities and housing for returnees from fom Japan and North Korea.

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State-Building & Peacebuilding in the Korean Context

Case study: Korean Credit Union Movement



Sr. Mary Gabriella Fr. JANG, Dai-Ik

Int'l CU Principle

- **Open Voluntary Membership**
- **Democratic Control**
- **Non-discrimination**
- **Distribution to members**
- **Building Financial Stability**
- **On-going Education**
- **Cooperation among Cooperatives**
- **Social Responsibility**

Financial & Technical Cooperation to Korean Credit Unions

- Asia Foundation: Grants to training
- CUNA, USA: Grants to TOT
- USAID: Tech. cooperation and financing to CFF
- UNDP: Grants to TOT in Yong In area
- CUNA Mutual, USA: Tech. coop to open mutual insurance services
- MISEREO, Germany: Grants to infrastructure (training centre)
- ADENAUER, Germany: Grants to develop CU in rural areas
- RABO Bank, Netherland: Grants to PR capacity building



- **Members: 5,970,000**
- **No. of CUs : 898**
- **Total Assets: USD68.5bil.**
- **4th largest CU of WOCCU member CUs**
- **Founding member of Asian Confederation of Credit Unions**
- **Tri-lateral cooperation to CU movement in the NE China**
- **Donor to build capacity of CUs in Asia**

I. Introduction

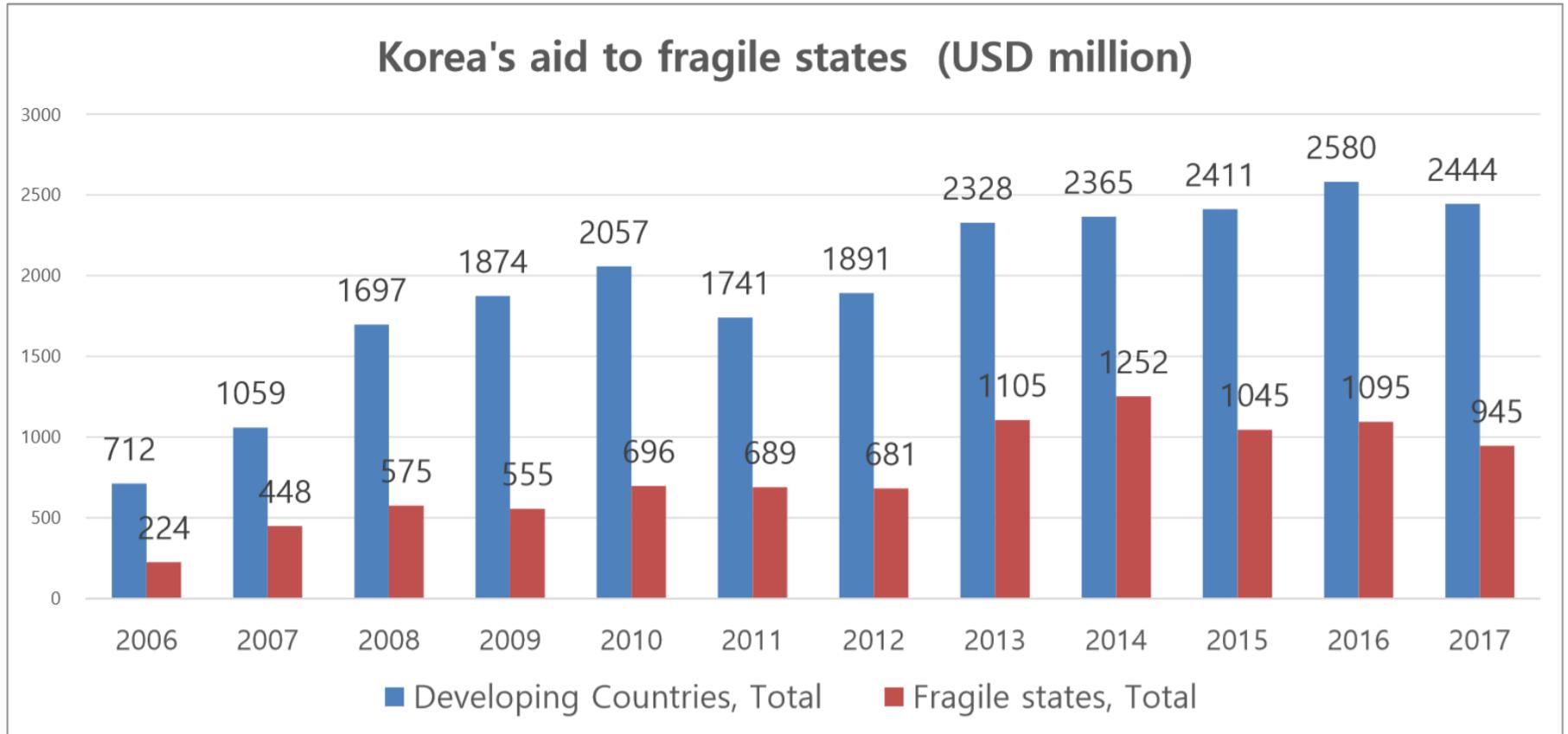
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IV. Implication

