

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Historically, the Korean Peninsula was under Japanese colonialism on the World War II period. On August 1945, Japan surrendered the war over the Allies since two nuclear bombs had been dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As the party who surrender and lose the war, Japan had to give up every authority, had to pay the reparation of the war and gave up its colonial territory. Korean peninsula as the Japanese colonial territory at that time switched power and authority to the Allies.

After World War II era, the war of ideology happened between the United States and the Soviet Union. All areas and countries in the world mostly divided into two poles between Communism and Capitalism, including in Korean peninsula. The southern part of the Korean peninsula was under the United States' authority, as south side is close to Japan as the US base at that time. The northern part was taken by the Soviet Union, as its location near to People's Republic of China as one of USSR communist allies. Even though the war between the US and USSR was called as Cold War—since there was no direct war and arms race only, but proxy war occurred around the globe. Proxy war was the war which happened between two countries or more as the effect or influenced by the war of other countries. A Proxy war is the war in regional states that have a direct confrontation where one state influenced by one superpower state while another state influenced by another superpower states (Bar-Siman-Tov, 1984). Proxy war was very popular term during Cold War as the impacts of the United States and Soviet Union war were happened everywhere, the Korean peninsula was one of them. In 1950, Korean War occurred where Korean peninsula divided into two part as South Korea and North Korea on the 38th parallel.

Korean War was one of the most tragic wars affected by the proxy war of the United States and the Soviet Union. The victims and casualties were many. Among South Korean

soldiers the casualties were measured around 46,000 killed on the battlefield. From the North Korea estimated around 215,000 soldiers killed as the cause of the war (Hickey, 2011). Korean War started in 1950 and it was ended in 1953.

Even though Korean War had ended but the division in the Korean peninsula is still happening. The south part established its independent states as the Republic of Korea with Democratic and Liberal ideology. While the northern one declared independently as Communist state named Democratic People's of Korea. The fact that there was no peace treaty or cease-fire agreement at the end the Korean war makes the situation unstable and is somehow still threatening in the Korean Peninsula until today.

The emergence of nuclear power from North Korea has increased higher tension between the two states. It seems like there is no peace situation in the Korean peninsula, as North Korea uses a nuclear weapon as its deterrence over South Korea and the US as its allies. Even though there was no direct attack of a nuclear warhead from North to South but the Democratic People of Korea's government has been continuously conducting nuclear tests and showing off its nuclear capacity. This has been a new security threat for South Korea and for East Asia as a region or the international sphere in particular.

The hope of creating peaceful situation in post-Korean War has emerged since long time ago, as both states are actually sharing the same ethnicity, culture, language, and history. The idea to create peace between South and North is such an important agenda, especially concerned by South Korea's government. This can be reflected from its nation's foreign policy. As in 1998, President of South Korea Kim Dae Jung was the president who initiated to implement Sunshine Policy.

Sunshine Policy is the foreign policy agenda of South Korea to approach and establish better relation and communication toward North Korea. There are several principles that emphasize on Sunshine Policy that had delivered by Kim Dae Jung in his inauguration speech:

“The first principle is non-tolerance of military threat or armed provocation by North Korea. Second, the official abandonment of the idea of unification by absorption and the negation of any other measures to undermine or threaten North Korea. And third, the promotion of exchange and cooperation through resumption of the 1991 Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-aggression and Exchange and Cooperation.” (Chung-In, 2000)

According to President Kim, the right way to response North Korea’s aggressive tension of nuclear weapon should not be using a weapon. It should be in a soft way which is done through several cooperations. As the philosophy of Sunshine Policy itself is taken from Aesop’s fable “The North Wind and The Sun” which says to softened the stone should not be with throwing back another stone, but it should be with water drop that slowly would change the shape of the stone (Hoare, 2015).

Sunshine Policy also continued to be implemented in another presidential era after Kim Dae Jung, which was on Roh Moo Hyun administration in 2003 to 2008. South Korea’s perspective toward North Korea was also framed in Sunshine Policy as at that time, seen as the most suitable and effective approach that South Korea had.

In 2008, Lee Myung Bak was elected as a new president. Under President Lee’s administration, the foreign policy shifted. Sunshine Policy was no longer being used, as Lee Myung Bak believes that approaching North Korea should have not in “soft” ways. On his administration Sunshine Policy changed to *Hardline Policy*, where it emphasizes on pressuring and insisting North Korea to stop its nuclear program in the first place, then South-North would have a reciprocity relations in the term of humanitarian aid and economic assistance (Kim H. N., The Lee Myung Bak Government's on North Korea Policy And the Prospect for Inter-Korea Relations, 2008).

South Korea was through a new presidential administration in 2013, under Park Geun Hye. President Park is

the first Korean female president. On her administration, South Korea also experienced a different approach dealing with North Korea. President Park came with a new foreign policy approach called *Trust Politic Policy* (Messerlin, 2013). This foreign policy was seen as an unclear perspective of South Korea, as it emphasizes that South Korea would increase military power and cooperation with its allies yet at the same time flexible negotiation and aid toward North Korea were still be done.

In May 2017, Moon Jae In was elected as a new president of South Korea. Along with a new president comes a new foreign policy approach for South Korea. In his inauguration speech, President Moon spoke up that the main agenda on two Korean relation is to create peaceful coexistence in Korean Peninsula area. Arranging meeting with the North Korean leader is highly possible to ease the high tension between North and South (Dong-Hwan, 2017). Moon Jae In also more concerns about soft ways approach related with North Korea issues, such as sending humanitarian aid and restore the economic cooperation between North and South. It shows President Moon's stance orienting again to Sunshine Policy which has been stopped for the past ten years. The reorientation to Sunshine Policy will absolutely change the inter-Korea ties. In short term, reorientation to Sunshine Policy might be as enlightenment for the South-North to approach better relations. Under Sunshine Policy, persuading North Korea to neutralize its nuclear power also is highly possible. In the long term, the wish to achieve peaceful region in the Korean peninsula might be granted even it is still a long way to go.

B. Research Question

Based on a brief explanation that has been mentioned above in the background, the research question for this research is **“Why South Korea under Moon Jae In administration reoriented to Sunshine Policy?”**

C. Theoretical Framework

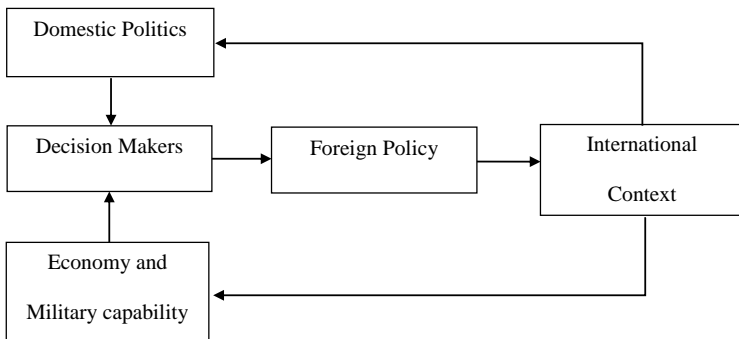
In conducting the research, using proper theory from International Relations scholars are important and needed in order to analyze the phenomenon. In this research, the writer will use a theory as described below:

Decision Making Process Theory

Decision-making process is one of the most crucial parts of the political system in a state. This process enables the government to create certain policies and output toward either its domestic or foreign relations as the response of problems or necessity that the state has faced at the moment.

There are many decision-making process models and approaches proposed by many scholars, but in this research specifically uses the Decision Making Process theory introduced by William D. Coplin. The decision-making process by William D. Coplin is illustrated in the scheme below:

Figure 1.1
Decision Making Process Theory by William D. Coplin



Retrieved from (Coplin, 1992)

The illustration explains how a decision or a foreign policy is made in a state. A state's decisions to make a policy are influenced by Domestic Politics or Domestic Situation within

the state, Economy-Military factor, and International Context (Coplin, 1992). The decision maker also takes important portion in this Coplin scheme.

The *first* factor, domestic politics is a set of determinants that works in a foreign policy of the state. The stability and openness of a political system can be included in this aspect. Domestic politics is also highly related with cultural actors which are underlied on human behavior. It means that the Domestic Politics is the factor affecting decision-making process which is coming from human behavior inside a state, it can be the behavior that represents under a whole political system or even the behavior of a single decision-maker—leader or head of state. *Second*, another influencing factor is the economy and military background. Economy and military aspects are two important aspects in a nation-state that shows the state capability. The economy-military capability will define what kind of decision that the state will make. These two factors will highly influence the decision made by the state since using military and economic capability would determine the national interest. Under this aspect, geographic factor or geopolitics factor is being considered as well in a decision-making process. At the *last*, international context can be understood as influence from foreign policies of other states in the international sphere, whether it was in the past, present, future, or in the prediction as well. It also can be defined as the influence of other states which is relevant or related to the issue.