S. Korea's ODA to Countries in Fragility

S. Korea's ODA to countries in fragile context has been increased steadfastly



Source: OECD/DAC Statistics and excerpted from JUNG, 2019

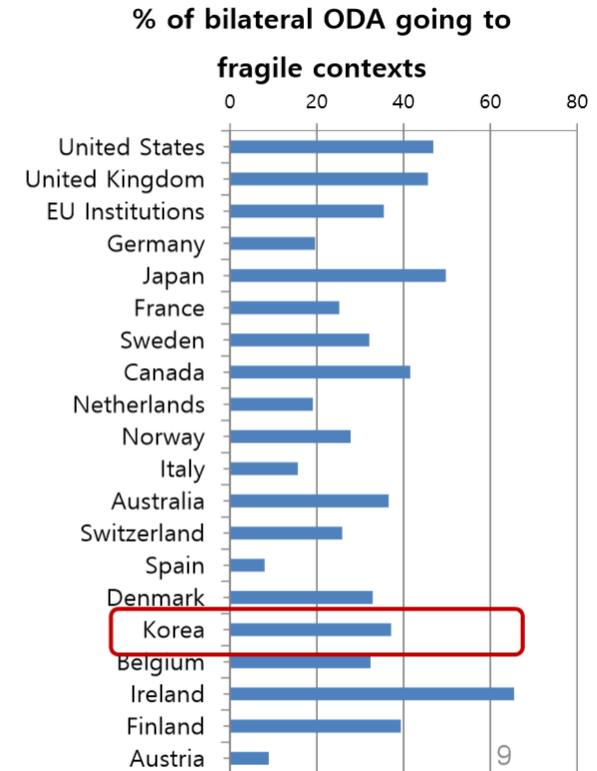
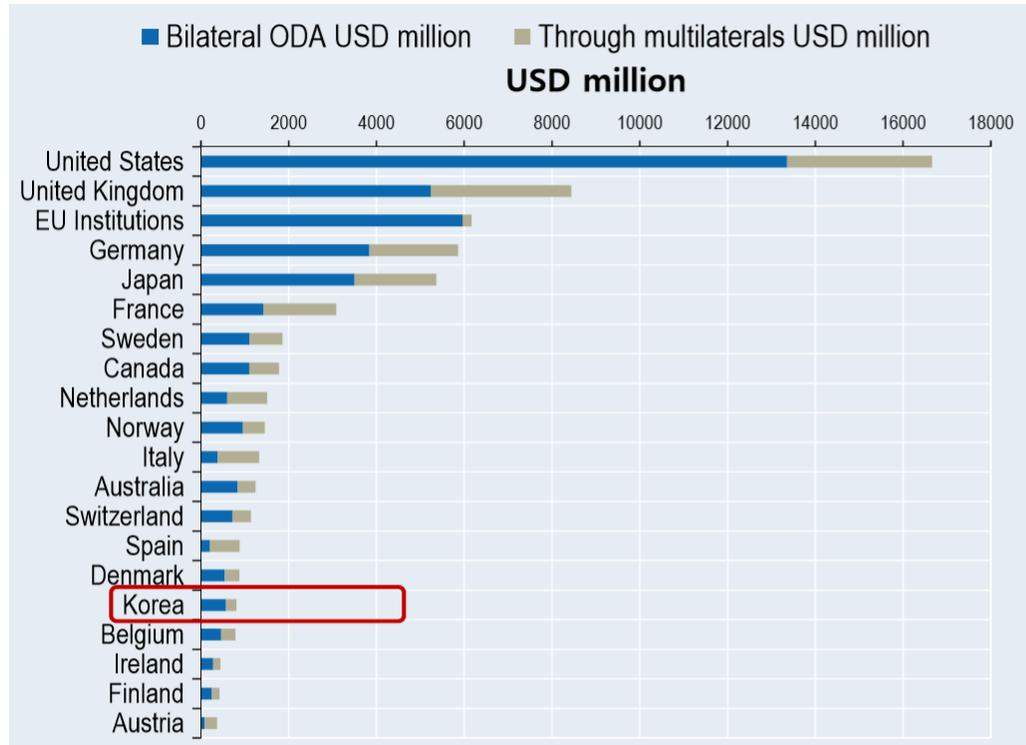
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S. Korea's ODA to Countries in Fragility

Though S. Korea is the 7th largest donor in ODA volume, it is ranked 16th in ODA to fragile context

Top 20 DAC donors to fragile contexts, through bilateral/multilateral channels 2016