Therefore, based on the theory above the writer will use it to analyze the factors behind South Korean decision to implement Sunshine Policy as its foreign policy.

The theory of Decision Making Process by William D. Coplin is used to analyze the background behind South Korea decision under Moon Jae In administration reoriented to Sunshine Policy. Based on Coplin's theory, South Korea orienting to Sunshine policy again is driven by several factors.

First, domestic politics of South Korea itself. Talking about domestic politics in South Korea today means talking about the strongest party in the government which is

Democratic Party of Korea. This party is the party where President Moon Jae In comes from, yet it is the party where Kim Dae Jung and Roh Moo Hyun—two previous presidents implementing Sunshine Policy (Rahn, 2017) came from. Under this aspect, the personality of leader, which is personality of Moon Jae-In himself also included. This Domestic Politics situation will be directly influencing the decision maker, which is President Moon Jae In himself on the decision to implement Sunshine Policy again.

Second, in the military aspect, South Korea has always been depended to the United States umbrella protection. Without the US, South Korea military would not be as sophisticated as today. Its artillery and troops also are not so many compared to North Korea (Blair, 2015). South Korea's military is considered as not very strong especially compared to North Korea who owned independent nuclear power.

The third aspect is international context, in this term is the influence by North Korea itself as the main target of Sunshine Policy. North Korea showed reciprocates reaction and tended to be more approachable during Sunshine Policy period. This reaction was in contrast compared to North Korea behavior in non-Sunshine Policy approach. North Korea reacted negatively and showed aggressive tension under the transition era in Sunshine Policy Roh Moo Hyun's administration to Lee Myung Bak's Hardline Policy (Breen, 2013).

D. Hypothesis

The factors affecting South Korea reoriented to Sunshine Policy as foreign policy toward North Korea under Moon Jae In administration are caused by several conditions. Those are:

1. In Domestic Politics aspect affected by Democratic Party of Korea as the dominant party and the personality of Moon Jae In himself.
2. From Military aspect, South Korea is relatively not very strong and feels threatened by North Korea's nuclear power.

3. In International Context, North Korea showed positive reaction under Sunshine Policy implementation compared to its behavior on non-Sunshine Policy.

E. Purpose of Research

This research aims to examine Sunshine Policy as South Korean foreign policy, examining several factors affecting South Korean reorientation to implement Sunshine Policy in Moon Jae In presidential era.

F. Research Methodology

During the making of this research, the writer will use an explanatory research method that involves a deep exploratory research with the process of collecting facts using qualitative data which is combined with personal analysis using specific theory and concept as mentioned previously.

In this paper, the data that writer is going to use is in the form of secondary data sources. It means that the source of this research will mainly be taken from books, journals, articles, and encyclopedia both in copied form and in e-resource taken from the internet. The writer believes that by using such sources will enable the exploration of data toward a comprehensive and reliable data.

G. Scope of Research

This research will explain the case related to the South Korea decision reoriented to Sunshine Policy under Moon Jae In administration. The time limitation will be specifically defined under Moon Jae In administration only. This thesis also will focus on the state level analysis. However, other relevant data from other presidential periods will also be used, in order to provide a comprehensive comparison toward the analyses of this research.

H. System of Writing

The system of writing of this research will be arranged as follows:

Chapter I: This chapter is an Introductory part of the research which contains Background, Research question, Theoretical Framework, Hypothesis, Scope of Method, Methodology, Purpose of Research and the Organization of Writing.

Chapter II: This chapter will provide an explanation related to South Korean foreign policies toward North Korea under Kim Dae Jung, Roh Moo Hyun, Lee Myung Bak, and Park Geun Hye administrations.

Chapter III: This chapter will explain about South Korea foreign policy under Moon Jae In administration today.

Chapter IV: This chapter will try to prove the hypotheses that the South Korea reorientation to Sunshine Policy in Moon Jae In administration is affected by domestic politics, economy-military conditions, and international context using the Decision-Making Theory introduced by William D. Coplin.

Chapter V: This is the end of the research that will conclude all the findings in form of conclusion.