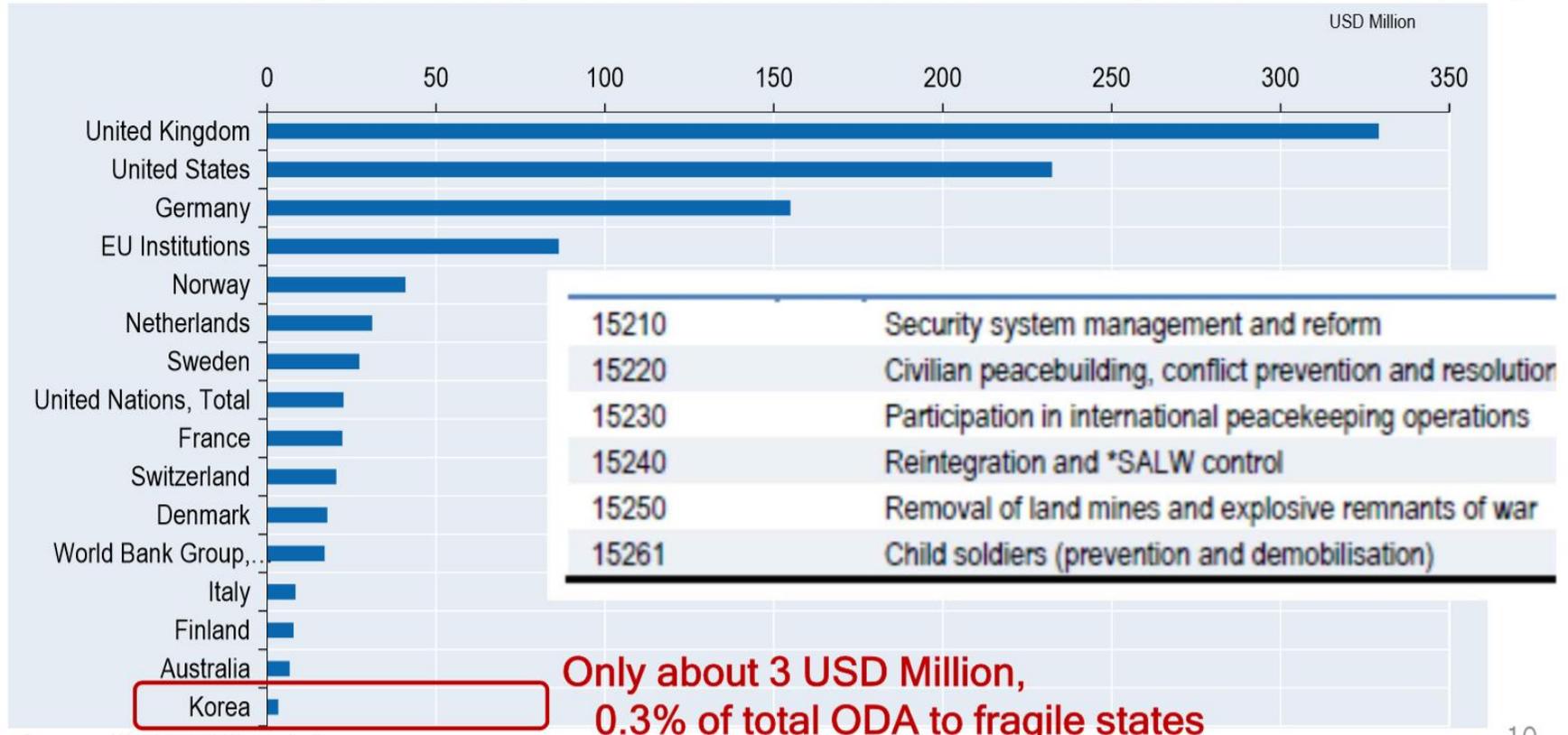
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S. Korea's ODA to Countries in Fragility

Less committed to contribute to prevention of conflict, peacebuilding including security & public order

Top 15 DAC donors (+ Korea) that provide ODA for conflict, peace and security to fragile countries (2016)



Source: OECD/DAC Statistics and excerpted from JUNG, 2019

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Learned from the S. Korea case:

- **Transformational approach** that leads to more fundamental change of causes of conflict, derived from structural and cultural violence rather than stabilization approach to return to pre-conflict status quo.
- Economic reconstruction and revitalization are important, but peacebuilding requires **a broader, comprehensive, and cross-sectoral perspective**. In particular, various sectors should be considered, such as democratization and good governance, human rights based justice and rule of law, people-centered safety, security and public order, and stable provision of essential social services.

Learned from the U.S. Military Gov't:

- In-depth analysis and understanding of the political, economic, social and cultural context of the field in peacebuilding should be stressed.

Recommendation to S. Korea in its Initiative of Peace ODA in SDG16

- Relevant policy and implementation strategy should be aligned with Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals of New Deal and UN's Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace agenda
- Whole of government (inter-ministerial) approach to peacebuilding initiative in ODA to fragile contexts should be institutionalized, in particular 3D (Diplomacy, Defense and Development)
- Awareness of multi-dimensional peacebuilding and have peace competence should be raised in public and private actors in development cooperation
- Civilian peacebuilders in various fields should be cultivated to implement building peace in achievement of SDG16.

Thank you